

CHAPTER 1

Orientation

1.1 *Introduction*

The research entails a historical-educational exposition of the development of a culture of learning among the Black South Africans. Firstly, it gives an explanation of the essences of learning as a human phenomenon. Secondly it describes the experiences of Blacks in the educational history of South Africa. The research will also focus on the nature of Black education in South African history that led to a serious socio-political crisis in the latter half of the 20th century. The facts collected and reviewed will be subjected to evaluation and assessment with a view to making recommendations and suggestions.

Many authoritative authors such as Nkomo (1990; 1991) and Hartshorne (1992) bemoan the fact that Black education in the Republic of South Africa is a system in crisis. The crisis is said to be caused by long years of historical neglect and mal-administration by the dominant White government who imposed harsh discriminatory acts, regulations and policies by which Black education was directed (Bezuidenhout 1986: xv). These unpopular policies and practices led to many years of firm and intransigent opposition from Blacks. The opposition resulted in widespread and often violent demonstrations and boycotts that culminated in the deterioration of the culture of learning in Black schools (HSRC 1982: 2).

The topic under investigation will reflect an understanding of the causes of a devastated culture of learning among Blacks in the light of South Africa's turbulent socio-cultural history from 1652. By understanding the magnitude and intensity of the topic, the researcher will endeavour to provide substantial and valid correctives with regard to teaching and learning in South Africa's multi-cultural society in future.

1.2 *Significance of this investigation*

D'aeth (1975: 116) postulates that proactive research and development are necessary to improve education in general and the culture of learning in particular in any country and therefore also in South Africa. This implies *inter alia* that the factors or problems withholding children from learning should be addressed and rectified where necessary.

The explosion of knowledge world-wide has made people aware of the importance of knowledge and the multi-faceted demands of modern times. This reality also affects South Africa, which is characterised by diverse racial, judicious, cultural, socio-economical and educational views and interests. The historical disparity between the different cultural groups, especially along ethnic lines has made South Africans increasingly aware of the critical importance of good education as an important issue in any person's life. Education as such, forms the basis of any individual's status, position and role in life.

In the light of the above-mentioned and the reality of political and socio-economic change in South Africa during the last decade of the 20th century, this study intends to highlight and contextualise the following significant issues pertaining to teaching:

- ◆ Learning as a phenomenon in education;
- ◆ Learning as an opportunity to sustain development and progress in a changing world;
- ◆ Putting into perspective the above-mentioned issues and trends in South African education, specifically the role of teaching and learning in multi-cultural context;
- ◆ Understanding the development of a culture of learning in Black education in the history of South Africa.

1.3 *Statement of the problem*

There was an outcry from educationists such as Reeves (1994); Hartshorne (1992); and Samuel (1990) that the culture of learning among Black South Africans had deteriorated

to catastrophic proportions, especially in the latter half of the 20th century. Newspapers such as the *Rand Daily Mail* (Mojapelo 1980: 12); (Khan 1989: 6); (Khuzwayo & Roderick 1992: 13) and many others reported that the education of Blacks was at the cross-roads. The deterioration of the culture of learning could be weighed against diverse manifestation such as:

- ◆ Learners show disrespect for teachers and neglecting their school work;
- ◆ High rate of absenteeism and late coming among the teachers and learners alike;
- ◆ Learners' destructive behavioural tendencies such as vandalism;
- ◆ Learners' aggressive behaviour patterns of bullying and the abuse of intoxicants;
- ◆ Teachers getting to classes late and without lesson preparations;
- ◆ Parents' non-commitment to the education of their children
(Mbonambi, 1998: 2).

1.4 Aim of study

The study aims at making a critical investigation of the historical-educational past in order to:

- ◆ Identify problems that stymie the development of a culture of learning among Black South African children;
- ◆ Describe the nature and development of the problems;
- ◆ Point out ways and means of resolving the problems in the learning situation;
- ◆ Make recommendations and suggestions by which the culture of learning can be improved.

1.5 Contextual elucidation of concepts

The definitions and elucidation of concepts below serve to clarify the context in which they are used in this research.

1.5.1 Historical

The word *historical* refers to what is known to be real, authentic and has actually played a significant role in the past. The historical events that occurred during human development are not discarded, but are chronologically recorded by historical researchers so that they can serve as reference for current problems and as guidelines for the future (Kruger 1990: 87). It is only through the historical that the essential structures of the education reality, for instance learning can become visible. In this study, the term historical will be used to indicate that a search into the past with reference to the culture of learning is made. A historical investigation of authentic educational events will be recorded from 1652 up to 1998.

1.5.2 Development

The Webster Dictionary (1961: 618) defines development as an act or process of gradual unfolding. The hidden qualities and potentialities never seen or heard of before are brought to light. Development is also said to mean promotion of growth of something that had been latent. In this study, the word *development* is used to give an applied presentation of how the learning potential of Black South Africans was unfolded from a latent elementary state of informal education to an active form of learning (Lethuli 1981: 37).

1.5.3 Exploration

Explore is a word of Latin origin which means to search, or make a preliminary study in order to note the features and conditions of something (Funk & Wagnalls 1963: 818). *Exploration* is an act of exploring, which in this study implies a historical search into the state and conditions that led to the deterioration of a culture of learning among Black South Africans.

1.5.4 Culture

The word culture is derived from the root *col, colere* or *cultum* which means cultivate (Le Roux 1993: 127). The concept is difficult to define because of different and numerous definitions (Le Roux 1993: 127; Masitsa 1995: 26). The common meaning of the term implies a point of view, a whole way of life or special processes of discovery and creative effort (Gray & McGuigan 1993: 6). In this research, culture basically is understood as a certain way of learning new processes and discovering and creating a new and healthy outlook on learning among Black people in South Africa.

1.5.5 Learning

Many definitions of *learning* abound (cf 1.5.4), but they all profess a change in behaviour, relationship or probability of a response (Plotkin 1982: 412). In learning a change occurs when an individual reacts to an encountered situation, condition or environmental events (Gredler 1982: 89). The new behavioural patterns may involve knowledge, skills, attitudes, habits or action tendencies (Gagne 1977: 3). In this exposition learning involves acquiring new creative, productive and profitable ways of enriching the mind.

1.5.6 Culture of learning

When the connection between creativity, productivity and profitability is understood, then a *culture of learning* emerges (Jaccaci 1989: 49). A culture of learning in this study involves collaborative creativity in all relationships that will be undertaken to reform schools so as to increase productivity and profitability in learning. It means that a conscious purposeful intervention in learning that targets learners, teachers, parents and workers will be undertaken. This will involve the creation and modification of the mode of learning that would involve acquiring new skills, developing a better and healthier attitude towards learning, as well as acquiring knowledge in and about learning.

1.5.7 Blacks

The South African population consists of Whites and Non-whites. The Non-whites fall into three main categories: the Asiatics, Coloureds, and the *Blacks* (Lethuli 1981: 36). The *Blacks* were also referred to as Natives, Non-Europeans, Non-Whites or Bantu. The term Black in this study designates the Nguni group consisting of the Zulus, Xhosas and the Swazis; the Sotho speakers of South Africa comprising of the Pedis, Tswanas and the South Sothos; the Vendas, the Shangaans and the Ndebele ethnic groups. The term also embraces the Khoi and the San (respectively called the Hottentots and the Bushmen by the Whites settlers) as well as the Black slaves brought from West Africa, Madagascar and the West Indies by the Dutch East India Company to serve the White colonists (McKerron 1934: 154).

1.6 Methodology

The term *method* is derived from the Greek word *methodos* which literally means “the road by which” (Venter & Van Heerden 1989: 108). A researcher carries out scientific research and eventually discloses the structural essences of the educational reality. The road by which the researcher explores the phenomenon under scrutiny is through scientific methods and approaches.

1.6.1 Methods

Method implies a formal, systematic procedure in analysing *phenomena* such as education and the culture of learning (Van Rensburg, Landman & Bodenstein 1988: 305). The choice of the method is determined by the nature of the phenomenon. The method used in this study is the historical-educational method by which a scientific exploration into the distant past will be made to resolve the current problems besetting the education of the Blacks, particularly with regard to a culture of learning.

1.6.2 Approaches

A scientific *approach* presupposes a specific attitude to the field of investigation in general and the object of study in particular (Venter & Van Heerden 1989: 107). The researcher in this study approaches the topic, the culture of learning, from the *phenomenological, problem-historical, chronological and the metabletic approaches*.

1.6.2.1 Phenomenological approach

Phenomenology is an approach or a way an investigator follows to disclose the essentials of a particular *phenomenon*. The word *phenomenology* is derived from the Greek word *faínesthai* which means bring to light (Van Rensburg *et al* 1988: 489). In this study, learning as the phenomenon under scrutiny is brought to light by making a contextual study of what learning is. Learning will be allowed to reveal itself by bringing its hidden essential structures to light. Then, through the past-oriented *phenomenological* approach, the culture of learning among South African Blacks before and after the Europeans came to South Africa will be brought to light.

1.6.2.2 Problem-historical approach

This is one of the approaches in the History of Education by which historical-educational phenomena can be studied. The starting point is always the present situation with its problems. The researcher in this study will start by posing questions about the development of the culture of learning among Black South Africans. This will be done for the purpose of gaining insight into the current problems besetting Black education. The solutions thus found will serve as guidelines for the future (Kruger, Bischoff, Van Heerden, Venter & Verster 1990: 7).

1.6.2.3 Chronological approach

Since History of Education is perpetually involved with time, the temporal dimensions of past and present feature prominently in this research (Venter & Van Heerden 1989: 43).

This period-oriented approach will enable the researcher to indicate clearly how during the different eras, education changed through time and space. The profound knowledge of these historical facts will be essential in making a credible and responsible judgement pertaining to the phenomenon in question. The educational past will be demarcated into two periods: 1652-1975 and 1976-1998.

1.6.2.4 Metabletic approach

Metabletic is derived from the word *metabellein* which means change (Venter & Verster 1986: 46 47). Education as an aspect of the reality of life, is subjected to a change in becoming, developing and in moving ahead or receding. The culture of learning as one of the essences of education is currently undergoing a recession among the Black South Africans. It is therefore the task of this research to apply the metabletic approach to check the causes and significance of the historical-educational changes that occurred in Black education through time and space (Venter & Van Heerden 1989: 156). Furthermore the research will indicate how the inter-connection between the political, social, cultural and economic conditions was responsible for the change in the learning of the Black South Africans. The changes that occurred will be scrutinised and nothing will be added or subtracted so that an authentic record of events of the educational past is written.

1.7 Source material

Source material consists of primary and secondary sources. Primary sources constitute first-hand information such as drawings, paintings, original documents and newspaper reports of people who participated or witnessed the actual event. They may also be research writings and findings. On the other hand, secondary sources constitute second-hand information that comes from reference books, or it may be replications of the testimony of witnesses or participants in the event. Secondary sources involve the information far removed from the actual results (Gay 1992: 209).

The primary sources consulted in this research comprise commission documents and newspaper reports. The secondary information is from the textbooks, encyclopaedias, articles and journals, dissertations and theses.

1.8 Development of this study

Chapter one is an orientation to this study dealing with inter alia, the aim of the study, its significance and the method used to understand the culture of learning in different contexts. Chapter two gives contextual information on learning. This chapter also gives an elaborate explanation of learning as a human reality. In chapter three, a historical account of the development of a culture of learning among Black South Africans from 1652 to 1975, is followed by the events of the middle 70's to 1998, recorded in chapter four. The research report closes up with a chapter on the findings and implications, suggestions and recommendations that can be used for further research.

Chapter 2

A contextual exploration of learning

2.1 Introduction

Throughout the history of humankind, people have been involved in the transmission of existential cultural realities such as knowledge, insight, customs and traditions from one generation to the next. The realities transmitted include phenomena such as sports, religion, health, history and information on education, which differ from community to community.

The acquisition of these characteristics in terms of acquiring, thinking and practising skills is described by Gagne (1977: 3) as learning. According to Gagne (1977: 3), learning is a process that cannot always be ascribed to the physical maturational process of growing up, but to instruction, practice or observation of another person's reaction to an event or object.

In this chapter, learning will be scrutinised to reveal the nature of human perceptions and practice of learning as an indispensable human characteristic. Thus the phenomenon of learning will be explored against the background of certain theories of learning as well as tendencies of human learning within certain time frames in the educational history of South Africa. To get a clear and objective understanding of learning involves an explorative search for identifying and contextualising the origins, processes and outcomes of learning as reflected by the thoughts and actions of humankind.

2.2 An exploration of learning

2.2.1 Introduction

From the introduction above, it seems that learning involves the acquisition of knowledge, skills and attitudes that would bring a positive change in one's life. The

knowledge, skills, habits or attitudes can be acquired by observation, instruction and demonstration and careful self-study. Learning can therefore be regarded as a process of acquiring ways and means of obtaining knowledge, skills and meaning in life from the potential meaning present in the learning material (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1988: 136).

Learning takes place to improve the quality of life. It can therefore take place in different learning environments such as in informal, formal and non-formal human settings. Informal settings include inter alia unintentional learning that can occur, for instance, when a child watches the mother baking a cake. Learning in formal settings involves intentional and thoroughly structured tuition as laid down by laws or statutes and non-formal learning occurs in work places through job training, workshops *et cetera* (Thorpe, Edward & Hanson 1993: 149).

Despite the differences in settings, learning is a holistic process that provides a conceptual bridge across life situations such as schools and work. It also encompasses all life stages namely: childhood, adolescence, middle age and old age. It involves creativity, problem solving, decision-making and attitude change: the cornerstones of learning (Thorpe *et al* 1993: 150). The skills, attitudes and knowledge thus acquired can be made meaningful and permanent through reinforced practice (Plotkin 1982: 412).

2.2.2 Theories of learning

Investigations into the learning phenomenon have led to various theories of learning. A learning theory is an objective and systematic interpretation of the learning phenomenon recorded in an orderly manner by researchers. They attempted to elucidate the what's, the why's, the wherefore's and the whereto's of learning. As a result, various philosophers and psychologists came up with different perceptions about learning. Some were philosophical assumptions; others were contextual applications based on self study and experimentation (Bigge 1982: 23; Verster, Theron & Van Zyl 1982: 30). To discuss the conflicting perceptions and conceptions on the numerous and diverse

theories of learning, the theories will respectively be categorised into pre-twentieth and twentieth theories of learning.

2.2.2.1 *Pre-twentieth century theories of learning*

The philosophers and psychologists of that era made explanations on learning based on speculation and philosophical assumptions. They alleged that knowledge resides in people and can only be retrieved through repetition and memorisation (Bigge 1982: 23). They drew those conclusions by making introspective and subjective analysis. In their investigations they came up with subjects such as mental discipline, natural unfolding and apperception.

a) *Theories of mental discipline*

Augustine and Plato, as philosophers of the pre-twentieth century, strongly believed that learning occurs when the faculties of the mind such as memory, the will to learn, reasoning and perseverance are disciplined by continuous and rigorous practices coupled with repetitive memorisation. When these mental faculties were strengthened and shaped, a responsible behaviour could be produced by the learner (Bigge 1982: 24).

b) *Learning through natural unfolding*

Rousseau, the French philosopher strongly believed that people are naturally good and active. He therefore asserted that a person could freely and autonomously without coercion or external interference, develop or change his or her behavioural tendencies in a free and natural environment. Hence, Rousseau (Bigge 1982: 33) propounded that children in their natural environment need no schooling or tutoring. He therefore stressed the fact that teachers should give their students free reins to indulge in their natural impulses, instincts and feelings. By attending to their personal needs and feelings, the children would become enriched with knowledge, skills and feelings necessary in everyday life (Bigge 1982: 33).

c) *Learning theory based on apperception*

Apperception is the kind of perception in which the mind is conscious of the act of perceiving. It involves the perception of new ideas and concepts and then relating them to the established mental states. Apperception is regarded as a basis of memory because nothing can be recalled unless it has been built into a series or system of ideas. When a new idea is formulated and understood in the human mind, learning is said to have occurred (Funk & Wagnalls 1963: 136). That is why apperception is regarded as idea-centred learning. This idea-centred learning depends on abilities and interest. When a learner shows interest in the learning content, he or she may exert himself or herself and fill his or her psyche with as many experiences, observations or concepts as he or she can (Verster *et al* 1982b : 3). Therefore apperception is said to be responsible for a massive accumulation of knowledge stored in the conscious mind.

d) *Conclusion*

These theories were not conclusive enough to root out the misconceptions about learning in the pre-20th century climate. Literary findings indicate that there were many inconsistencies and inadequacies in these theories, which were too theoretical because the views on learning were speculative and subjective. As a result, a new set of theories on learning sprung up towards the beginning of the twentieth century, during which people began to do experimental investigations and well formulated and reliable tests by which they could explain what actually takes place in a learning situation (Verster *et al* 1982: 34).

2.2.2.2 *The twentieth century theories of learning*

The new tendency to a more pragmatic and utilitarian approach resulted in two main categories of theories: the stimulus-response (S-R) and cognitive theories of learning. Each has a somewhat different way of describing how learning occurs and how best to encourage it (Hamachek 1985: 189).

(a) *The stimulus response (S-R) theory of learning*

According to the S-R theory, learning is the formation of an association between the stimulus and the response. Learning is said to have occurred when the correct association is formed between the stimulus and the response (Engelbrecht & Lubbe no date: 31). The response is the observable and measurable aspects of human behaviour. Certain aspects in his or her environment stimulate the person to think, respond or behave in a specific way. This is regarded as the behaviouristic approach to learning. There are several S-R theories, for example, behaviourism, the mnemopsychological view of learning and the association theory of Thorndike.

(i) *Behaviouristic view of learning*

Behaviourism is a psychological approach to learning concerned with behavioural changes (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1988: 29). The theory examines only the observable signs of change in the learner's actions and words and ignores the important internal processes that underlie actions and words (Seifert 1992: 120). This theory seeks to understand how a child can acquire or improve certain capabilities under certain conditions. If a child or a person is stimulated by certain conditions to behave in a particular way, he or she is said to have undergone a conditioning process (Hamachek 1995: 14; Gredler 1982: 180).

During that conditioning, new associations between the feelings, psychological states or actions, on the one hand and the stimulus event on the other hand, are created. The associations thus formed are manifestations that learning has occurred (Mussen, Conger, Kagan & Huston 1984: 107).

Conditioning can either be classical or instrumental. Classical conditioning occurs without reinforcement. It is a process of stimulus substitution. Pavlov, a Russian psychologist, best explains it (Gerdes 1988: 55). Pavlov pressed a buzzer (a stimulus), each time he gave a dog food (also a stimulus). That caused the dog to salivate (response elicited). After the buzzer and the food had repeatedly been presented together, when the buzzer was pressed alone, it elicited a salivation response (Mussen

et al 1984: 107). The dog had learned to respond (salivate) to the conditioned stimulus (the buzzer), because it had been conditioned to do so.

The other type of conditioning that has profound influence on behaviour is instrumental conditioning. Instrumental conditioning which is also called reinforcement or operant conditioning involves the repetition of responses (behavioural patterns) that evoke pleasure or a reward, and the termination of responses that induce pain or punishment. This implies that the recurrence or termination of a response is consequential to the outcome of the response (Gerdes 1988: 57). The event that strengthens the tendency to repeat a response is called reinforcement (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1988: 29).

Reinforcement can either be positive or negative. The recurrence of behaviour depends on a positive response and the termination of a response is the result of a negative reinforcement (Klausmeier 1985: 92). A smile is a positive reinforcement that is enough to encourage a child to learn his or her poem over and over again. The grounding of a child is a negative reinforcement that will make him or her stop playing truant (Gerdes 1988: 57).

(ii) Association theory of Thorndike

Thorndike as one of the proponents of instrumental conditioning, is regarded as the father of connectionism or associationism. His learning theory states that the child learns by forming connections or associations between units such as between the physical and the mental, the mental and the mental or the physical and the physical. These connections are tested by trial-and-error method. If the stimulation evokes pleasure, the response will be strengthened; and if it evokes displeasure, the response will be weakened. Thorndike termed this the law of cause and effect (Bigge 1982: 52; Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1988 : 135).

(iii) Mnemopsychological view of learning

A *mnemopsychological* view of learning is also based on the experimental conclusions

that learning takes place via the process of stimulus and response (Verster *et al* 1982a: 34). Mnemopsychologists such as Ernest Neumann (1862-1915) carried out experimental investigations of the phenomenon of learning, from which they inferred that learning can be facilitated by *mnemotechniques* (Verster *et al* 1982a:34). A term called *mnemonic* can be coined by using the first letters of several words to act as a clue to a wide range of concepts. For instance the word 'CAST' is a mathematical *mnemonic* that represents Cosine, All the signs, Sine and Tangent. This *mnemonic* will assist the learner to memorise or remember the order of basic trigonometrical words in a particular context of learning. The mnemonic therefore stimulates the human mind to respond with ease when learning occurs. In conclusion all these behavioural theories:

- ◆ pay attention to actions, emotional and reflex responses and how individuals alter behaviour by observation and imitation.
- ◆ tend to ignore or minimise the importance of internal processes that may underlie the action and words, which are of paramount importance in the cognitive theory of learning.

(b) *The cognitive theory of learning*

Cognition means mental activities in the broadest sense. It includes mental processes such as concept formation, memory, reasoning *et cetera*, that are involved with gaining, losing or retrieving knowledge (Matlin 1983: 2). The cognitive theory of learning employs these mental processes to explain how knowledge is acquired, stored, retrieved and used. The cognitive theorists do not pay attention to overt observable behaviour as the behaviourists do. Their main concern is the internal mental processes that are involved in the reorganisation of information in the cognitive structures to form meaningful wholes.

A cognitive approach to learning is concerned with topics such as decision-making, information processing, understanding and insight explained in the *Gestalt*-field theory of learning; and a change in perception explained by Piaget in his theory of cognitive development.

(i) *The field theory of Gestaltists*

Gestaltists explain learning as a process of forming a *Gestalt*. *Gestalt* is a German word of which the equivalent is shape, form or configuration (Mwamwenda 1995: 227). In learning a child sees a total picture (field) with all its parts interrelated. This total picture is what the psychologists call the *gestalt*. Once the *gestalt* is formed, it is remembered easier and repetition is unnecessary. Where the repetition is used, it only helps to explain and consolidate the *gestalt* (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1988: 136).

Gestaltists are interested in perception and behaviour as a whole. They believe that the whole perceptive field or experience is greater than the sum of the parts of the *gestalt* (Mwamwenda 1995: 227). The *Gestalt* theory, as part perspective of cognitive-field psychology, employs mental processes such as perception, insight formation, problem-solving and decision-making in forming substantive meaningful wholes. By perceiving the whole *gestalt*, not the constituent parts separately, the person gains more insight into the meaningful relationships between the parts. Hence, the *Gestaltists* regard learning as a process of developing a new insight or changing old ones in the cognitive structures (Bigge 1982: 96). Bigge and Hunt (Vrey 1979: 214) say that insight into the matter is its meaning. As a result learning is said to denote the new insight or meaning that is acquired (Bigge 1982: 96).

The *Gestalt* theory is also concerned with problem solving. The teacher presents the whole problem situation to the learner. Once the learner grasps the whole situation and understands the relatedness of the aspects of a situation, then learning has occurred. This implies that success in learning indicates that the right solution has been found or that insight has been achieved. That is why insight is also described as that which is gained when a solution to a problem suddenly appears (Vrey 1979: 214).

(ii) *Piaget's cognitive theory of learning*

Piaget in his theory explains the active way children approach learning. Piaget's theory describes how children learn by constructing knowledge about their environment as they

mentally organise information from the environment. They should therefore be given an opportunity to explore and manipulate their world whilst guided by their cognitive (mental) structures (Kapp 1991: 285; Clarke-Steward & Friedman 1987: 19). Qualitative changes take place in the mental structures of these children as their organisation of knowledge improves. As the child's mental processes develop through different stages, he or she learns in different ways.

In the first stage of cognitive development, the sensori-motor stage (one and a half to two years of age), Piaget postulates that a child learns better by being actively involved in concrete learning experiences. This implies that the child learns by sense of touch because he or she has not yet developed linguistic ability. Nevertheless, his or her achievement and learning in this stage are foundations for future cognitive development and activity in the succeeding stages (Hamachek 1988: 84).

In the pre-operational stage (two years to seven), the child develops communication skills. The child acquires rudimentary linguistic ability comprising symbols and words only. He or she cannot give rational inferences of what he or she has learnt because most of his learning involves guess work and intuitive learning. As a result, a child in this stage has difficulty with conservation and inclusion tasks. It is only towards the end of this stage that the child develops some concepts of conservation (Matlin 1983: 354).

In the concrete operational stage (seven to eleven years), though the child can perform conservation and class inclusion tasks, he can only do so when the objects are physically present. During this period the child becomes capable of logical thought and takes into account the views of others. This will enable the child to participate in a learning situation.

In this final stage of the formal operations (twelve to fifteen years and above), the young growing adult makes constructs of ideals, reasoning realistically and making use of language (Clark-Stewart & Friedman 1987: 314). Thus, Piaget says that a person's approach to environmental problems improves as the mental structures develop in stages.

(c) Conclusion

Comparatively speaking behaviourism stresses outer experience and overt actions and reactions, while the cognitive theory regards learning as a change in perception and understanding rather than behaviour

In behaviourism, learning starts with a specific aspect and proceeds to a general principle or conclusion. In contrast, the cognitive theory starts from the total learning event or situation and proceeds to a specific conclusion or principle.

Conclusively, none of these theories can be discounted because they all have strengths and weaknesses. One can rather be the complement of another. It is also not necessary to choose one theoretical position over the other because each has something to offer. No single theory is comprehensive enough to explain or include all we need about how or why learning occurs. Rather, it is better to apply as many theories as one can in learning because this will take into account the fact that people have different cognitive capabilities. For instance, cognitive learning theory helps to explain the development of cognitive structures that may be necessary in coping with certain learning tasks. However, the stimulus-response theory comes in handy when certain learning tasks are broken down to accommodate certain conditions. Therefore, more than one theory can be applied to acknowledge individual differences in styles of learning.

2.3 Learning styles

According to the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (1995: 1189), style means a distinctive way of doing or performing something. Different ways can be applied to encourage learning because children have different styles of learning. It is very unlikely that any two or more students can learn the same things in the same way at the same pace. In order to derive optimum pleasure in learning, a diagnoses of the style the child prefers must be made and be accepted. This is in lieu of the fact that children have styles that fit their conditions.

Three styles of learning suggested by Reisman (in Hamachek 1985: 242) are visual, aural and physical learning styles. This implies that learning may occur through reading, listening and touching. Van Brummelen does not, as behaviourists believe, regard the child as an organism that reacts to an environmental stimulus. He infers that the child personally gets involved in the collection and processing of information and finally transcending learning by applying the learned material in new situations. He therefore categorises learners into intuitors, intellectuals, inventors and implementers.

Intuitors learn by exploring concrete situations and drawing conclusions from the information collected. Intellectuals as abstract thinkers, learn by testing the validity of theories and arguments in order to verify the reliability of certain concepts. Their field of learning involves more idea formation and problem solving. They can thus be best described as '*gestaltists*'. The last two groups of learners, that is, inventors and implementors both learn better by handling objects either by experimenting or by making new products (Hamachek 1985: 243).

The classroom situation cannot cater for all the learning styles, but in order to capitalise on the child's natural talents the learner must be predisposed to different types of learning.

2.4 *Types of learning*

Types of learning have more to do with the kinds of learning the child can apply to complete a learning task. Types of learning describe that which takes place while children are learning. Like styles of learning, types of learning are numerous and diverse (Engelbrecht & Lubbe no date: 40). For that reason, they are divided into different classes as determined by different theorists of learning. The types of learning can involve either purposefulness, degree of awareness, meaningfulness and information processing (Vrey 1979: 240-258).

It does not matter how the child prefers to acquire skills and knowledge, he or she should be predisposed to a variety of types of learning. The types that will be discussed

below are not chosen from any specific category, but are chosen randomly from any of the categories mentioned above.

2.4.1 *Meaningful learning*

Meaningful learning refers to clarity, quantity and organisation of the learner's present knowledge of facts, concepts, propositions and theories which form part of the cognitive structures. It allows the learner to absorb vast quantities of material, which can be assimilated and recalled from the cognitive structures. The assimilated material does not lose its meaning when an equivalent wording is used. Meaningful learning allows the transference of learned material. This implies that what had been learnt in one situation can be applied in a new or similar situation. Therefore, ideas and statements should be stated as logical, meaningful, unitary facts (Hamachek 1985: 240).

2.4.2 *Language and meaningful learning*

Language is a medium through which information, cultural and scientific knowledge, are transmitted. People are capable of communicating with one another through the medium of a language. Therefore it is difficult to imagine any kind of civilisation or cultural society in which there is no form of language (Matlin 1983: 131).

The development of language depends on the *milieu*. Children growing up in environments where parents use language poor in quality, will have inadequate language acquisition and hence poor communication skills which are detrimental to learning. Language acquisition and development depend also on maturation (cf 2.2.2.2b (ii)). The initial step of language acquisition is through imitation. When the child has acquired the ability to talk, he or she must be encouraged to imitate the correct speech until he or she becomes competent in the language. Language competency will improve his or her communication and listening skills that are crucial in learning (Vrey 1979: 72; 86; 248).

People from different cultural backgrounds and population groups speak different languages. This linguistic diversity which is said to be a common feature of modern nations in both the developed and the developing world, creates a variety of educational problems and challenges (Kapp 1991: 125; Reagen & Ntshoe 1987: 1).

Linguistic diversity through an inherent reflection of the student's cultural heritage can be a potential hindrance when the language of instruction is foreign to the child (Ash, Anderson & Goetz 1992: 161).

This implies that learners whose home language may not be the medium of instruction may have difficulty phrasing questions needed to clarify learning content. Hence the medium of instruction for a child should be his or her mother tongue especially during the initial stages of learning. Thus, learning will only be meaningful to the learner if the learning matter is communicated to the learners through the language he or she understands.

2.4.3 Discovery learning

Discovery learning is regarded as one of the types of meaningful learning (Vrey 1979: 256). It is an outgrowth of cognitive theory which encourages the student to learn methods and approaches as well as procedures that could help him or her to solve his or her own problems within a broad field of possible solutions. Through discovery learning the learner also explores new concepts that would enable him or her to develop new skills. It focuses more on what the learner does and enables him or her to progress at a suitable speed. It is a type of learning that triggers excitement and self-motivation. That is why many researchers rate it as the most exciting type of learning capable of improving self-reliance and confidence (Hamachek 1985: 169-224).

2.4.4 Social learning

Social learning is the type of learning where the learner becomes aware of and observes the behaviour of others (Gage & Berliner 1991; 254). For instance, Erickson's

social learning theory stipulates that the child develops an attachment or detachment consequential to the mother's actions. If the mother frequently fails or succeeds to satisfy the child's expectations or needs, the child will develop a sense of mistrust or trust respectively. The attachment thus formed is regarded as illustrative of the learning principle of trust that is crucial in children's development (Clarke-Stewart & Friedman 1987: 258). Trust is one of the basic pedagogical relationship structures without which learning cannot be realised.

2.4.5 *Signal learning*

Signal learning involves responding to a neutral stimulus or unconditioned stimulus or a signal (Sonnekus 1977: 9). This is the stimulus-response action of classical conditioning (cf 2.3.2.2) during which the child elicits a response as a consequence of a certain stimulus situation. For instance, if a child is taught a subject by a teacher who often makes scornful comments when the child makes mistakes, the child will hate the subject. The teacher is said to have become a signal for the subject.

2.4.6 *Rote learning*

Rote learning involves learning the material by memorising it without relating it to the mental structures. The matter learnt is mechanically reproduced without understanding it because it has no meaning assigned to it (Vrey 1979: 77; Klausmeier 1985: 99). Rote learning inhibits the development of higher learning processes and does not allow transference of the learned material in different situations (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1988: 199). The material learnt is non-substantive, arbitrary and often illogical. Material learned by rote is also vulnerable to interference and can easily be forgotten because it is not assimilated into the cognitive structures (Klausmeier 1985: 99).

2.4.7 *Learning as a human reality*

Gestaltists define reality as the interpretations that a person makes of him or herself and

his or her surroundings to form meaningful patterns (Bigge 1982 : 66). These meaningful patterns are formed when the learning content can be related to some cognitive structures in a non-arbitrary and substantive way. On the contrary, behaviourists regard reality as an existing physical object or process. As a result they regard reality and existence as identical (Bigge 1982: 67). Despite the differences in definitions and interpretations, either the *gestaltic* or the behaviouristic view can be applied or used to explain that learning is truly a human attribute.

Gestaltists regard learning as a human reality during which the person interacts with his or her psychological environment to acquire meaning. The acquisition of meaning depends on getting a solution to or by gaining insight into the whole problem situation. Problem solving is therefore a human attribute by which learning can be realised.

Despite the fact that the behaviourists experimented with animals to explain learning, learning still remains a human reality that involves the organisation and re-organisation of the field of experience that animals lack. Humans, unlike animals, are said to learn from experience. People can invent new products and implement them to enrich their culture that is part of human reality. Culture is a human reality that can be transmitted from one generation to another through learning.

Humans can transcend the primary drives and aversions they share with the animals, by learning to deal with the complex past so as to resolve current problems to improve their lives in the future (Bigge 1982: 66). Through the interpretation of their life-world that constitutes attitudes, ideas *et cetera*, people develop generalisations that can be used to organise the world into sensible patterns. The knowledge, skills and attitudes that a person accumulates through learning are the products of his or her culture of yesteryears that can be applied to solve the problems of the future.

Human beings have other unique characteristics that distinguish them from animals. Humans have the ability to talk and have a curiosity to learn unless their curiosity is blunted by their experience in their education system (Rogers 1969: 157). They can communicate with each other through the use of articulate speech and other symbols.

They can also acquire, modify or improve their knowledge, skills, behaviour and traditions which form a social heritage which is said to result from many generations of cumulative learning.

Learning can again be regarded as an authentic human phenomenon because it involves psychic vitality which involves confronting a situation cognitively (intellectually), conatively (with a strong willpower) and affectively with the aim of attaining a goal (Sonnekus 1977: 48). Thus, children can learn different patterns of behaviour because they have the will and the love to do so (Bigge 1982: 2).

Humans also have the capacity and an urge to learn which originates in human openness and intentionality (Van der Stoep & Louw 1978: 138; Sonnekus 1977: 44). Intentionality is one of the conditions of meaningful learning. It shows itself when the child directs him or herself to fellow human beings and to things around him or her. In this way the child not only discovers him or herself in the world, but also understands or experience something or someone who is not him or herself. He or she will also understand and discover things that are acceptable or non-acceptable, such as the norms and values of society (Sonnekus 1977: 90).

2.4.8 *Summary*

In conclusion, people have the ability to interact and communicate meaningfully through language by learning the skills and knowledge accumulated through years of experience. They learn the skills, attitudes, customs and traditions of their society through different learning styles, and are exposed to different types of learning. Learning is truly a human attribute because only a person can learn in predetermined steps called the learning process, though these steps do not necessarily follow a specific order.

2.5 *The learning process*

Processing involves organising, analysing, synthesising and rehearsal (Sonnekus 1977: 3). These are the characteristics unique to humans. Humans can take a series of steps

to process information by organising, analysing, synthesising and rehearsing it in order to improve their knowledge and skills. The learning process should therefore not be perceived traditionally as information in and information out; skills in and skills out or problems in and problems out (Johnston 1996: 7). Learning occurs in steps although not within this rigid structure as it is outlined below:

Step 1: The child must have the intention and the will to learn.

Step 2: The child must select the appropriate type of learning.

Step 3: The child must experience success which can be a solution to a problem.

Step 4: The solution must be reinforced by repetition and application in various situations to consolidate it.

Step 5: This consolidated learned material must be recalled.

Step 6: During this phase, the retrieved knowledge should be transferable to other situations, failing which, learning will not have occurred (Vrey 1979: 7; Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1988: 140).

The success of the learning process depends on internal or external conditions (Rogers 1969: 137). Internal conditions of learning are defined as conditions within the learner that are essential to or supportive of subsequent learning (Dreckmeyr 1993: 21; Gagne 1977: 193). They are believed to be previous capabilities, motivational states, mechanisms involved in information processing, storing and retrieval, fatigue, developmental level and readiness to learn, intelligence, anxiety and attitudinal states of the learner. These internal conditions may be reinforced by external conditions. External conditions are various ways by which instructional events outside the learner function to activate and support the internal processes of learning (Gagne 1977: 3). External conditions can be grouped into conditions within the learning environment and conditions outside the learning environment.

2.6 Conditions within the learning environment

2.6.1 Introduction

There are conditions within the learning situation that may determine the child's preferential style of learning as well as the type of learning the child should be predisposed to. These conditions include the relationship between the learner and the educator, the size and conditions of the classroom and the school, the availability of resources, safety, order and discipline as well as the different types of motivation.

2.6.2 The relationship between the learner and the educator

The relationship between the learner and the educator is of paramount importance. Mutual understanding, trust and authority are the basic conditions that must be present if learning is to proceed in a proper way. It is not only the child that needs to know, respect and trust the educator in order to understand the world and make it his or her own. The educator should also have understanding, respect and trust for the child (Du Plooy, Griesel & Oberholzer 1987: 91). These basic structural components of the pedagogic relationship are relevant when learning occurs in the classroom or the school.

2.6.3 Physical amenities

Physical settings where learners attend classes, study and write examinations can influence productivity, efficiency, accuracy, fatigue or boredom in learning (Holahan 1982: 122). Research has indicated that poorly ventilated classrooms with leaking roofs and no lighting adversely affect schooling and learning. Children's concentration can be adversely affected by dilapidated classrooms with leaks, draughts, cold cement floors and lack of winter heating. Availability of facilities such as toilets, piped water, sport and recreational facilities is also of paramount importance in education and in any learning situation (Nasson 1984 : 40).

Shortage of classrooms and school buildings cause overcrowding. Learners in overcrowded classrooms cannot be given individual attention, neither can the teacher

manage, control and discipline. School size and conditions can therefore operate as facilitators or obstacles the changes that must occur in the school (Pintrich & Schunk 1996: 387). Teaching a class of too many students is tedious and is like teaching a mass meeting (Reeves 1969: 14).

2.6.4 Resources

Learning is a joy and beneficial to a learner in a school where there is sufficient equipment or resources in all the facets or departments of learning. Shortage of textbooks in any subject is detrimental to learning because it makes learners wholly dependent on teachers for information and denies them the opportunity to exploit their potential and capabilities. A well-equipped laboratory is essential when teaching science. Teaching through experiments and observation encourages creativity and inventiveness and discourages memorisation of concepts and ideas that can easily be forgotten. It also motivates the learner to be attentive and active (Sello 1990: 4-6).

2.6.5 Safety, order and discipline

Mental activities are hindered in settings where there are interruptions that one cannot control (Holahan 1982:12). A safe and orderly environment is a prerequisite for improving the organisation and culture of the school. Discipline and order are necessary in a school if effective learning has to take place (Chrispeels 1992:47). Discipline is said to be rooted in a learning situation because school teaching profits little in the absence of discipline (Shatritz, Koeppe & Soper 1968: 119-120). Safety in the learning environment should be guaranteed so that parents can be assured that their children are safe, nobody is going to hold them at ransom, harness them nor abuse them in anyway in the school grounds or premises (Cusick 1992:118). Therefore safety, order and discipline should be some of the motivational factors in a learning environment.

2.6.6 Motivation

Motivation is the driving force, the impetus of personality and the energiser of behaviour that can either be intrinsic or extrinsic (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg

1988:139). The intrinsic motivation that is fuelled by the person's curiosity or interest in his or her goal, is capable of sustaining the learning programme. A learner possesses self-perpetuating energy, which urges him or her to learn (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1988:138). This self-perpetuating energy can be fuelled by forces external to the learner which are called extrinsic motivation.

Extrinsic motivation can have a different effect on different learners (Hamachek 1985: 25). For instance praise can make one child complacent and stop learning, but may spur another to learn more and acquire success in his or her learning experience. Success that reinforces motivation enhances learning. A child who succeeds in getting an "A" symbol in Mathematics will be spurred on to work harder because success begets success (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1988: 139).

Success, reward and praise are positive forms of motivation that reinforce learning while failure and punishment are negative forms that may be detrimental to learning (Hamachek 1985: 138). A learner who continuously fails at school will have an aversion to schooling and learning and his or her learning can deteriorate further if conditions outside the school warrant it.

2.7 *Conditions outside the learning environment*

2.7.1 *Introduction*

There are forces outside the school that are capable of affecting the learning environment in one way or the other. Mungazi (in Mashile & Mellet 1996: 224) professes that political, social and economic conditions are some such forces that have a profound impact on the development of education.

2.7.2 *Political factors*

Education cannot be divorced from politics. On closer analysis, education is essentially a political matter because it is influenced by politics and it is a legitimate concern of politics (Lawton & Gordon 1993: 28). It is influenced by politics because in all societies

the education budget is decided upon by politicians. Politicians can use education to persuade the youth to support their system of political control. Moreover political parties or groups may try to acquire power by using education as a tool for resistance (Christie 1992: 46; Mashile & Mellet 1996: 224). For instance, in 1986 a member of the then outlawed political movement of the African National congress said:

The real struggle is to replace an undemocratic coercive, inefficient and irrelevant education system with a democratic participatory and relevant alternative education (Christie 1992: 14).

The resistance by political organisations against any measures applied by the government to stop protests impacts negatively on the learning culture. The conflict thus created causes political instability that may be compounded by other societal factors such as socio-economic status of the parents and the socio-cultural factors prevalent in the country (Mashile & Mellet 1996 : 224).

2.7.3 Societal factors

2.7.3.1 Introduction

Reforms confined to schools are bound to be of limited value because the final solution of educational issues lies in society (Dreckmeyr 1991: 64). Societal conditions, such as political, social and economic instability that impact immensely on education and the development of a learning culture should be given serious attention (Mashile & Mellet 1996: 223).

2.7.3.2 Socio-cultural factors

One of the societal factors that poses specific problems in education is cultural diversity. If the curriculum is based on the notion of one culture to the total exclusion of others, education may head for a crisis. Cultural differences must be considered in curriculum development, so that each child can get an opportunity to achieve self-enhancement and self-actualisation. Such a curriculum will prepare the young to fulfil their mandate nationally and internationally (Lawton & Gordon 1993: 11) where he or she will reap the following benefits of learning:

Societies most likely to be successful in the twenty first century will be those whose 'learning capacity' is high and flexible with an ability to anticipate, to understand and adapt to change and allow the active participation of citizens in the learning process (Smit 1996: 65).

2.7.3.3 Socio-economic factors

Another societal factor that impacts negatively on education and the culture of learning is unemployment. Unemployed parents cannot contribute financially towards the development of education, neither can they fulfil their obligatory function of feeding and clothing their children. Poorly fed and poorly-clothed children cannot participate adequately in learning activities (Le Roux 1993: 109). This is evident in the South African scenario. Many blacks have been resettled in areas of abject poverty such as the former homelands, resettlement areas, black townships and white-owned farms.

In the apartheid era, homelands were areas for black people who had been given a form of independence although they were still economically tied to South Africa. Resettlement areas which usually bordered on homelands, were for Black people who had been displaced from their home sites to make space for Whites. Both these areas were frequently situated in dry, unproductive areas that lacked exploitable mineral resources.

The homelands and the resettlement areas served as reserves for South African industry. Since unemployment was very high in the homelands and the resettlement areas, the breadwinners were recruited as migratory workers who lived far away from their families. Workers left their children in the care of either siblings or grandparents. This separation of family units created social maladies such as the breakdown of family discipline, truancy and indulgence in sexual activities by youth (Goduka & Hildebrand 1987: 376- 377). Children were denied the opportunity and right to develop with a family - a unit that plays a crucial role in promoting the culture of learning. Children from such areas dropped out of school earlier either to help support the family or because of teenage pregnancy (Kapp 1991: 125).

In the Black urban townships of South Africa, family units are housed in small four roomed houses, a few of which have running water and or electricity. In one household it is common to find more than one family. Learning in such crowded conditions is totally impracticable if not impossible. Such conditions are injurious to health, nutrition, and socialisation, which play a key role in the realisation of learning. Children from such areas lack motivation and are troublesome in the learning situation (Goduka and Hildebrand 1987: 378; Le Roux 1993: 109).

Even more devastating is the situation in white-owned farms, where there remains an acute shortage of schools. The farmers, for fear that education would lead to capricious behaviour that could threaten their labour supply, built just a few schools in the farming area. As a result, Black children growing in the farming community start schooling very late (sometimes at the age of 15 years) because they have to travel long distances to the nearest school. Since transportation is generally not available, these children usually arrive at school very late and tired. Besides fatigue, they come to school barefooted and hungry. Learning can only be executed by healthy, well-nourished and properly clothed learners. Their schooling is usually cut short by chronic poverty whereupon children drop out of school to work, so as to augment the family income. Their period of learning is interrupted when they are sometimes forced to help their parents with farm labour in order to safeguard or secure accommodation and food. Total dependence for jobs and housing on farmers impacts negatively on the education and retards the development of the culture of learning (Le Roux 1993: 112; Nasson 1984 : 40).

2.7.4 Summary

Le Roux (1993: 23) is of the opinion that inadequate education causes the child's participation in society to be inadequate and destructive. During the apartheid era, Hartshorne (in Goduka & Hildebrand 1987: 382) averted that facilities for Black children were poor, classes were overcrowded and teachers were under-qualified, hence, learners lacked the impetus to learn.

Gordon and Goduka (in Goduka & Hildebrand 1987: 383) state that failure and drop -out is attributable to poor living conditions such as overcrowding, poverty, lack of basic amenities, facilities, poor service provision, insufficient care-giving and low levels of parent-child interaction. A child can benefit educationally by learning in an economically prosperous society, consisting of mutually supportive structures that are genuinely concerned with improving the culture of learning among its people.

2.8 Structures that can influence the culture of learning

2.8.1 Introduction

Education and learning should not be the sole responsibility of the school. Societal structures such as the government, the family (parents), the church, the business sector, teachers, learners and peer groups should play a part in promoting and improving the culture of learning in the country. (Van Schalkwyk 1977: 143). Each of these structures has a specific function to perform in as far as the culture of learning is concerned.

2.8.2 The state

It is obligatory for the government to provide every member of society with education. Every child should receive equal educational opportunities in accordance with his or her possibilities. The state should provide an education that offers sufficient opportunities for all according to aptitude, philosophy of life, culture, disabilities, *et cetera* (Van Schalkwyk 1977:176).

The government can make education provision a reality by financing education and providing sufficient facilities such as buildings, resources such as the textbooks, stationery, teaching aids and laboratory equipment for science and technology teaching. The education provided must be relevant to the growth and development of society so as to enable it to fit into the global community. Such education provides the individual with an opportunity to learn about oneself, the societal networks and how the world

works and one's role in it (Smit 1996: 60 - 64). The state also has an obligatory function of harmonising the various activities in education, maintaining justice and giving rights of active involvement in the learning culture to structures such as the family (Van Schalkwyk 1977: 174).

2.8.3 *The parents (family)*

In modern industrial society the main responsibility for education of the young has been removed from the family (Moller 1994 : 5). Nevertheless, parents still have a supportive role to play in promoting the culture of learning (Munn 1993: 1). Their duty should be to contribute maximally to the creation of an optimum educational environment at home, at school and in the community, so that the child can derive maximum benefit from learning in those environments (Squelch 1994: 80).

Parents can increase their supportive role by encouraging their children to attend school regularly and by making sure that they complete their homework, assignments, projects and study for the examinations (Moller 1994: 4). However, many parents have relinquished their parental role of reinforcing school values and supporting the school especially if there is a problem concerning their child. They have shifted their responsibility of disciplining their children to the professionals because they are too distressed or afraid to interfere in the lives of their children. As a result, young adults tend to reject any form of discipline in schools as well as in the learning situation (Munn 1993: 36; Moller 1994: 4).

Good parental discipline in the home inspires appropriate behaviour, and is a prerequisite for establishing a learning environment free from disruptions in which children can engage in meaningful activities (Squelch 1994: 80). Co-operation of parents in educational affairs can be achieved by involving them in a variety of school affairs such as fund-raising, inviting them to attend school open days to assist with classroom work, *et cetera*. Parents in the business sector can be encouraged to fund some projects based on improving the culture of learning.

2.8.4 *The business sector*

Business and education cannot be regarded as separate entities. The two are intertwined to the extent that one cannot forge ahead without the other (Van Schalkwyk 1977: 186). Transformation in education and learning brings about growth and evolution in business. Learning can therefore be regarded as the dynamic force behind growth and evolution in business (Jaccaci 1989: 49).

Commerce and industry must offer financial assistance for the improvement of education in general and for the on-the-job training in particular (Van Schalkwyk 1977: 187). For learning to be beneficial to both institutions, the industry must advise education on matters such as the courses, curricula, subject syllabuses and practical work.

Education in turn must provide educational policies that can take cognisance of the educational norms that embrace occupational labour laws of the occupational world. The learning matter provided must prepare the learners to be responsible and trustworthy employees who will meet the demands of their occupation. Thus, learning must involve vocationally oriented training (Van Schalkwyk 1977: 187).

2.8.5 *The peer group*

The peer group in the school consists of children of the same age group. They usually reside in the same locality and engage in the same activities such as playing and relaxing together in the school grounds and elsewhere (Hamachek 1985: 155). A child joins the peer group because he or she wants to obtain recognition and security. Many researchers propound that when the family background is inadequate, it creates a vacuum that will be filled by the peer group (Vrey 1979: 105).

Peers are said to be company and a sounding board for a learner's opinions about teachers, parents, discipline, and sex that cannot be aired in front of adults. Learners

who are easily influenced by peers are middle and high school students. Furthermore, early adolescents are more subject to peer pressure than younger or older age groups (Wakefield 1996: 239).

Peer group pressure is heavier on learners who are not contributing sufficiently to the ideals of the group, with the result that bullying occurs. Children who are bullied at school have a low self-esteem and as a result lack the trust which is crucial in learning. Such pupils lack confidence in peer interaction because of their poor self-assertive skills and will always show anxiety in the learning environment (Smith & Sharp 1994 : 5). Adolescents who lack self-confidence can easily engage in anti-social activities such as delinquency, drinking and drug-abuse. A child needs inner strength and family support to withstand such pressures even at the risk of ridicule, lack of popularity and threats (Whitmore 1986: 241).

Positive peer pressure can have a positive influence if it is in the form of support and encouragement. Peer pressure in the learning situation can be applied by the teacher by encouraging the learners to study in groups (Woolfolk 1987: 216). Most learners enjoy activities that allow them to interact with peers. Peer interactions are likely to be more effective if they are centred on the learning experience. Peer interactions such as debate, role-play and discussions are rated in some research findings as the best in encouraging active listening and analysis. Pupils who learn together perform better than those who work alone (McCown, Drissol & Roop 1992: 408). Therefore, it is incumbent upon the teacher to promote and encourage communal learning among the learners.

2.8.6 *The teacher*

The teacher is regarded first and foremost as the manager of educative teaching. He or she must therefore have the knowledge of the subject content and must encourage purposeful activity of the learner, which is an aid in learning (Child 1993: 390 - 391). Therefore, according to some research, the teacher has to be an instructional expert, motivated councillor and a model of good conduct. His or her role in the teaching and learning situation is to unlock reality to the child (Van der Stoep & Louw 1984: 48).

Though teachers can do very little to influence the maturational patterns of learners, they must endeavour to develop a positive attitude towards schoolwork in general and the culture of learning in particular. The personal positive influence of the teacher on the learner is said to be more valuable than the acquisition of scientific knowledge. The teacher must have an understanding, liking for and trust in the child and should see every child as a unique person that cannot be treated according to some predetermined formula. Therefore he or she must help the child to develop his or her potentialities to the full by guiding him or her in the learning processes. He can do so by organising the learning opportunities for the individual child and by helping the child to set and attain realistic goals (Dreckmeyr 1993: 41). Failure to reach any of the goals makes the learner erratic and lethargic. Meeting realistic goals gives the learner a sense of power and a will to learn more (Levine 1988: 68).

The goal of learning is retention and retrieval of information accumulated in the learning process. Retention of the learned material depends on its meaningfulness. The teacher must therefore ensure that he or she presents the learning matter in a meaningful and logical sequence, because disjointed and fragmented learning matter is easily forgotten. Logical presentation should be preceded by a healthy classroom situation where the teacher has total control of the learners and the environment (Curzon 1985: 133).

2.8.7 The church

The church is the structure which has a fundamental obligatory function of directing the spiritual aspects of its members. However, it can have influence in the learning situation through its members who serve education as parents, teachers, educational planners, administrators *et cetera* (Van Schalkwyk 1977: 153). The church in co-operation with the parents must undertake the function of developing the child's faith that is important in the whole normative becoming of the child. Faith steers the unfolding of the child's emotional, conative and cognitive life in a certain course and develops his or her social, aesthetic and moral senses. Therefore the religious norms of the church should be

supportive of the educational norms that are essential in the learning environment (Van Schalkwyk 1977: 183).

2.9 Concluding remarks

From the foregoing information collected through the literature study conceptual and contextual clues of what learning is and how it occurs, come from different theories and perspectives. From the accumulated information, learning is regarded as a change of behaviour that occurs as a result of the transmission of knowledge, skills, attitudes and cultural aspects generated in the learning situation. Learning is manifested in action tendencies, insight development, problem solving and decision-making.

The definition of learning encompasses both the cognitive and the behaviourist views on learning. Behaviourism encompasses the stimulus-response theories that involve conditioning, and the mnemopsychological theories based on strategies on learning. The cognitive theories such as the *gestalt* theory, and the Piaget theory emphasise cognitive development. *Gestaltists* apply a holistic approach to learning. Piaget categorises learning into stages and Erickson explains how the fundamental pedagogical structure of trust versus mistrust affects the child's socialisation that results from bonding with the mother. These theories on learning evolved as a result of the inconsistencies and the inadequate speculative assumptions of the pre-twentieth century theories of learning that emphasised mental discipline, self-unfolding and apperception.

In a learning situation, a multi-theoretical approach can be applied. This implies that the teacher, in presenting his or her matter must apply as many theories as he or she deems fit in order to accommodate the learning styles of different learners, which can involve motor skills, auditory senses or visual mechanisms of learning. Learning can also be situation bound, which implies that it can depend on meaningfulness of the learning material, information processing, involvement of the pupils, purposefulness and the degree of awareness of the learners.

Learning takes place in all life settings such as the formal, non-formal and the informal. It also occurs through all the life stages and is therefore regarded as a lifelong process. It occurs when the cultural aspects are transmitted from one generation to the next, thereby forming the social heritage, which is the accumulation of many years of learning.

Learning that is manifested by behavioural change is a person-centred phenomenon. Behavioural change in animals is instinctive because animals lack communication skills, intentionality, openness *et cetera*, characteristics crucial for behavioural change which are unique in humans.

Learning can be facilitated or retarded by conditions either inside or outside the learner. Conditions that are external to the learner encompass the socio-economic and political factors such as unemployment and political instability. These and other conditions can play a prominent role in the development of a culture of learning. Other external conditions range from the relationship between the learner and the facilitator, safety and order, motivation, size and conditions of the classroom and the motivational aspects such as equipment or teaching aids. The provision of these aids is not the sole responsibility of the school, but can be sponsored by the parents, the business sector or the church, which comprise the structures with an interest in learning. Peer group pressure is one of the components that assist in the development of the culture of learning.

The government as the statutory body responsible for the provision of education manages and controls learning in schools through various educational authorities who follow the guiding principles outlined in regulations, rules, ordinances and policies. All these and many laws prescribed in education are created for the purpose of making schools functional and to develop and sustain the culture of learning. As a result any government should endeavour to provide the type of education that will encourage the youth of its country to make a contribution in the society through learning. This could be expected in any country like South Africa to promote the culture of learning and teaching services that would be beneficial to the society at large.

CHAPTER 3

The development of a culture of learning among the Blacks of South Africa (1652-1975)

3.1 *Introduction*

The chapter deals with the development of a culture of learning among Black South Africans. Formal education for Black people was first introduced in 1658 in South Africa by a commercial group called the Dutch East India Company (DEIC). Their intention of developing the culture of learning did not match the consequences of what they implemented practically. This chapter therefore gives an elucidation of the trials, tribulations and triumphs that went hand in hand with that development of a culture of learning among Black South Africans from 1652 to 1976.

3.2 *Foundations of learning among the indigenous people*

Prior to the arrival of the Europeans in the Cape Colony in 1652, learning had long been in existence among the indigenous people of South Africa. The indigenous people and the European settlers met were the San and the Khoi around the Cape, the Xhosas in the Eastern Cape, the Zulus further north and the Sothos in the interior of the country (Christie 1991 : 30). These people were collectively called Natives, Bantu, Non-whites, Non-Europeans or Africans during the different eras in South African history. Notwithstanding the informal and simplistic nature of their education, learning did not stop like as it does when a learner leaves school, but continued as a life long process (Christie 1991 : 30).

Children of these indigenous people learnt the patterns and rhythms of their culture in a family context (Neville 1984: 151). They learnt about work and cultural traits from older members of their clans as well as through experience and by doing tasks such as food gathering and preparation (Behr 1984: 23). Good conduct and healthy personality traits

were inculcated and initiated through stories, songs, folklores and poems about the heroes and heroines of their respective tribes. The rituals, ceremonies and initiations were important vehicles of learning (Neville 1984: 151; Christie 1991: 30).

3.3 *Learning in formal schools*

3.3.1 *Introduction*

Prior to the arrival of the white settlers in South Africa, schooling among the indigenous people of South Africa was predominantly informal (cf par 3.2) because formal schooling was initially impracticable among the indigenous people. Formal schooling as part of Western civilisation is neither haphazard nor fortuitous, but involves structured education offered in buildings specifically meant for learning. Formal schooling is geared at reaching certain goals within a specific period through predetermined rules, regulations, policies *et cetera*. For that reason, formal schooling among the San and the Khoi (respectively called the Bushmen and the Hottentotts by the Europeans), was out of question because they were always on the move. The San and the Khoi based their economy on hunting and food gathering. Other ethnic groups such as the Zulus, the Xhosas and the Sothos were nomadic tribes that moved with their animals from place to place looking for greener pastures. Notwithstanding their nomadic life style, they managed to practise pastoral as well as crop farming, although it was primitive and underdeveloped (Christie 1991: 30). At this time, formal education was, however, introduced to slaves.

3.3.2 *Formal schooling among the slaves*

The DEIC opened the first trading station at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652. That was to serve as a half-way station between the motherland (Holland) and the commercial empire of the East Indies. Although the DEIC was primarily interested in financial gain, it also pledged to spread the doctrine of the Reformed Church among the heathen at the Cape (McKerron 1934: 155). Therefore, their preparation of an individual for church

membership could only be done by introducing formal schooling (Le Roux 1993: 97). Hence, after the Dutch had colonised the Cape of Good Hope, formal schooling made its appearance in South Africa (Kallaway 1984: 45). The officials of the company established the foundations of schooling on the 17th April 1658 for the slaves they imported from West Africa, Madagascar and Java to work for the colonists at the trading station (Coetzee 1958: 5).

Their curriculum consisted of language and religious instruction. The slaves were forced to learn the new language of the colonists so as to understand their masters' orders. The slaves had to imbibe the Dutch language of the colonists in a regimented environment through rote learning because other forms of learning required communication skills in Dutch which the slaves lacked (Kallaway 1984: 46; Coetzee 1958: 5).

Schooling was conducted by a sick-comforter or visitor of the sick called the *sieckentrooster*, a person who lacked the rudiments of educative teaching. Van der Stael, the first sick-comforter, had the gigantic task of keeping the slaves at school (Malherbe 1958:28). He had been instructed to give them a tot of rum and a few inches of tobacco each, to encourage conscientiousness and diligence in them (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 357). Since the slaves had not been used to formal learning, they boycotted schooling by persistently hiding in the caves near Hout Bay until the school was closed down. That was the first breakdown of formal learning that emanated from a resistance to being prepared for servility (Christie 1991: 224 ; Kallaway 1984: 46).

3.3.3 Culture of learning based on class distinction

When the educational efforts of the colonists of buying the co-operation of the slaves ended in a farce, they established a second school. The school was opened in 1663 for all the children of the Cape Colony irrespective of their colour or creed (Coetzee 1958: 21). It opened with twelve Whites, four young slaves and one Khoi child (Kallaway 1984: 46). During the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Europeans started to

object to having their children instructed along with the Non-European children (McKerron 1934 : 156).

The Dutch speaking colonists supported by the predominantly Calvinistic church council, vehemently opposed desegregated learning (Coetzee 1958: 21). The church council as the immediate educational authority, consisting of the political commissioner, the clergy and the deacons gave the concession for segregated learning. They recommended in 1676 that it was desirable to have a different school for the slaves. The recommendation basically did not express separation based on colour because lower class whites, slaves and other non-slave children of coloured origin were admitted at that school. The desirability was having a separate school for the slaves (Kallaway 1984: 46).

Compelled by the strong church influence, Van Rhee, the commissioner at that time, established a school for the slave children in the slave quarters at Cape Town. The slave children learnt separately from the children of their masters as well as from the children of the non-slaves. Therefore, the culture of learning thus developed capitalised on class distinction and supremacy (Wilson & Thompson 1982: 222; Kallaway 1984: 47).

3.3.4 *Learning in the slave quarters*

In the slave quarters (the old Supreme Court) in Cape Town, learning started with enthusiasm (Kallaway 1984: 46). The freed enlightened members of the slave community who were accepted as full members of the church gave instruction. Margaret, a freed slave, gave instruction in religious and language education and domestic duties to female slaves. Jan Pasqual, a coloured, taught the children under twelve years of age and he also offered lessons in trade to young men and boys. Many pupils made progress because the school created a healthy culture of learning (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 358).

To show appreciation and interest the scholar, the board of education at that time, renovated the buildings where schooling took place. However, between 1779 and 1794 the roll dwindled from 84 to 47 because the conditions in the slave quarters had started to deteriorate and became deleterious to the development of a culture of learning. The place was marked by licentiousness, indolence and immorality (Coetzee 1958: 407). A worst-case scenario was when the slave owners defied the state injunction that ordered them to allow older slaves over the age of twelve to receive instruction twice per week. The colonists were apprehensive and anxious that schooling would have a bad influence upon their slaves and encouraged them to rebel against their masters. That state of affairs resulted in the demise of the educational efforts of the DEIC and the conscious effort to christianise the indigenous people (Coetzee 1975: 406-407).

3.3.5 *Learning among the non-slave children in the Cape*

3.3.5.1 *Introduction*

During the first 150 years of European rule at the Cape, little provision was made by the government with regard to the education of non-slave children. Those children consisted of the Khoi and other black races who were by then called Non-Whites or Natives (Du Toit 1944: 144). The schools established by the state were either for slaves or European children. However, a small number of non-slave children attended those schools. For instance, the eight public schools established between 1737 and 1799, out of a total roll of 696 pupils there were 82 non-slave children. The first determined effort to introduce schooling among the non-slaves occurred during the latter part of the eighteenth century by the missionaries (Wilson & Thompson 1982: 261; Coetzee 1975: 432).

3.3.5.2 *Missionary endeavours among the non-slaves*

Prior to 1800, no effort was made to develop a culture of learning among the non-slaves (Mahlangu 1991: 26). It was only towards the end of the eighteenth century that educational work among the non-slaves was attended to by the missionaries. Many

mission organisations such as the Moravian Brothers, the London Missionary Society and several others endeavoured to develop a culture of learning among the non-slaves. The first educational effort was undertaken by the Moravian Missionary Society among the Khoi.

a) *The Moravians endeavours among the Khoi*

The eighteenth century reflected the beginning of missionary work among the Khoi (Kallaway 1984a: 48). Education for the Khoi was first introduced in 1737 at Baviaanskloof by George Schmidt of the Moravian Missionary Society. George Schmidt gave instruction on language and religious education as well as in the rudiments of agriculture (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 361).

Unfortunately, Schmidt, had to relinquish his good work in 1744 because the Dutch Reformed Church claimed that it could do his work much better. Nonetheless, they made no headway and almost fifty years later, this work was resumed in 1792 by three Moravian missionary tradesmen. They improved the culture of learning by inculcating habits of cleanliness, self-discipline, good behaviour and religious practice among the Khoi. The spouses of those missionaries taught the Khoi girls how to sew, knit and do other household chores (Leonie 1965: 54; Behr & Macmillan 1971: 359-362).

The educational work done at Baviaanskloof was of such a high quality that it attracted the attention and interest of the Cape officials. The Khoi received instruction on agriculture and were inspired with a community attitude and acceptance of the dignity of labour (Leonie 1965: 54). In 1803, Bouchenroeder, the Commissioner-General at the Cape was given a task to go and inspect the settlement. Bouchenroeder was highly impressed by the social and economic life of the Khoi as well as the progress made in schooling as regards reading writing and religious education (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 362). His impressive report encouraged De Mist and Janssen to make a visitation in 1806 after which they rewarded the missionaries with a gift of 250 Rijkdalers (monetary units of Netherlands at that time). They also changed the name Baviaanskloof to Genadendal in acknowledgement of the dedication shown by the missionaries. Even

after the British occupation of the Cape in 1814, the colonists spoke highly of Genadendal (Leonie 1965: 55).

(b) *The Khoi and the London Missionary society*

Almost sixty years after the establishment of the Moravian Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society was established. The missionaries that arrived at Bethelsdorp in the Cape in 1799 were Messrs van der Kemp, Kitchener, Edwards and Elmond (Leonie 1965: 56). Dr Van der Kemp and his compatriots failed to make much progress in developing a culture of learning among the Khoi at Bethelsdorp (Horrel 1968:2; Wollheim 1943:37). When Janssen, the commissioner general of the Cape, visited the school which Van der Kemp and his compatriots had established, he was appalled by the wretched conditions he found.

The Khoi were ill disciplined and their education left much to be desired. Van der Kemp was said to have allowed licentiousness and had never encouraged the Khoi to attend school regularly (Du Toit 1944: 150; Behr & Macmillan 1971: 365). Van der Kemp and his colleagues were only concerned with conversion of the heathen and neglected a culture of learning (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 364). On May 31 1803, Governor Janssens made a new site available to the London Missionary society since the situation in the former settlement was deplorable and could not be left to proceed. At the new site they were given fourteen points under which they could operate. One of these was to exercise control over and develop the culture of learning among the Khoi (Leonie 1965: 57).

When Dr. Philip arrived in 1818 to join Dr Van Der Kemp and the others, the culture of learning among the Khoi started to gain shape. He gave the Khoi training in different industries and improved discipline at the school (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 365; Du Toit 1944: 151). When Backhouse made a visit in 1839 he found a neat and tidy school where pupils could read and write Dutch, do Arithmetic and read the Bible.

Though the London Missionary Society lacked the positive educational programme of developing and strengthening the society, they nevertheless imparted the knowledge of house-holding, reading and writing (Leonie 1965: 57).

(c) *Further missionary endeavours and a culture of learning*

Many mission organisations also contributed to developing a culture of learning among the Blacks in the Cape Colony. Among them was the South African Mission Society established in 1799. They made strides in developing a culture of learning by providing elementary education. They were successful in establishing learning centres at Stellenbosch, Wellington and Graaf-Reinet.

Another missionary society that opened and established schools was the Rhenish church. They established schools for the emancipated slaves after their government schools had been closed down in 1832. With funds from the government, they improved the schools until the roll increased to 408 in 1842 (Leonie 1965: 59).

The Wesley Missionary Society also became involved in educating the Blacks. They established a school in 1823 at Lillfontein in Namaqualand. As the effort to introduce formal schooling among the Black children continued, many schools of repute were established. One of them was the famous Lovedale institution established in 1841. Its fame stems from supplying Africa with some of its ablest Black teachers, clergy and politicians (Coetzee 1958: 53; Wilson & Thompson 1982: 261). Mission schools therefore formed the basis on which Black education in South Africa established itself (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 378).

3.4. The position of the government of the Cape in the development of the culture of learning among the Blacks at the Cape

3.4.1 Introduction

Towards the beginning of the nineteenth century, the government took an initiative to establish schools for Blacks. Cradock, the governor of the Cape from 1811-1813, opened schools in the Cape Colony for all races. However, the number of Non-White pupils who attended those schools was very low (Coetzee 1958: 432; Leonie 1965: 66). When Lord Charles Somerset took over from Sir John Cradock in 1814, there was hope that learning would be encouraged. Somerset showed interest in the education of the Blacks by making a proclamation in 1823 that instructed the colonists to provide the Non-Whites with education. He made provision for educational facilities and appointed additional teachers to Black schools. He also erected a school at the government's expense for the slave children (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 375). Despite all those efforts, progress in black education and learning in particular fell short of his aspirations and anticipation. This was because of the government's failure to exercise control in educational matters of the Blacks. Control was wholly vested in the missionaries who personally did not have laws and regulations by which Black education could be directed (Leonie 1965: 375).

3.4.2 Black education under the first Superintendent-General of Education

It was only after the appointment of the first Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape, James Rose-Innes in 1835 that the new aims and objectives concerning Black education were introduced (Leonie 1965:67). In 1841, mission schools came under the control of the Department of Education, and state aid was made available to all those schools (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 378).

“The year 1854 marked an important era in the development of state interest in and support for the schooling of Black people” (Kallaway 1984: 50). During that year, when Sir George Grey took over from Lord Charles Somerset, he tried to use native education as a means to subjugate the warring Black tribes (Christie 1991: 36). His intentions were removed from what education actually aims at: to give an individual a morally independent choice for meaningful existence (Van Rensburg et al 1988: ix). In his parliamentary speech in 1855 he proclaimed that:

The native races beyond our boundaries, influenced by our missionaries, instructed in our schools, benefiting by our trade would not make wars on our frontiers (Loram 1917: 48).

Grey adopted a policy of civilising the natives by distributing spades and plough-shears (Leonie 1965 : 69). He therefore advised the government to allocate grants to schools of handicrafts and agriculture (Pells 1938a: 131). Since education was introduced because of political insecurity and to enhance the social progress of the colonist, it never benefited the Blacks that much. Black schools were never supervised nor guided, and as a result the culture of learning deteriorated (Christie 1991: 36). Education was accessible only to an elite group. Most of the Blacks in the lower ranks received little or no education at all. The government was also sceptical about giving the Black people higher education. The government saw the Blacks mainly as unskilled workers that should be prepared for menial jobs only.

3.4.3 Control and administration of Black education in the Cape

Because the government was little concerned with Black education, education for Blacks was the sole responsibility of the overseas missionaries up to 1841 (Muller 1969: 209). With the advent of responsible government, Black education came under the control of Rose-Innes, the first Superintendent-General of Education (Wollheim 1943: 37). Thereafter the government started providing financial assistance under condition that: all schools receiving grants and subsidies were inspected by the Superintendent-General of Education

By means of the grants the government gained control in Black schools. Rose-Innes made all efforts to revive a culture of learning, but his efforts came to nothing because supervision was not coupled with expert advice (Coetzee 1975: 434). After inspecting the Black schools, his successor, Langham Dale gave the following report : there were only 25 000 children attending schools in the eastern frontier, which was a very small fraction of schoolgoing children. Black youth were only trained to be useful handymen and Black chiefs were not in favour of education for fear that it would efface and weaken all tribal bonds (Kallaway 1984: 50).

Subsequently, a culture of learning was not encouraged in the Black community. Dale therefore proposed that grants be made to schools to encourage teaching needlework to girls; carpentry, shoemaking and printing to boys. He also suggested that blacksmithing, gardening and domestic work should be provided for in the curriculum.

In his inspection tour in 1868, he realised that many Blacks were discouraged from attending school because of the lack of employment in spite of acquiring the skills for which they were trained. Langham Dale therefore reported in 1868 that:

For the educated African there is no opening. He may be qualified to fill the post of a clerk, but either there is no demand for such persons or prejudice operates against him (Rose & Tunmer 1975: 208).

When Thomas Muir succeeded Dale in 1892, he was no better than his predecessors. He did not bring about any improvement in the culture of learning among the Blacks, but instead he separated children in schools according to the colour. White children were debarred from attending mission schools with their Non-White compatriots, thereby setting precedence for future policies on school segregation (Coetzee 1975: 435; Leonie 1965: 71).

3.4.4 State funding of Black education in the Cape from 1841-1857

Mission schools initially received no state funding. State funding that was later made

available to mission schools was for the purpose of exercising control (Coetzee 1958: 435). Hence the financial assistance given in 1841 was initiated under the following conditions:

- ◆ English was to be the medium of instruction;
- ◆ All mission schools receiving state funds should provide education for all the races, and those schools were to be inspected by the Superintendent -General of Education;
- ◆ Allocated funds were solely for industrial training and teachers' salaries only (Loram 1917: 49; Muller 1969: 209; Behr & Macmillan 1971: 378).

The missionaries who took up the offer, improved native education at numerous schools when the subsidies were paid in (Loram 1917: 49). When Sir George Grey, the governor at the Cape in 1854, gave additional grants (cf 3.3.6.2), they were used to develop industrial training. They were also used for training of Black youths to become interpreters, evangelists and school masters, telegraph messengers, policemen and railway porters (Coetzee 1975: 432; Kallaway 1984: 55).

However, the support did not last long because the imperial government withdrew its funding in 1857. Thereafter, the conditions in the schools deteriorated (Horrel 1968: 71; Coetzee 1975: 97). When the subsidy was resumed in 1864, it was once more channelled to teachers' salaries with nothing left for educational facilities. The system of funding persisted for some years, until Dale, the Superintendent-General of Education (SGE) requested the government in 1868 to make grants towards school instruction and industrial training (Kallaway 1984: 51). The grants thus made in 1877 were for the industrial training of girls apprenticed to household work (Loram 1917: 50).

The gradual rise in spending, resulted in a steady increase in pupil enrolment that clearly indicated that a culture of learning was starting to emerge (Kallaway 1984: 59). Though there were some hitches in its development, it nevertheless moved at a pace different from that of Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State (OFS).

3.5 *The development of learning in Natal*

3.5.1 *Introduction*

In 1836, a large number of Dutch speaking colonists left the Cape as part of the Great Trek. Among other things compulsory use of English and the total exclusion of Dutch dissatisfied them (cf 3.3.6.4). The Dutch speaking colonists took along their servants and cattle and moved into the interior of the country where they established states such as Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

3.5.2 *Education in Natal under the British rule*

3.5.2.1 *Introduction*

The development of a culture of learning was much slower in Natal than in the Cape Province. Until 1848, there was no record to indicate when and by whom a culture of learning was established among the Blacks because Natal was still part of the Cape. The Trekkers that moved into Natal, encountered the Zulus who were building themselves into a powerful nation by waging war against the other tribes. They waged war against the Trekkers as well. The frequent raids by the Zulus and the constant inter-tribal wars prevented the establishment of formal schooling among the black tribes of Natal. After Britain annexed Natal as a British colony in 1843, learning then resumed (Kruger 1986: 123; Christie 1991: 31). A financial scheme was reserved in 1857 for the development of Black education.

3.5.2.2 *Establishment of a learning culture*

History indicates that the first person to establish a native school in Natal was a freelance missionary, Captain Gardiner in 1835 (Coetzee 1958: 437, Behr & McMillan 1971: 381). Other missionaries such as Dr Adams and Mary Edwards succeeded him. The latter played a prominent role by establishing a seminary for girls at Inanda, North

West of Durban in 1869. The objective of the school was to train the girls to be Christian spouses and mothers. They also received training in music, singing and sports (Horrel 1968:16).

The missionaries showed considerable interest in the education of the natives. By 1850 the American missionaries, established twelve schools and published books in Zulu with a view to preserve the Zulu literacy and culture (Leonie 1965: 73 ; McKerron 1934: 165). The missionaries also established industrial schools in every village. Though there might have been success in certain villages, there was failure in others. An attempt to establish an industrial school at Zwartkop near Pietermaritzburg between 1887 and 1892 failed. There were numerous reasons for the failure. Local support was absent, and the government disregarded the voluntary efforts of the missionaries and discontinued financing the school because of high running costs (Kallaway 1984: 29).

Another contributory factor to the failure to establish the schools was the government's uneasiness about industrial education. Initially it was agreed that the Blacks would benefit by some form of industrial education, but the fear of economic competition between the Europeans and the Blacks limited the provision of that type of education (McKerron 1934: 169). The government then decided to provide simple and rudimentary education. That was clearly stated in Superintendent-General Dale's report when he said that:

No Native school now receives Government aid if the product of the industrial work done in it are allowed to be sold or disposed off in such a manner as to compete with the general trade, or if the school is in any way responsible for or associated with the printing or publishing of any Native newspaper (McKerron 1934: 167).

This type of education was provided with a view to securing a reliable source of labour for colonial farmers, especially in the new sugar estates along the coastal plain (Kallaway 1984: 19).

3.5.2.3 Financing of Black education in Natal

After Natal had become a separate colony in 1848, a financial scheme was set aside for the development of Black education. In 1857 the Natal government made official a grant-in-aid for native education for the first time to assist with the establishment of missionary schools (Horrel 1968:19). From 1857 the Royal Charter of Natal allocated 5 000 pounds per annum for native development but very little was reserved for educational purposes (Wolheim 1943:37). With such meagre grants, the government was deliberately entrenching and advancing simple rudimentary education that left the Black population underqualified and unskilled. A substantiation by Dale in his report of 1895 stated that:

The object of the government in making grants to native mission schools is to assist the advancement of simple rudimentary education among the native population and to accustom them to such regular habits of industry as may be best calculated to promote contentment and happiness for the future (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 382).

However, in 1884, Natal realised that the problems in native education could not be solved by an inadequate system of grants (McKerron 1934: 166). When the schools increased, the government increased grants-in-aid with the result that by 1885 there was already 70 school for natives. Nevertheless, the government exercised no control in those schools. With the passing of time, the government developed an interest in Black education, and control was exercised by several persons and committees (Loram 1917 : 54).

3.5.2.4 Control of Black education in Natal

Before the appointment of the Council of Education, Black education was under the control and supervision of the missionaries who decided on the curriculum for their schools (Coetzee 1958: 438). Black education was put under the control of the Select

Committee who recommended a system of education for the Blacks, where the subjects of instruction were religious education, industrial training and instruction in the English Language (Loram 1917: 55).

The Select Committee was later replaced in 1877 by a new body, called the Council of Education who took up responsibility for the control, organisation and the direction of native education. They laid down a curriculum that consisted of reading, the writing of English and Zulu, arithmetic and elements of industrial training and needlework for boys and girls respectively (Behr & Macmillan 1971 : 382). The council used their powers to improve a culture of learning. They allocated funds to Black education and appointed a special inspector of native schools. He was to visit the schools to give guidance and support (Loram 1917 : 55). The inspector gave a report on seventy native schools that received government financial aid. The schools were classified into the following categories:

- ◆ Industrial schools with regular industrial training which received the highest grant;
- ◆ Schools where pupils performed manual labour;
- ◆ Schools that offered no lessons in industrial training nor in manual labour (McKerron 1934: 167).

With the advent of responsible government in 1893, the Council of Education was abolished. Native education was placed under the control of Superintendent-General of Education (SGE) who was directed by the Minister of Education (Wollheim 1943: 37; Loram 1917: 55-61). The sub-department for Native Education that replaced the Council of Education, was given funds by the Natal parliament to develop a culture of learning among the Blacks (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 382).

The increase and continued expenditure on Black education improved the culture of learning. Therefore, Black schools increased from 145 to 10 618 between 1885 and 1900 (Kallaway 1984a: 58). That system of financial support continued until the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910 (Wollheim 1943: 37). When the Union took over control of the education of Blacks it assisted 175 native schools with an enrolment of 13 452

pupils (Coetzee 1958: 539). The culture of learning that developed in Natal up to 1910 and beyond was far superior to any developed in the Transvaal or the OFS (Leonie 1965: 75).

3.6 *The culture of learning in the Transvaal*

3.6.1 *Schools for Blacks in the Transvaal*

When the Transvaal was still a Boer Republic then known as the *Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek (ZAR)* established in 1838, little attention was given to the education of the Blacks. Nevertheless, the Transvaal government gave the missionaries permission to establish mission stations where they could introduce formal schooling among the various tribes.

The first missionary society to work among the Blacks in the Transvaal was the Hermansburg Evangelical Church in 1857. Paul Kruger showed exclusive interest in mission work by allowing the Hermansburg Mission to establish a school at Phokeng. Concurrently the Dutch Reformed Church of Cape Town sent missionaries to the Northern Transvaal to propagate the gospel, to teach the Blacks to read and write and to teach them some handicrafts (Bot 1951: 155). The Berlin mission society also started working in the Transvaal. They worked in the 1860's among the Pedi's in the North and the Venda's in the Eastern Transvaal (Coetzee 1958: 439-442; Behr & Macmillan 1971: 384).

The main accomplishment in Native education was the organisation of Northern Sotho and Western Sotho known respectively as Pedi and Tswana into written languages. Missionaries such as Professors Meinhof and Endemann made a study of Native folklore, history, ethnology, laws and customs (Bot 1951 : 155).

3.6.2 *Financial support for education*

The *Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek* did not provide financial assistance for education. The trekkers were still struggling to settle in a strange land. They also had scant educational facilities for their children. Instead it was the responsibility of the missionaries to provide financial support to those schools. It was only after the Anglo Boer War in 1899 that the government started making grants-in-aid to mission schools. The first grant was made to 121 schools with an enrolment of 6 826 learners (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 385; Coetzee 1958: 439-442). The grants to those schools were based on:

- ◆ average attendance, discipline and organisation, efficiency of instruction, local contribution in fees and the availability of buildings and sanitary facilities;
- ◆ conditions that instruction was in the speaking, reading and writing of English;
- ◆ the provision of manual instruction to boys and girls (Rose & Tunmer 1975: 218).

Though the grants were very small, they stimulated the growth of schools even in the mining industries around Johannesburg (Leonie 1965 : 76).

3.6.3 *Education in the mining area of the Transvaal*

After the establishment of the mining industries, Darragh, an Anglican missionary, took it upon himself to introduce education in the mining areas around Johannesburg. He established day schools for the children of the mine workers and night schools for the adults working in the mines (Bot 1951:150; Coetzee 1958: 441). In 1891, Darragh established a school specifically for poor White children which was specified by rules and regulations of the ZAR. Since Darragh allowed Blacks to attend, he lost all subsidies from the Education Department of ZAR (Leonie 1965: 77). Darragh later established seven private schools for Non-Whites. The schools did not get grants from

the ZAR. When Clarke, the inspector of schools visited the schools, he found them in a deplorable condition that he described thus:

Seats and desks constitute the greatest want, squatting- room being all that was formerly thought necessary in many schools, and children were huddled together on a floor in a position which made school order impossible (Rose & Tunmer 1975: 220).

Despite the financial setback and deplorable conditions in those schools, by 1900 the schools had increased to 201 with an enrolment of 12 660 pupils. The schools were manned by 289 teachers among whom were 41 Whites (Bot 1951: 158). That was due to the enthusiasm of the Blacks and the zest of the missionaries who collaboratively engaged in developing a culture of learning. The increase in the number of schools and pupils made it incumbent upon the Transvaal Republic to take over the control of Native education.

3.6.4 Control of Black education in the Transvaal

The peace treaty of Vereeniging in 1902, signalled the end of the Anglo-Boer war of 1899 that had caused disruptions in education. The treaty also ushered in a new era during which the government paid attention to Black education. The British government started to accept Black education in the Transvaal as the colonial responsibility and ordered the Education Department to make a survey of Black schools in the Transvaal. An ordinance was promulgated in 1903 to improve the quality of learning in Black schools (Loram 1917: 62).

The 1903 ordinance appointed Clarke as Superintendent of Native Education in 1904. He had administer grants and find information on missionary schools. From his inspection, Clarke indicated that squalid conditions in which town schools were established were not conducive to learning. Buildings were ill-adapted for educational purposes and the education provided was rudimentary. Few teachers could give

instruction up to standard three and the syllabus was the abbreviation of the syllabus in used in White schools.

To improve the situation, a fund raising scheme was instituted by various religious bodies and supported by the government. Funding was on condition that:

- ◆ instruction should be given in English and simple arithmetic;
- ◆ manual instruction should be combined with ordinary instruction;
- ◆ training of teachers should be according to the syllabus of the Education Department (Bot 1951: 158; Loram 1917:62).

Many mission schools could not meet those stipulated conditions and they thus forfeited the subsidy and continued to operate as unaided institutions. At the end of 1904 the government granted aid to 121 schools. The schools had an enrolment of 6 826 pupils with an average attendance of 5 720 (Bot 1951: 159). By 1906 there were 177 unaided and 197 aided schools. Pupil enrolment in the two categories were 8 492 and 11 750 respectively (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 62).

Owing to that inadequate and discriminatory financial assistance, education among the Transvaal Blacks progressed slowly and somewhat inefficiently. It nevertheless started to gain momentum and experienced fewer problems than did Native education in the Orange Free State (OFS) (Leonie 1965: 78).

3.7 *The development of education for Blacks in the OFS*

Native education in the OFS got off to a very slow start. As was the case in the other provinces, it was part of missionary endeavour. A mission station was established at Philippolis in 1823 by Dr John Philip of the London Missionary Society to serve the roving Bushmen and the Korannas. The attempt to introduce and develop learning among those tribes failed because they could not be induced to live a settled life (Behr &

Macmillan 1971: 388). However, in 1878 the Dutch Reformed Church succeeded in establishing a school among the Sotho tribes at Witsieshoek.

The OFS Republic, which came into existence in 1854, could not give attention to Black education. The Republic was beset with problems of settling disputes between tribes, and, it was short of money. Nevertheless, the Volksraad, recognising the educational effort of the missionaries, gave small amounts of money to missionary schools. A grant was made to a school at Witsieshoek in 1878 and another in 1890 for the industrial school for girls at Moroka. Some more grants were made until the outbreak of the Anglo Boer War in 1899, which virtually brought learning to a complete halt (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 65; Leonie 1965: 79).

However, the development of a culture of learning was resumed after the signing of the peace treaty of Vereeniging in 1902. Sargent, who became the Director of Education in 1900, made attempts to make grants available for Black education. He made money available for the improvement of Native education through Ordinance No 27 of 1903. The Dutch Reformed Church made use of the financial assistance and established Stofberg Gedenkskool for Native teachers, evangelists and ministers in 1908 (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 388).

3.8 *Summary*

The four colonies, the Cape, Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State, differed in their approaches to the development of a culture of learning among Blacks. Although learning was initiated by missionaries in all the provinces, the governments gave varied support. Natal was the most progressive and adapted the syllabus used by White schools to suit Native needs. This province received the most financial support than any other province, and as a result established more schools and took some over from the religious bodies.

The OFS and the Transvaal republics had no time to develop a culture of learning among Blacks because they were stabilising their governments. They left this duty to the missionaries. However, they made grants to Native education towards the end of the nineteenth century. They continued to do so until the responsibility was taken over by the Union government in 1910 when the four provinces merged to form a union (Leonie 1965: 81).

3.9 *The development of education in the Union*

3.9.1 *Introduction*

After the Boers were defeated by the British in 1899 in the Anglo Boer War, their states, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were annexed as British states. In 1910, Britain united the four colonies; the Cape, Natal, Transvaal and the OFS into a single entity named the Union of South Africa (Christie 1992: 45).

3.9.2 *Provision of education in the Union from 1910-1935*

Prior to 1910, it was believed that education of Natives could best be accomplished in mission schools where different missionaries laid foundations for the development of the education system for the Natives (Leonie 1965 : 81). However, after the establishment of the Union of South Africa, each province took up the responsibility for educating the Black youth. The Union government had not as yet formulated any policy with regard to Native education.

3.9.3 *Funding of Black education in the Union*

Erstwhile to 1925, the provinces bore the brunt of financing Native education in their areas (Leonie 1965: 81). As Native education expanded, provinces found it difficult to

meet the rising costs. As a result each province devised means of raising funds. Unfortunately, they were dissuaded by Act 5 of 1922 from taxing the Natives for their education (Rose & Tunmer 1975: 225).

The provinces had to depend wholly on the funds generated from the Native Development Account established in 1925. The South African government had laid down principles that stipulated that Native education must be improved by money generated by Natives themselves (Loram 1929: 923; Beharadien 1981 :3; Wollheim 1943: 38). The act that changed the taxation of the Blacks from provincial to a union matter, brought about a profound change and relieve to the provinces (Wollheim 1943: 38).

Though the provinces were relieved of the financial burden, Blacks experienced serious problems. Blacks paid for their schooling directly through school fees and indirectly through taxation, while White children received their education free (Leonie 1965: 100). Some prominent individuals stated outrightly that it was gravely unjust to thrust upon people, declared by 1932 Native Economic Commission as the poorest of the poor, the responsibility of funding their own education. The commission was instituted to determine the extent of the Blacks' poverty and problems (Loram 1929: 927; Rose & Tunmer 1975: 228). Nevertheless, the government continued spending lavishly on White education while the Black education received a pittance (Leonie 1965: 100). Despite the conditions of the mission schools, the unfavourable act of 1925 was kept in force until the government started to finance Native education from the Consolidated Revenue Fund established in 1945 (Kallaway 1984: 69).

The dismal conditions were rectified after the appointment of an Advisory Board for Native Education. They advised the government and the Provincial Councils of Education on the competent use of funds (Du Toit & Nel 1981: 119; Behardien 1981: 6). Despite the efforts and advice of the board, Black education sank to an abysmal depth notably in town locations (Du Toit 1981: 119). The escalation of enrolment numbers exacerbated problems in the administration, control and funding of Black education (Behardien 1981: 4).

3.9.4 Control and administration of Black education in the Union

3.9.4.1 Introduction

Initially, the missionaries were in complete control of educational work among the Blacks. A transfer of authority occurred as church control weakened and state control was strengthened by monetary power (Pells 1938b: 131; Rose & Tunmer 1975: 220). The Union had put the administrative and the professional responsibilities in the hands of the provinces. The provinces differed with regard to the execution of their responsibilities such as teacher training, agricultural education and education of the mentally and physically disabled children (Bot 1951: 164; Leonie 1965: 82). Each province had its own form of control and administrative practices.

3.9.4.2 Cape Province

For efficient control of education and for the development of a healthy culture of learning the Provincial Council of the Cape appointed a commission in 1919. The commission had to look into the needs of Native education and to design a curriculum that could best be adapted to those needs. The commission put more stress on vocational training, indigenous Black art and handwork, agriculture and stricter emphasis on ethical instruction, hygiene and civics (Leonie 1965: 84).

The Cape Province had the most developed system of Black education because Black schools were under the same inspectors as White and Coloured schools. The Cape, with the longest tradition of significant support for Black education had almost 60 per cent of the total of Black learners enrolled in their schools (Kallaway 1984: 131-132).

3.9.4.3 Natal

With the appointment of C. T. Loram as the Inspector of Education in Natal in 1918, Black education underwent drastic positive changes. Loram revised teacher's training

courses, provided vocation courses and issued quarterly journals for teachers in service (Coetzee 1958: 447). He also revised the classification of schools, appointed organisers for instruction in handicraft and established state schools for Blacks and agricultural demonstration centres (Behr 1978: 162; Behr & Macmillan 1971: 390).

Despite the positive modifications he instituted, he was a firm believer in segregated education. He wanted the Blacks to develop separately from the Whites and maintained that they therefore needed education that was different from that of Whites. He was also of the opinion that Whites would rule and Blacks would be ruled. However, during his tenure the Zulu language received more attention (Kallaway 1984: 133).

3.9.4.4 *Transvaal*

Black education in the Transvaal from 1910 to 1920 was under the control of inspectors of White schools. On inspecting the schools, the inspectors found that there were few indications of training and that instruction was relegated to the three R's (Bot 1951: 163). To improve the situation, a new curriculum was instituted in 1915 and the primary courses were extended to standard four (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 390). The beginners course that led to sub-standard A or Grade one was introduced and was manned by the least qualified teachers. The course bolstered enrolment in the schools (Bot 1951: 162).

Further improvements made in Black education in the Transvaal were the appointment of three Black inspectors of Native education in 1920. The Bantu Advisory Board was established in 1924 and the primary school courses were extended to standard five and six in 1928 (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 389). Native inspectors were appointed to assist and guide the teachers with their work and give information to the European inspectors of Native education (Bot 1951: 164). The Bantu Advisory Board advised the Transvaal Provincial Council to give grants for the establishment of secondary schools. One of those schools was at Rossetenville in Johannesburg, where Desmond Tutu matriculated (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 389; Coetzee 1958: 448). With this step Black education was starting to receive increasing attention (Bot 1951: 162; Coetzee 1958: 448).

Black schools in the Transvaal increased by leaps and bounds, with little corresponding increase in government spending. The roll rose from 21 421 to 47 632 learners between 1917 and 1927. On the Witwatersrand alone the roll increased fivefold between 1921 and 1936 from 16 000 to 80 000 learners. However, educational facilities such as school buildings provided by the government were enough for less than a quarter of the Black population of school going age (Cross & Chisholm 1991: 43- 67). From 1930, the Blacks started to contribute by establishing tribal and community schools. The dramatic increases resulted in Black education outgrowing the administrative powers and capabilities of the few clerks assigned for the work. To alleviate the burden, some schools had to amalgamate. The Director of Education appointed a Chief Inspector in 1936 to help with the control of Native education (Bot 1951: 168).

3.9.4.5 Orange Free State

In 1924, the OFS appointed an organising inspector to be in control of Native education (Behr 1978: 162; Coetzee 1958: 448). He found that there were practically as many syllabuses as there were schools (Coetzee 1958: 448). To bring about uniformity and to develop a better culture of learning, an official syllabus was introduced. Later, the Department of Education organised schools into lower primary, going up to standard four and higher primary consisting of standard five and standard six (Behr 1971: 391). Different church schools were amalgamated and offered financial support to buy resources for educational use. Teacher training was improved in 1929 with grants allocated to Stofberg and Modderspoort teacher training institutions (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 391).

There were differences in the four provincial systems of Native education. The provinces differed in connection with teacher training, Industrial schools, syllabuses, unequal duration of school life and school inspection. Nevertheless, uniformity with regard to provision of meagre state funding for Native education existed (Hartshorne 1992: 11-20). Notwithstanding the fact that financial support from the government was

insufficient, the provinces were once more dissuaded by Act 5 of 1925 from raising funds. Therefore, the funds collected could not meet the demands of the growing school population (Behardien 1981: 3).

Enrolment rose from 200 000 to 350 000 learners between 1925 and 1935, but expenditure rose by a mere 15 per cent from R 420 000 to R 667 000. The enrolment far out-stripped the expenditure by fifty percent (Wollheim 1943: 38). In 1935 the position had become so severe that the government was forced to appoint the inter departmental committee. The committee had to examine and report on the problems that stymied the development of the Natives education in the four provinces (Behardien 1981: 4; Rose & Tunmer 1975: 229; Wollheim 1943: 38).

3.10 *The Report of the Inter-departmental Committee*

The Inter-departmental Committee appointed in 1935 under Mr MT Welsh, issued a report in 1936 that became a valuable document by which Black education and the culture of learning was improved. Their findings were as follows:

Many teachers were without the necessary qualifications. There was disparity between primary education of whites and Blacks with a lack of facilities and resources. This left as much as 70 per cent of school going children out of school. Many juvenile delinquents were roaming the streets particularly in towns. The average school life of a Black child was less than three years, with fewer pupils proceeding to standard one. Mother tongue could not be used effectively in townships schools because the learners spoke different languages (Behr 1988: 32). Another anomaly in Black education was indicated by an upswing of 70 percent as against 50 per cent rise in expenditure. The committee stated that the financial arrangement made in 1925 was not sufficient to meet the ever-increasing demands of Black education (Wollheim 1943: 38).

The Commission then made a recommendation that the Union government should take total responsibility of Black education. The Blacks applauded that because they had

from long ago wished that their education should be controlled by the Minister of Education of the Union (Leonie 1965: 86; Horrel 1968:1; Rose & Tunmer 1975: 238). The government gave the Minister of Education assisted by the Advisory Board the responsibility of administering Black education (Horrel 1968: 1; Kallaway 1984: 165).

Though the government took up the responsibility, they did not improve the funding arrangement of 1925. Owing to the insufficient funds, it became imperative for the economically disadvantaged Blacks to fund their education. Meanwhile the Whites, Coloured and Indians were fully financed by the government from the general revenue (Rose & Tunmer 1975: 277). Owing to minimal funding, Native education remained in a deplorable state. It was unstable and did not improve even after the committee had come up with new ideas, findings and suggestions (Leonie 1965: 87). In 1948, when the National Party came into power, another commission under Dr W.W.M. Eiselen was appointed to investigate how best a culture of learning among the Blacks could be developed (Brian 1970: 50).

3.11 *The Eiselen commission*

The Eiselen Commission came up with a totally different proposition that had a profound effect on the development of the Blacks, particularly in education. The Commission strongly believed that Blacks inherently differed socially, culturally and intellectually from the other races or population groups. They proposed that the South African Blacks should be treated as a special type of human race, namely the Bantu. They proposed that the so-called Bantu should receive a special type of education called Bantu education in their tribal areas where they would not claim membership of the wider community (Behardien 1981: 7-13). The policy thus designed separated Blacks from Whites, Coloureds and Indians educationally and otherwise (Brian 1970: 50; Rose & Tunmer 1975: 244; Behr 1988: 33).

In their report in April 1951, they made the following assertions. Control of schools by religious bodies complicated the planning of educational programmes, practices and

facilities. There was no clear information as to the part played by Black communities in the development of their education and a culture of learning in particular. Provincial Advisory Boards represented a narrow range of interests based purely on school aspects to the detriment of all other societal aspects such as socio-economic planning. Poor or a lack of school facilities were contributory factors to poor attendance, early school leaving and poor scholastic achievement. Schools were manned by mostly unqualified and under-qualified teachers (cf par 3.9) who were inadequately and irregularly inspected and supervised (Hartshorne 1992: 9-22; Brian 1970: 56-61).

As regards good governance and an effectual culture of learning, the Commission suggested that Bantu education was to be divided into six homogenous regions under the aegis of the central government. They introduced Black participation in education through the creation of local authorities such as school committees and school boards. The committee introduced mother tongue instruction to expedite learning. Each Black group should be educated in its own ethnic language. Black staff was to be used because education, as the committee postulated, was of the Bantu, by the Bantu, for the Bantu. The Commission also advised the government to retain the ineffective funding system of 1922 and 1925 (Brian 1970: 58; Behr 1988: 36; Leonie 1965: 114).

3.11.1 The outcomes of the Eiselen recommendations on a learning culture

The National Party made Bantu education a reality through Act 47 of 1953. It was an education based on apartheid ideology. The ideology was manifested in the creation of separate schooling for Blacks and the introduction of mother-tongue instruction. That ideology entrenched social, economic and political separation by creating homelands or national states for Blacks. The act restricted Blacks in those reserves and denied them access to the industrial areas, because Whites believed that there was no place for Blacks in the European community except for certain forms of labour. The schooling

they were offered was only meant to enable them to meet the demands which the economic life in South Africa imposed upon them (Brian 1970: 66; Christie 1991: 66).

When Dr Verwoerd was elected the Minister of Native affairs in 1953, he was put in charge of the Department of Bantu Education. His department assumed the responsibility of training and employing Black teachers. He categorically stated that education provided by the missionaries was uneconomical and had no specific aims. He averred that it was unplanned and disrupted the community life of the Blacks and endangered the life of the Europeans. In a Senate debate in 1954, Dr Verwoerd stated that Bantu education should be based on the Bantu traditional culture. Their culture should not make them desirous of the greener pastures of the Europeans (Brian 1970: 66-85). Loram as the Member of Parliament supported the assertion by saying:

God meant the Black man to be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water for a white man. If you attempt to raise him from that position you interfere with God's plan and will you'll bring trouble on yourself and him (Kutoane & Kruger 1990: 9).

Dr Verwoerd introduced a new dispensation whereby mission schools were replaced by community schools, supervised by the state and controlled by the Blacks. Dr Verwoerd claimed that the state was taking over the schools from the churches in order to execute the work more efficiently. The missionaries were given three options: to function without state funding, to function with reduction in subsidy or to relinquish control of their schools in the Black communities. Black mission schools had to register with the government, failing which, the minister could use his discretion to close the schools or force the missionaries to lease them (Behr 1988: 36).

Restrictions were not confined to primary and secondary schools. Missionaries controlling teacher-training institutions were also given three options. The first was of either renting or selling their schools and hostels. The second was either renting or selling the school and retaining the hostels on a subsidised basis. The final option was that the missionaries could close the teacher training schools and conduct either a

primary or a secondary school. The missionaries' reliance on state funding rendered the missionaries incapable of controlling their schools. As a result, by 1953, there were 5000 state-aided Black schools, which increased to 7200 in 1965 (Brian 1970: 74).

3.11.2 *The Bantu education policy*

Considerable criticism was levelled at the Bantu education policy, especially the language policy. Critics pointed out that vernacular languages limited communication among Blacks of different tribal origins as well as with the global community. It also stifled Blacks development according to internationally acceptable principles of university education. Furthermore, it was seen as a way of entrenching and reinforcing ethnically segregated schools (Reagan 1987: 5).

The strict state control brought Black education forcibly under its control. The enrolment in night schools (12 000 learners in 1953-1954) dropped, reducing the number of Blacks obtaining schooling. Many night schools and part-time classes for Blacks closed (Kallaway 1984 : 172). Thousands of learners stayed away from school and some Black teachers resigned in protest while others were fired by the government for criticising the new Bantu education system (Cross & Chisholm 1991: 43-67; Leonie 1965: 111; Christie 1991: 228-231).

Several organisations such as the African Education Movement organised by parents staged Anti-Bantu education campaigns. Optional schools for boycotting learners were established. These schools operated informally up to 1960 when they had to close down because of lack of resources, aims and objectives and pressure from the government (Behardien 1981: 55-56; Kallaway 1984: 269-284).

In 1955-1956 the political movement of the African National Congress also vociferously opposed in 1955-1956 the introduction of the Bantu education policy under the National Party 'dictatorship'. They provided alternative education for boycotting children in cultural clubs, disused buildings, shebeens and open plots of grounds. Their attempts,

however, like those of the African Education Movement, came to nothing because of the insurmountable difficulties such as lack of funds, equipment and expertise. After their unsuccessful attempts, the ANC formed a coalition with the South African Coloured People's Organisation, the South African Indian Congress and the Congress of Democrats. The coalition produced a document called The Freedom Charter, that stipulated that education should be free, compulsory, universal and equal to all children (Behardien 1981: 55-56).

Despite the protestations by different groups and organisations, Bantu education spread its tentacles to tertiary institutions. The government promulgated an act called the Extension of University Act of 1959 by which Black students were not allowed to attend White universities in the cities. Separate tertiary institutions were established for the different ethnic groups in the homelands. The University of the North was established at Pietersburg for the Sotho speaking tribes, the Shangaans and the Vendas. Fort Hare near King Williamstown was established for the Xhosas and the University of Zululand at Ngoye for Zulus. In opposition to the Act, resistance was staged against what the Blacks called bush universities. The boycotts did not involve stay-aways or militant actions as it happened in primary and secondary schools. However, they continued unabated throughout the 60's and 70's (Christie 1991: 233-237). The government had the advantage of resources over the protesters, won the battle. Many learners feared the government's threat of expulsion and returned *en masse* to resume Bantu education (Behardien 1981: 55).

3.11.3 Mass schooling

The Bantu education system brought high increase in school enrolment but with a concentration at the lower levels of schooling. Emphasis was on the education of the mass of Blacks to enable them to co-operate in the evolution of new social patterns and institutions (Rose & Tunmer 1975: 250). Fifty percent of the Black children were in the sub-standards in 1954 (Christie 1991: 115; Pells 1938a: 147). Enrolment figures doubled. To supplement enrolment figures, the double session and the platoon systems

were introduced for maximum use of schooling facilities by two groups daily (Kallaway 1984: 177).

In its annual report, the Department of Bantu Education stipulated that the total number of students enrolled in Bantu primary schools increased by 240 percent between 1949 and 1965. Despite the spiralled roll, only 3 percent of the total school population was enrolled in secondary schools, 72 per cent in the lower primary schools and 25 per cent in the higher primary schools (Brian 1970: 74).

The government then started to provide buildings and facilities. However, developments and improvements were restricted to rural areas. Expansion of secondary schools in urban areas was totally blocked. Children without urban rights were not allowed to attend schools in town areas. The government used education as a form of influx control to keep the Blacks in reserves. They were separated geographically, socially and economically from their White compatriots (cf 3.10.1) (Cross & Chisholm 1991: 43-67; Kallaway 1984: 174; Brian 1970: 67).

3.11.4 *Teacher efficiency and training*

After the introduction of the double session in 1955, the learner-teacher ratio increased dramatically. It increased from 40 per cent to 62 per cent in 1946-1965 (Unterhalter, Wolpe, Botha, Badat & Khotseng 1991: 37). Despite the spiralling roll, there was still an acute shortage of teachers (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 413). A teacher had to handle two separate three-hour classes of 80-100 learners per session (cf par 3.10.4). On the whole, teacher efficiency could not be under warranty (Brian 1970: 75).

To curb the wide spread lack of qualified teachers, Black women who had completed standard six were given a three-year teacher training course, after which they were employed to teach the double sessions. This arrangement was designed by the Minister of Bantu education, Dr Verwoerd. He had the intention of rapidly increasing the volume of teachers and to reduce expenditure on salaries of teachers because female teachers received lower salaries than their male counterparts (Brian 1970: 77).

This measure paid off because from 1960-1969 the number of teachers in Black schools almost doubled from 27 767 to 43 638. Only 1,5 per cent of the teaching posts were then held by White teachers (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 412). Despite the meagre salaries, compounded by insufficient provision of resources, the teachers took up the task of developing and improving the culture of learning. However, mass schooling carried with it an increase in educational expenditure and facilities (Kallaway 1984: 181).

3.11.5 *Financial provision for Bantu education*

State provision remained limited and financial shortages became one of the causes of the deficiencies in Black education and the deterioration of a culture of learning (Hyslop 1987: 18). The National Party coined a policy called the Christian National Education Policy of 1948 that stipulated that Bantu education should never be at the expense of White education (cf. par 3.8.3) (Brian 1970: 55). Bantu education expenditure was limited to R17 million in 1954. Additional increases in expenditure were borne by the Blacks themselves.

A separate account was created specifically for Bantu education in 1955 to meet the expenses of Black education. Part of the account was from house rentals that were increased from time to time in urban locations to cover the expenses of erecting primary schools. Unfortunately, in rural areas, people had to bear the brunt of erecting the classrooms themselves before the government could supply them with any school facilities (Brian 1970: 82; Behr & Macmillan 1971: 406).

Black parents were over-burdened by the costs of paying school fees, providing stationery and textbooks and contributing to the employment of privately employed teachers. The economically pressured parents could not enrol their children at school. In 1960, the government realised the limiting effect of inadequate financial spending on Bantu education. They started to increase Bantu education expenditure (Unterhalter, *et al*). In 1963 they allocated the full amount accruing from direct taxation of Blacks to

Bantu Education (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 405). Several churches also played a prominent role in Black education especially prior to 1953 and later.

3.12 Church involvement in the education for Blacks

The churches and the missionary societies brought to the Black people of South Africa the gift of education when other bodies doubted the ability of Blacks to profit by it (Shepherd no date : 3). Denominations that played that prominent roles particularly before 1953 were the Methodist, Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Presbyterians and many others (Christie 1991: 71; Pells 1938b: 73). They established a few quality schools such as Lovedale (1841) and Mariazell (1899) in the Cape, Inanda (1867) and Marianhill (1882) in Natal, Kilnerton (1855) and St. Peter's (1922) in the Transvaal (Christie 1991: 71). These mission schools provided education of outstanding quality and produced people of high standing such as Z. K. Matthews. Z. K. Matthews became a representative on the Union Advisory Board on Native Education in 1945 (Hyslop 1987: 13; Kros 1991: 24-36).

The main aim of the church in educating Blacks was to convert them to Christianity, with all other educational aims being of secondary importance (Pells 1938: 75). Their educational activities involved teaching reading, writing and the Christian doctrine. They also wanted to establish themselves and their work, hence they trained some people to help with evangelical work. Mission schools also included industrial education or manual labour as part of their curriculum (Christie 1991: 79).

For most of the nineteenth century the churches had been the chief and almost the sole providers of native education. They operated without government intervention. They had provided funds for Black education with Blacks assisting with voluntary contributions. Black children were provided with books free of charge (Christie 1991:

77). The government only started with serious funding in 1841 when the funds were allocated for industrial training at Lovedale (Pells 1938: 77b; Cameron 1986: 140).

Notwithstanding the financial setbacks, the churches were dedicated to the cause of developing a culture of learning. Their good work was disrupted immensely during the introduction of Bantu Education in 1953 through the Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953 (Nwandula 1988 : 43). Although Christian teaching was slow, the patience and directive of European members of the clergy were necessary to impart knowledge (Behr & Macmillan 1971: 380). Their efforts were curtailed by Act 47 of 1953, when the government took over the responsibility of educating Blacks. All the schools had to register with the government, and mission trained teachers had to be replaced by government trained teachers (Kallaway 1984: 268).

Mission schools had to lease or surrender total control of their schools to the government or Bantu communities. Missionaries that refused to hand over their schools, lost their subsidies. This made it difficult for some mission schools to continue playing a significant role in developing a culture of learning among Black South Africans (cf 3.10.2) (Brian 1970: 72; Kallaway 1984: 268). Churches such as the Methodist church, acceded to the injunction by saying:

“In order to provide for the immediate educational needs of African people, the church feels compelled to relinquish control of its schools to the state (Christie 1991: 89).

Lovedale was one of the schools that was handed over to the government and St Peters in Johannesburg was one of those that closed down. Some churches, such as the Anglican church, refused to hand over their schools saying:

If the Minister of Bantu Education cannot entrust the training of African teachers to Christian missions, we as a Christian mission cannot and will not entrust our land or our buildings to his department for educational purposes. We are convinced that the true welfare of the African people is being denied by a political theory (Christie 1991: 89).

The Catholics temporarily implemented the Bantu education policy but had to withdraw after realising in 1973 that injustice was being done in the funding of Bantu education. They began admitting small numbers of Black students in their schools in 1976 (Christie 1991: 94). Moreover, when the private or economic sector experienced a boon in the years following 1953, they realised the importance of developing a culture of learning which is crucial in the development of manpower skills.

3.13 *Private sector involvement in education for Blacks*

3.13.1 *Introduction*

Business people and economists were dissatisfied with the state of education, particularly Black education. Their main complaint was that the system of education produced a large number of people who were virtually unemployable. They were doubtful about the relevance of education because schools left children technologically illiterate and largely ignorant of the skills required to face life in the modern society (Heese & Badenhorst 1992: vii).

3.13.2 *Private sector and education*

Before the introduction of Bantu Education Act the private sector involvement in the culture of learning had been non-existent. The government discouraged private sector involvement in education (Unterhalter *et al* 1991 : 95). A decade after the passing of the Bantu Education Act, there was concern from many quarters. Academics, educationists and business people proposed that the economic needs of the country could be improved by expanding education, particularly African education (Rose & Tunmer 1975: 269). The government relaxed the regulations restricting private sector involvement in education and allowed companies to fund educational institutions (Kraak 1989; 99). Private sector involvement took three forms. Some institutions were established and administered by independent trusts. Some undertook a joint venture with the

Department of Education and Training and others took the form of in-house training (Kallaway 1984: 29).

In the first group are large firms that spearheaded private sector educational initiatives especially after the aftermath of the Soweto uprisings in 1976 (Unterhalter *et al* 1991: 95). Most co-operative concerns like the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa funded building and equipment in primary and secondary schools (Kraak 1989 : 99). The Project for the Advancement of Community Education (PACE) College was one such school funded by American and South African Commercial companies (Kallaway 1984: 30). However, the recruitment of Black secondary school students to such institutions of repute increased educational expenditure that became so burdensome that the school had to close down (Cross 1986 : 193). In 1977 the Urban Foundation, one of the independent trusts, also launched a primary objective of improving education. It allocated 37 per cent of its total expenditure for the construction or upgrading of many technical high schools, technical and teacher training colleges (Kraak 1989 : 203).

The second type of private sector involvement involved a joint venture with the Department of Education and Training (DET) (Kallaway 1984: 31). Soweto Teacher's College was jointly financed and equipped by Anglo American and DET in 1976. Jabulane Technical College in Soweto received grants of R2 million. It was donated jointly by Urban Foundation, Ford (S A), Old Mutual, Anglo American, Siemens and Phillips. Bucholof Technical College near East London was built by C.S. Barlow Foundation (Kallaway 1984: 31). The Department of Manpower, in conjunction with the private sector embarked on a project in 1980-1981. They attempted to narrow the gap between the culture of work and the culture of learning by being substantially involved in the Black primary and secondary schooling.

The first crucial gain after all those efforts was acceptance for in 1977 by the State for the need to provide for education. They provided for secondary, tertiary and technical education to Black workers in White areas of South Africa (Kraak 1989: 210). That involved the in-house training project for people already in employment so that they

could improve their basic schooling. The formal education they were provided with helped them with job-related programmes (Kallaway 1984: 31-32). The endeavour brought a significant change that signified a shift from school-based education to a new work-based system of education (Kraak 1989: 210).

3.14 Summary

Many researchers presume that little is known about education of the Black people of South Africa. During the pre-historic era, a rich culture was accumulated through word of mouth and the cultural artefacts of this period can still be found in museums.

The formal education introduced by the European missionaries was used to Christianise and evangelise the Black people of South Africa. The first formal school established in 1658 was the first to experience difficulties in establishing a culture of learning. The resistance to learning was caused by dissatisfaction with the aim of formal schooling of that time.

Thereafter, many schools were established at various centres among and for different cultural groups. Schools were differentiated on racial grounds. In 1953, education specifically meant for the Black people was introduced. Dissatisfaction about education based on race, manifested as school boycotts, upheavals and rioting on school campuses and affected the culture of learning tremendously.

Black education travelled a vicissitudinous route. It was put under different controlling bodies and was totally separated from and unequal to White education. It was disproportionately funded. Meagre funding, control and the medium of instruction imposed on learners affected its development to the detriment of the culture of learning. Many commissions such as the Eiselen Commission were appointed to better education, but because the improvement was nominal, dissatisfaction among the learners continued. The Eiselen proposal of a separate department of education for the Blacks was the final challenge. In the ensuing debate about the implementation of

Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953, discontent was fuelled among ordinary citizens, political movements such as the ANC as well as the churches. The involvement of the church in Black education was regarded as dangerous and misleading. It was discontinued at the instruction of the Nationalist Government. This caused school disruptions that persisted until they grew to fever pitch in 1976. After the government restrictions were relaxed, private sector funding of education started in 1979. This involved the upgrading of school facilities, provision of bursaries, in-house training ranging from literacy to job-specific skills and management training (Christie 1991: 43).

CHAPTER 4

Characteristics of the culture of learning in Black schooling from 1976-1998

4.1 *The revolutionary era in Black education*

Black education had for several years before 1976, been thrown into chaos by boycotts and protests. Learners were resisting the type of education they were offered. They wanted the whole education system to be transformed and revolutionised. They could not accept the status quo. Resistance had begun during the 1950's and 1960's. Learners were dissatisfied with:

- ◆ Segregation of education that prepared them for subordinate positions;
- ◆ Mother tongue instruction that lacked terminology and stymied learners' progress in higher education.

The sporadic protests and school boycotts culminated in the students' riot of 1976 that signalled the end of the system of education introduced by Dr Verwoerd in 1954 (Le Roux 1993: 179). Conflicts and dissatisfactions were exacerbated by the fact that Blacks had never been architects of their own destiny. Neither were they ever allowed to participate in designing any policy in their education (Love & Sederberg 1990: 311). Dr Verwoerd, the Minister of Native Affairs in 1953, clearly evinced this in his parliamentary speech when he said:

When I have control over native education I will reform it so that natives will be taught from childhood that equality is not for them (Christie 1991: 23).

4.2 The language policy as cause of resistance

There were a diversity of reasons that culminated in the learners' resistance to Black education. Decision making in all government structures was the prerogative of the state. In particular, without consulting the Black proletariat, the government made an announcement in 1976 that half the subjects taken in secondary schools should be taught in Afrikaans (Love & Sederberg 1990: 31).

The announcement caused opposition among learners, dissatisfaction among the parents and disillusionment among the teachers. Teachers wanted the use of Afrikaans to be discontinued. However, government went ahead with the implementation of the language policy (Marivate 1993: 97; Reagan 1987: 305). That sparked the June 1976 Soweto uprisings that reverberated throughout the world (Christie 1991: 57). The uprisings were not confined to Soweto, but spread to many parts of the country (Love & Sederberg 1990: 312). Rioting brought schooling to a standstill, because learners decided to boycott classes until their demands and those of the general public were met.

The Soweto uprisings were the beginning of a long period of protestations against learning through a language regarded as provided limited possibilities of learning outside the Republic (Hartshorne 1992: 79). The protestations brought the culture of learning in Black schools to a complete halt. Most of the school year was wasted because rioting in schools only died down towards the end of 1971.

Besides their effect on the culture of learning, the 1976 uprisings also had political repercussions beyond its time and regions:

It stimulated organisation inside the country, and propelled many others into a search for military training outside the country's borders (Cross & Chisholm 1991: 43-67).

Many people in the communities became politicised (Cross & Chisholm 1991: 43-67).

Students vented their anger on government buildings. They burnt down, defaced or vandalised schools, municipal property or anything that was government controlled (Standard Encyclopaedia of South Africa 1971: 534).

4.3 *The attitude of the government toward school disturbances*

The government responded with severe repression. Police shot at the rampant learners and anybody who took part in rioting or marching (Love and Sederberg 1990: 312). Many people lost their lives. Hector Petersen, a thirteen year old learner was the first martyr. Many people were arrested and detained. Among them was Steve Biko, the Black Consciousness leader, whose death in detention in 1977 shocked the world, and had far reaching consequences the government never anticipated (Christie 1991: 241). In the aftermath of the uprisings some teachers resigned, and certain school boards such as the Meadowlands Tswana school board relinquished their posts in solidarity with learners and teachers (Love & Sederberg 1990: 312).

The government adopted retaliatory measures. In 1977, all political organisations and the Soweto Students Representative Council (SRC) formed in 1976, were outlawed and banned (Love & Sederberg 1990: 312). Kane Berman (in Christie 1991: 241) states that the banning constituted the severest act of political suppression by the State since outlawing the African National Congress in 1964 and the Pan Africanist Congress in 1960.

4.4 *Other factors that affected learning in Blacks schools*

The government appointed the Cellier Commission in 1980 to investigate the causal factors of the uprisings. They pointed out that Afrikaans was not the only cause of rioting, but was to a certain degree an addition to long-standing dissatisfaction. The commission asserted that the Black community, especially in Soweto was dissatisfied with the system of Bantu education, pass laws, influx control, compulsory homeland

citizenship, transport and housing shortage (Christie 1991: 241). These and other factors rendered the Black people politically powerless, left them socially insecure and made them struggle economically (Mashile & Mellet 1996: 223). The situation was depicted by many writers thus:

The economy of the country was in recession. Many Black workers were laid off, and unemployment rose. Black matriculants faced poor employment opportunities. There was high inflation and food prices soared (Standard Encyclopaedia of South Africa 1971: 432).

4.5 Resolution of the chaotic situation

On a point of compromise the government abandoned Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, upgraded teacher training, erected and maintained all community schools, improved school laboratories and allowed the business sector to finance employee training programmes (Behr 1984: 20; Love & Sederberg 1990: 312). The government later decided to change the name, Department of Bantu Education, to the more palatable Department of Education and Training (Love & Sederberg 1990: 312; Kallaway 1984: 351).

By the end of 1978, the minister in charge of Department of Education and Training, released a new bill called the Education and Training Act of 1979 which replaced the Bantu Education Act of 1953 (Kallaway 1984: 351). Some of the provisions made in the new bill were:

- ◆ an educational policy that would be decided by the minister of Education and Training after consultation with the advisory Council of education which comprised of 20 members appointed by the minister;

- ◆ the principle of mother tongue instruction was to be observed;

- ◆ recognition was to be given to the active involvement of the parents and the community (Kallaway 1984: 351).

4.6 *The culture of learning under the Department of Education and Training*

After the inception of the Department through the Education and Training Act of 1979 the culture of learning was put back on track through the government's initiative of spending greater expenditure on Black education; upgrading teacher qualifications; resourcing laboratories at black secondary schools and erecting new schools (Behr 1984: 198-209; Christie 1991: 57). Almost 7 595 new classrooms were erected from 1979 to 1982. Provision was made for nursery school education, special education for adults and trade training (Vos & Brits 1987: 72).

The provision of educational resources and the improvement of education in as far as teacher qualification and trade training, became the panacea. Changes occurred in Black education, albeit minimal. Many learners started attending school and many more passed matric when compared to the Bantu Education era. Nevertheless, Black education still remained segregated, inferior and unequal (Christie 1991: 57).

The improvements made were quantitative rather than qualitative. As a consequence, education provided by the Department was also rejected by the Black people (Unterhalter *et al* 1991: 35). The new bill introduced gave no satisfaction, because it perpetuated an inferior, racially differentiated education system (Kallaway 1984: 352). Therefore, all the efforts made by the government were declared null and void by Black communities.

4.7 *The struggle for better education*

The reforms the government initiated were far from sufficient. The financial provision for

Black education as compared to that of other groups, especially the Whites, was minimal (Hildebrand & Goduka 1987: 382). Black schools were still under-resourced with the shortage acute in stationery and text-books. Teachers were overworked and underpaid and classrooms were still overcrowded (Sello 1990: 2).

The spirit of resistance that existed between 1976 and 1979 and gave the learners the courage to challenge the system of Black education, resurfaced (Khan 1989: 6). In 1979, the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) was formed to act as the mouthpiece of students. Students were mobilised in a sustained and systematic way against the system (Nkomo 1990: 62).

COSAS was given a boost in April 1980 when a boycott of classes was started in the Western Cape by Coloured learners. They demanded free and compulsory education and protested against the use of soldier teachers in their schools (Naidoo 1991: 121-142).

The boycotts spilled over to other parts of the country. They spread to the self-governing states of the Transkei, QwaQwa, Bophuthatswana, and the national states created by the Nationalist government (Christie 1991: 246). A news correspondent of the Rand Daily Mail (Mojapelo 1980: 12) reported disruptions in the Transkei, QwaQwa, the Eastern Cape, Soweto, Ciskei, the Cape Peninsula and the Northern Transvaal.

When the schools reopened after the winter holidays, learners continued to boycott classes. Schools became battlegrounds where equal education for all became the war cry. School boycotts were supported by tens of thousands of learners with hundreds of teachers pledging solidarity. This wave of activism continued into the early 1981. The Department of Education and Training closed many schools because the culture of learning had completely broken down (Christie 1991: 246; Love & Sederberg 1990: 313).

4.8 Student revolts of the 1980's

The criticism was not solely levelled at the government and the Department but the teachers also bore the brunt of the learners' wrath. Teachers were accused of abusing corporal punishment, being inflexible, authoritarian and denied the learners the chance to express their views and ideas (Hartshorne 1992: 79).

However, a long-standing contributory factor to student revolt was insufficient provision of educational resources in Black education. This remained a problem that continued to trigger learners riots (Hildebrand & Goduka 1978: 382).

On the Witwatersrand, learners protested against the dismissal of popular teachers and police activity in schools (Hartshorne 1992: 63). The situation in general was exacerbated by a high unemployment rate and an economic recession which was compounded by an increasing inflation rate (Kallaway 1984: 387; Christie 1992: 247). The learners therefore took up the opportunity to link their demands with those of the wider community (Kallaway 1984 : 387; Christie 1992 : 247). They continued boycotting and disrupting classes and expressed their intentions by saying:

Our parents have to understand that we will not be educated and trained to become slaves in apartheid capitalist society. Together with our parents we must try to work out a new future. A future where there will be no racism or exploitation, no apartheid, no inequality of class or sex (Christie 1991: 247).

4.9 The government's response to continued boycotts

Boycotting and disrupting classes did not bode well with the government who decided to take a stand. The State responded with brutality. Political meetings were banned,

student leaders were intimidated or harassed by the police and some learners were threatened with expulsion. Police were deployed in the townships, and consequently, learner solidarity dissipated. By the beginning of 1981 most of the schools were back to normal, because the boycotts were over (Christie 1991: 247-250).

In 1980, Prime Minister PW Botha requested the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) to devise a program by which education of the same quality could be made available to all population groups (Mojapelo 1980: 12). In 1981, the De Lange Commission under the auspices of the HSRC made an investigation into the causes of disruptions in the culture of learning in Black schools.

4.10 *The De Lange Commission*

The De Lange Commission produced with the following findings:

- ◆ Classes in black schools were overcrowded;
- ◆ There was a shortage of schools and classrooms;
- ◆ There was a lack of suitably qualified teachers;
- ◆ Spending on Black education was disproportionately low;
- ◆ There was a disparity in the provision of educational facilities that are the main determinants of quality education and propellants of a culture of learning;
- ◆ Compulsory education was instituted for Whites and Indians only and not for Blacks and Coloureds. Hence it was easy for Blacks to boycott schooling and disrupt the culture of learning (Behr 1988: 39-47).

To rectify the situation, the Commission made the following recommendations:

- ◆ The establishment of an educational system under one single ministry characterised by a policy of cultural diversity;
- ◆ An open education system that would allow any child free access to any public educational institution in South Africa;

- ◆ A massive input of funds in Black education as an interim measure to eliminate the historic backlog and disadvantages prevalent in educational provision;
- ◆ A crash program for teacher training for Blacks;
- ◆ A strong emphasis on democratic participation and decision making of local parent communities in the education system;
- ◆ Endeavours to bridge the gap between education and industry because the latter constitutes key element in the overall education system (Christie 1991: 58-61; HSRC 1992: 7-8)

4.11 *Implementation of the recommendations*

The reforms that emerged from the De Lange Commission were:

- ◆ A dramatic rise in government spending on Black education;
- ◆ Opening of white private schools to all races;
- ◆ Creation of technical colleges and the promotion of business-employee training courses (Behr 1988: 58; Love & Sederberg 1990: 3).

Despite the numerous recommendations put forth by the commission, the government only identified a few to implement. It outrightly rejected the recommendation that would have formed a bedrock of a new education system - the proposal of a single and unitary education system (Love & Sederberg 1990: 313; Van Heerden 1990: 12). The government instead formed a new Department of National Education which still retained the detested Department of Education and Training as one of its components (Van Heerden 1990: 21; Love & Sederberg 1990: 313). The failure of the state to transform the education system led to the continuation of insubordination among learners and the disruptions in the culture of learning in schools and universities (Naidoo 1991:121-142). Learning in Black schooling during the resistance years virtually ground to a halt in certain areas. During the following years, especially 1984-1986, there was still no relief.

4.12 Culture of learning during 1984 – 1986

The period 1984–1986 saw an unparalleled level of resistance to apartheid education (Cross & Chrisholm 1991: 179). The protests and school boycotts began at places like Cradock in the Eastern Cape, Port Elizabeth, Saulsville and Atteridgeville in Pretoria. The issues that sparked the 1980 boycotts had not been resolved (Reeves 1969: 72). Learners blamed the DET, the local councillors and the apartheid government for the stalemate in the resolution of their educational problems (Christie 1991: 252; Reeves 1994: 72). The reasons for disruptions in the culture of learning, are discussed in the ensuing paragraphs.

4.12.1 School-based issues

As in 1976 and 1980, the protests and the school boycotts were sparked by school-based issues such as:

- ◆ Sexual harassment of female students by teachers;
- ◆ Redeployment of popular activist teachers;
- ◆ Corrupt matriculation examination marking;
- ◆ COSAS insistent campaign for a democratically elected Student Representative Council (SRC);
- ◆ The barring of overage students from registering (Christie 1991: 252);
- ◆ Segregated and unequal education manned by mostly under-qualified and unqualified teachers;
- ◆ Shortage of textbooks and lack or insufficient school facilities (Reeves 1994: 54–59).

4.12.2 Socio-economic factors

Issues above were made worse by socio-economic factors such as house rentals. There was a general discontentment in the black communities, especially in townships around

Pretoria, the East Rand, the Eastern Cape and Vaal Triangle with increases in house rentals. The dissatisfaction rose to fever pitch because the rents were increased regardless of the high unemployment rate and the lack of job opportunities for matric school leavers (Nkomo 1990: 65). The Vaal Triangle learners left school *en masse* to protest with the community, leaving classrooms empty (*Vaal Weekblad* 1984: 2).

The disruptions that followed spread to many parts of the country. The culture of learning ground to a complete halt because the situation was too chaotic and volatile to guarantee safety in the class or the school grounds (Heese & Badenhorst 1992: 64; Reeves 1994: 549). Learners and workers jointed to challenge the government.

4.12.3 Political factors

The events in the Vaal Triangle transformed students' protests into a major political struggle. In August 1984, learners linked their protests with the broader political campaign of boycotting the inclusion of the Coloureds and the Indians in what was called the Tricameral Parliament. The Tricameral Parliament consisted of Whites, Indians and Coloureds, to the total exclusion of Blacks (Christie 1991: 254). When the elections were held in the Coloured and Indian areas, matters in schooling worsened.

Approximately 40 000 students from the Indian and Coloured areas joined the school boycotts, increasing the number of learners out of school to 630 000. The political situation at that time was frightening. The United Democratic Front (UDF) that was formed in 1984 by a diversity of political affiliates solidified all the organisations including the students into a union that challenged the *status quo* (Cross & Chisholm 1991: 43-67). They made a concerted effort to end the apartheid education and the minority white oppressive regime (Le Roux 1993: 179; Christie 1991: 252).

4.12.4 School boycotts

School boycotts were characterised by poor attendance, non-acceptance of authority and the destruction of school facilities. Many schools were destroyed. Violence erupted between learners who wished to continue with their schooling and those who called for an indefinite boycott of schooling. Formal schooling effectively broke down. The breakdown of discipline and learning was horrifying (Heese & Badenhorst 1992: 54; Reeves 1994: 54)

Students chanted slogans like “Liberation now and education later” (Christie 1991: 254; Heese & Badenhorst 1992: 64). Learners became actively involved in the formation of street committees and organised people’s courts where the person suspected of supporting the government would be subjected to any form of torture including necklacing. They had no time for the education they regarded as inferior and which prepared them for servitude. The struggle then became a broad-based campaign against the state in general and education in particular (Christie 1991: 254).

4.12.5 Government reaction to boycotts

The state countered students’ resistance by sending armies and police into the townships and schools as they did in the early 80s (Christie 1991:254). The South African Defence Force (SADF) used armoured vehicles to patrol the townships and occupy school grounds (Cross & Chrisholm 1991: 43-67). At some schools, learners were shot on the school grounds. Kevin, a white teacher at one of the Soweto schools, depicted the situation thus:

At the end of 1984, things got very heated politically. There were policemen with shotguns constantly on the school property. Examinations were written under police guard. Facilities have been broken and destroyed. To create a culture of learning in these circumstances is very difficult (Reeves 1994: 54).

In the midst of the ongoing crisis, the DET closed a number of schools in Cradock, Pretoria and the East Rand (Christie 1991: 253). On a positive note, the government initiated the following reforms:

- ◆ Increased spending in DET structures;
- ◆ Expanded secondary and technical schools;
- ◆ A new national policy that would emphasise 'Own Affairs' in the Department of Education and Culture (Christie 1991: 58).

4.12.6 Reaction on government reform

Notwithstanding all the governments' efforts, COSAS stuck to their demands of the 80s. They continued to press for improved conditions and reforms (Christie 1991:47). They demanded proper school facilities, free textbooks, reinstatement of dismissed teachers, reconstruction of damaged schools and the release of detainees (Love & Sederberg 1990: 34; Christie 1991: 47). The government's failure to respond to COSAS demands, stirred up a massive sustained and intense resistance (Cross & Chisholm 1991: 43-67). The revolt caused the deterioration of the culture of learning that had endured for two years in Black schools.

The state countered the resistance of the Blacks with brutality. The government declared the state of emergency in the middle of 1985 in order to curb lawlessness in schools and the townships. It also closed down several secondary schools and banned COSAS (Love & Sederberg 1990: 315). The violence perpetuated against children by the state and the state's inadequate response to learners' demands, gave birth to a new popular organisation, the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) in 1985. The NECC made the crises in Black education their main concern (Cross & Chisholm 1991: 43-67).

4.12.7 *The formation of the NECC*

After the banning of COSAS early in 1985, learners turned their frustration towards teachers. The relationship between learners and teachers deteriorated immensely. In October 1985, the Soweto Parents Civic Committee (SPCC) called a meeting for parents from Soweto to resolve the ongoing crisis in their schools (Christie 1991:267 – 269). On realising that the crisis was nation-wide, the SPCC convened a national convention where NECC was formed at Wits University in 1985 (Hartshorne 1992: 5; Christie 1991:269). The NECC was given a mammoth task of resolving the educational crisis.

4.12.8 *The NECC's attempt to resolve the crisis*

The NECC was formed to resolve the educational crisis in the Black community. They had to bring together community, political and educational leaders, trade unions, parents, teachers and students and investigate a long term post-apartheid education system envisaged by the Black community (Hartshorne 1992: 5).

Their first task was to investigate the matric results. The poor matric results of 1985 forced them to hold a conference to uncover the cause of the problem (Break Time 1990:5). Upon realising that one of the causal factors was the breakdown in the culture of learning, the NECC made a “Back to Learning” call (Naidoo 1991:121-142). They attempted to ensure that children and students took heed of the call and that they were educated in an appropriate context and manner (Nkomo 1990:65).

The NECC introduced People’s Education. People’s Education was to replace the apartheid education which Blacks regarded as an inferior misrepresentation of education that did not embody their aspirations and quest for a meaningful life (Nkomo 1991: 291-316). There was a hope that People’s Education would be a panacea for the ailing culture of learning.

4.12.9 *People's Education*

People's Education was described by Father Mkhathshwa of the Roman Catholic Church, as an education that would prepare the people for total liberation from the dehumanising apartheid regime (Christie 1991: 271). People's Education was regarded as a political and education strategy for educating and empowering all learners with a view to bring about fundamental social transformation, that could be effected through a healthy and positive culture of learning (Le Roux 1993:179).

People's Education followed immediately after the rejection of the slogan, Liberation before Education. Hence it was regarded as representing a shift from reactive responses and sporadic protests to the development of a more concrete and constructive culture of learning (Le Roux 1993: 179). It was regarded as an alternative education with a new curriculum in history, English, science and mathematics that would make learning content interesting (Gardiner 1991: 199-212).

Though there were many expectations from People's Education, it nevertheless failed to bring about envisaged fundamental change in education. It lacked clarity and there was no consensus over its meaning and context (Le Roux 1993:180). Nonetheless, it had a profound impact on Black education because there arose a spectrum of fee-paying institutions for black students, which took learning seriously in most South African cities (Gardiner 1991: 199-212). The efforts of the NECC which were accepted with open arms by the Black community did not bode well with the government.

4.12.10 *The state's responses to NECC's efforts*

Initially, the government seemed to join forces with the NECC in improving the culture of learning. However, a month after the second National Consultative Conference of the

NECC in March 1986, the government put forward its own proposal for educational change (Christie 1991:285). The government announced a ten-year plan through which spending on black education would be increased. To revitalise the culture of learning, the government promised to build better schools, provide better facilities and improve the services of teachers (Hartshorne 1992: 85).

The NECC rejected the ten-year plan, because it involved the implementation of parity in educational financial spending based on the condition that Black education should remain segregated. Besides, the plans to reach parity were later withdrawn because of a lack of anticipated economic growth, and measures such as building new classrooms fell very much behind. Therefore, the NECC together with the learners decided to take over control of the schools and introduce People's Education (Christie 1991: 285; Hartshorne 1992: 85; Nkomo 1990: 232).

The State reacted firmly and aggressively by declaring a State of Emergency in June 1986, detaining the NECC leadership, banning all the NECC meetings and closing some of the schools. Moreover, the government introduced new regulations with a view to tighten control over schooling. Learners were forced to carry identity cards and the teachers and learners were obliged to remain indoors during school hours (Christie 1991: 285; Hartshorne 1992: 85).

While the battle for control of schools continued, the resistance to schooling also continued. Boycotts broke up again in 1986 in many DET schools leaving some schools half empty (Love & Sederberg 1990: 319). The NECC launched another return to school campaign which was kept in check by the prohibition imposed on the NECC to hold meetings with students (Christie 1991: 290). Despite their success in silencing the NECC in 1986, the government still failed to resolve the crisis in Black education in general and restore the culture of learning among Black youth (Christie 1991: 290; Love & Sederberg 1990: 319).

4.12.11 Further attempts to improve the culture of learning

Even though the NECC was banned, resistance to apartheid education continued throughout 1988 (Break Time 1990: 23). To try to resolve the problem when the school year started in 1989, the government introduced more stringent rules. A learner could only re-register when he was younger than 21 years, and had to be accompanied by a parent at the registration. A matric candidate who had failed could not be re-admitted, a learner who had failed more than one school year could not re-register and a pupil from a school in another area could be admitted only on producing a certificate of good conduct (Christie 1991: 292).

The measures taken by the government excluded many learners from school (Khan, 1989: 16). Teachers who dissented to actions of the State had their services terminated (Hartshorne 1992: 81). To express their resentment to selective exclusion, learners attacked and damaged school property (Break Time 1990: 16). The carnage that followed left school buildings derelict, laboratories without electricity and libraries stripped bare (Break Time 1990: 17). The destruction of those bare necessities made learning practically impossible and impracticable. Despite the exclusion of average students, overcrowding still remained an obstacle. In Soweto only, the learner population doubled from 37 000 in 1976 to 68 000 in 1988 (Break Time 1990:17). Notwithstanding the rising numbers, the number of schools grew very slowly.

In 1989 a number of organisations such as the NECC and COSAS organised a defiance campaign during which they unbanned themselves. The leaders of NECC and their members started to operate openly and convened a fourth consultative forum. At that forum, the NECC once more reiterated their back to learning and schooling call. They urged the students to go back to school when the 1990 school year began, while the NECC resolved the problem of the excluded students (Christie 1991: 294). It was at that conference that the word 'crisis' in the name of the organisation was replaced with 'co-ordinating', to emphasise the NECC's new character of active involvement in solving the problems in Black education and the culture of learning (Mtshali 1992 : 20).

4.12.12 *The efforts of De Klerk*

It was only at the end of 1989 that the government relented to popular demands. Many political detainees and their leaders such as Walter Sisulu of the African National Congress and Zephania Mothopeng of the Pan Africanist Congress were emancipated. All the political movements were unbanned at the beginning of 1990 (Christie 1991: 295). On 2 February 1990, President De Klerk lifted a thirty-year ban on the ANC and released its leader, Nelson Mandela from prison. After President De Klerk launched an era of radical change, Nelson Mandela stepped from his prison cell to speak of reconciliation. It was only after his release that the Nationalist Government, for the first time in history, entered into a negotiated agreement to tacitly assume the demise of apartheid (Paterson 1993: 823-832).

4.13 *Education after the release of Mandela*

4.13.1 *Introduction*

1990 was the year in which riots in Black schools could have ended (Van Heerden 1990: 21). However, the solution was far out of sight. When the government and the ANC were preparing grounds for negotiating the future of South Africa, Black students still engaged in school boycotts. What should have been a triumph for the Black majority was marred by intense political in-fighting between members of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). The political struggle culminated in a further breakdown in the culture of learning.

The continuous vociferous call of 'Back to the Culture of Learning' fell on deaf ears. The NECC put the blame squarely on the Black teachers and learners for the breakdown of learning. Nevertheless, continued efforts were made to revive a culture of learning. Active participation of parents in the education of their children was urged. The negotiations entered into during that era involved the dismantling of the grand apartheid

education structures and the establishment of a single education department. White schools were opened to all races. The negotiations ended with the establishment of the Government of National Unity in 1994 under Nelson Mandela as the first Black president of South Africa.

During his tenure as the president of the new government, Mr Mandela prioritised education. His government introduced a new curriculum approach called outcome based education (OBE). The government also initiated the redeployment of teachers to try to strike a balance in pupil-teacher ratio in all the South African schools. During this period there seemed to be a calm in schools although there were sporadic strikes by teachers and a lethargic culture of learning among students. The environment for quality schooling seemed to be gaining ground although teacher's work ethic remained weak and required attention.

4.13.2 *Intensified political struggle and a culture of learning*

Despite the political change, 1990 was the worst year of political violence in South Africa. Black people were grappling with the meaning of democracy, while the Whites clung tenaciously to the privileges bestowed upon them by the apartheid minority regime (Soudien 1995: 39). Whites still believed that there was no place for Blacks in the White community above the level of certain forms of labour as Verwoerd once claimed in his speech in 1953 (Kallaway 1984: 92). Political intolerance was evidenced by the fierce midnight attacks on innocent civilians, frequent murders on commuter trains, well-organised attacks by armed hostel-dwellers on township folks. Those raids were carried out by what Mandela termed the 'third force' orchestrated by fundamentalists who funded anti-ANC campaigns (Murphy 1997: 286). The marauding groups spread chaos to many parts of the country, with a determination to derail the negotiation process (Soudien 1995: 39).

Chaos spread to schools as well (SACHED 1992: 38). Learners boycotted classes and teachers embarked on chalk-downs, especially in Soweto, Alexandra and the Vaal

Triangle where the carnage was the worst. A spokesperson for the Soweto Parents Coordinating Committee (SPCC), Mr Maepa, indicated that violence in the townships had aggravated the conditions in schools to the extent that the atmosphere was no longer conducive to learning. He expounded by saying that even the few schools that were functional were disrupted by the rumour of impending attacks (*New Nation* 1992:10).

In areas of Natal where the worst violence had erupted, schooling was totally disrupted. School boycotts were accompanied by teacher chalk-downs (Christie 1992:38). Formal schooling and learning effectively broke down (Reeves 1994: 54). The breakdown of discipline and learning was frightening (Heese & Badenhorst 1992: 54). Many schools were destroyed when violence erupted between learners who wished to proceed with their schooling and those who called for protracted boycotts (Reeves 1994: 54; Molefe 1993: 4).

These were pessimism and disillusionment everywhere in Black education. The education crisis in Black schools had spiralled dramatically bringing the culture of learning to the lowest ebb (Miller & Jeffrey 1992: 4). The government lost total control over the schools. The government was blamed for missing an opportunity of implementing the De Lange commission's proposal of a single education department. The government had instead established a Department of National Education as a mother body to the DET for Blacks and the Own Affairs Departments for Whites, Coloureds and Indians (Van Heerden 1990: 21).

The crisis was said to be exacerbated further by continuous underprovision of educational resources in Black schools and overprovision in White schools (Christie 1991: 38). Nevertheless, a general move to stage a campaign to promote a culture of learning in township schools arose (Molefe 1992: 2).

4.13.3 *The call to revive the culture of learning*

When class disruptions continued unabated, a back to schooling call was echoed from many quarters. Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Zephania Mothopeng appealed to

learners to return to school while the community representatives were involved in negotiations with the government (Hartshorne 1992:70). The PAC urged the learners to take schooling seriously and declared 1992 the year of registration of learning and teaching cultures (Hlahla 1992: 4). The Congress of the South African Students (COSAS) as well as the NECC appealed to learners and teachers to move their struggle out of the streets back into the classrooms. They wanted learners and teachers to regard 1992 as the year of intensive learning (*The Citizen* 1992: 2).

The NECC made a pledge to negotiate with education authorities, church ministers and business people to resolve the crisis (*The Natal Mercury* 1992: 2). The NECC also got involved in developing a code of conduct in education, and establishing community-based learning centres where they would provide material for effective teaching and learning. They also challenged the teachers and learners to make 1992 a year of intensive learning (The Citizen 1992: 8; Van der Westhuizen 1992: 2)

4.13.4 Active involvement of parents

John Samuels of the ANC also urged parents to take responsibility for ensuring that their children go to school with a sense of duty and responsibility. There was a general feeling and a belief that the Back-to-School campaign would be more successful if the parents and the business community could be actively involved in the resolution of the education crisis. The efforts of the parents and the massive campaign of back to learning paid off because some schools reported an enrolment as high as 120 learners in some classes (*The Citizen* 1992: 8).

4.13.5 The government's response to further demands

The government relented when it was pressurised to initiate appropriate reforms in Black education. The state embarked on its Education Renewal Strategy whereby the

state responded by opening the White schools to all races. In 1991 out of 3 658 white schools, only 207 admitted Black learners for the first time (Christie 1991: 38). However, the measure did not benefit the Black learners because:

- ◆ many applicants were turned away because they could not meet the admission requirements of individual schools;
- ◆ teaching and learning activities were not adapted to the needs of black learners;
- ◆ learners were at a disadvantage because they were learning through a language in which they were not proficient;
- ◆ there existed home-school discontinuity because teachers could not assist pupils whose background was different from theirs (Le Roux 1993: 181-183).

The state also provided all South Africans with free compulsory education for the first nine years of basic education (Christie 1991:38). Furthermore, the government allocated R7 922 million for the construction of 6 156 new classrooms, five colleges of education and spent R80 million on textbooks and other instructional materials (Christie 1992:38). Principals were given training in management and administration of schools. All this was done to restore culture of learning. With the government committed to improving Black education and restoring the culture of learning, learners and teachers made a concerted effort to achieve their goals of learning and teaching.

Despite the improvements made by the government, COSAS continued with school yard protests (Khuzwayo & Roderrick 1992:13). They regarded the provision of resources as a minor solution. The outcry was that equality of access and resources alone would not necessarily ensure attainment of quality education. The belief was that education quality and not quantity, strongly shaped the eventual returns of education investment. Therefore, even the opening of White schools made no significant impact in the culture of learning (Mncwabe 1993:191).

Black people demanded a single, unitary, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic education system, a system that would provide all learners irrespective of colour, creed or race with an equal chance to achieve in the classroom and to develop their potential (Mncwabe 1993:191). Therefore, the secretary of the NECC, James Maseko, criticised the government in 1992 for failure to resolve the crisis in Black education. A culture of learning could be restored only if the government could play its part with regard to a single education department (*The Citizen* 1992: 8).

4.13.6 *Establishment of a single education department*

1993 was no better than the previous years. Newspaper reports indicated that South Africa was sliding deeper into what could be its worst crisis in Black education since 1976. The reports further stated that 40 per cent of learning time had already been lost through protests, boycotts, marches, sit-ins and continued disruptions of classes (Molefe 1993: 4).

With no end in sight to the turbulence in schools, President De Klerk took a giant step and dismantled the ethnic-based structures of education in 1993, with a view to trim the hugely racially segregated education department into one central ministry in 1993 (Mboya & Mwamwenda 1994: 390). The newly established department was to serve as a transitional structure to a new education dispensation. After the April elections of 1994, a single democratic department of education was put in place with Professor Bhengu as the Minister of Education (Pityana 1994: 22).

4.13.7 *The culture of learning under a new dispensation*

In mid-1994, President Mandela established a project called the Presidential Lead Project aimed at creating a culture of learning. Its main aim was to create an

environment that is conducive to learning and teaching. The main focus of the project was to:

- ◆ refurbish and repair schools and classrooms;
- ◆ establish governing bodies;
- ◆ provide learning material (Nkonka 1996: 7).

President Mandela urged the students to go back to learning and schooling whereupon some secondary schools reported nearly 100 per cent attendance. The DET had never experienced such normal school activity without disruption. Principals made reports such as:

Students now attend school in big numbers and have a different attitude to learning. We see keenness to learn Students now realise that they are part of a legitimate process (The Natal Mercury 1992: 8).

The government of National Unity under President Mandela had education as their major review. They had a mammoth task of improving the quality of education and restoring the culture of learning. For the first time in South African history had the government been mandated to plan the development of education and training system for the whole country and for all its people young and old. According to Section 32(a) of the Constitutional Law of South Africa tabled in 1993, every citizen has a right to basic education. The government then met that obligation by providing a just and equitable education that opened the doors of learning by:

- ◆ providing learners with a Curriculum 2005 based on the tenets of outcomes-based education in which the focus moves from content to on skills and competencies a learner can demonstrate at the end of a learning process. This implies that emphasis would be skills development (Van der Horst & McDonald 1998: 18-28).
- ◆ giving learners, parents or guardians a right to choose a language of instruction where it was reasonably practicable. This is in recognition of cultural diversity which

when given a fair chance would promote multilingualism out of the eleven South African languages recognised as official languages.

- ◆ allowing learners with Human Immune Virus (HIV), or suffering from Acquired Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), as the national policy prescribes, to attend any school of their choice without being discriminated against, directly or indirectly.
- ◆ providing the Black youth and adults, in or out of employment, who had never been schooled or had inadequate education with what they termed Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) which was appropriate to their age and personal circumstances (Government Gazette 1995: 31-45).

The government also embarked on a policy of redeploying excess teachers without incurring high costs of involuntary retrenchments, but upholding the principle of job competence. Thus education department redressed the inequalities created by the apartheid government (Hofmeyer 1998:18).

The object of quality was achieved by state funding of all public schools on an equitable basis, and total or partial exemption from fee payment by parents whose salaries are below a certain threshold. The 1994 Constitution placed the responsibility for schooling in the hands of the nine newly created provinces of South Africa (Mehl 1991: 9).

4.13.8 *Developing a culture of learning in the nine provinces*

A movement was launched in the nine provinces after the National Colts Consultative Conference was held at Midrand in August 1997 to promote a culture of learning, teaching and services [COLTS]. The motto adopted at the conference was *We Are Working In Our Schools\Re A Soma*. The COLTS motto encourages a full day, five days a week and a full term by school management, educators and learners. During that time learners must complete their homework, while teachers must make thorough preparation for all their classes and make learners work. The provinces made a commitment to provide resources, to promote and encourage meaningful learning and

to ensure that schools are run by democratically elected, properly trained and efficient governing bodies. Each province took steps to provide a vibrant culture of learning (Mecoamere 1998: 2).

Northern Province implemented a 12-point plan that embraced punctuality, the observation of full school hours, the curbing of absenteeism and ensuring adherence to compulsory attendance of every lesson by both educators and learners (Mehl 1991: 9). The Free State at its COLTS conference pledged to improve certain areas in education that were previously neglected. This was substantiated by the Chief Director of Education, Mr Nkonka, when he read the quotation from his report:

Our aim is to provide quality and relevant education to all the learners of the province and to provide an effective and efficient education service that will fully develop human potential resources in order to contribute to the socio-economic viability of the Free State (Nkonka 1996: 2).

Gauteng province developed a management plan that would assist schools that had been faring badly, especially in matric results. They also established COLTS-friendly mentorship and teacher support services where they helped with time-tabling and year-planning. North West, assisted by the mining consortium of Gencor, built schools to alleviate overcrowding in Rustenburg. The Eastern Cape introduced a matric intervention programme, while the Northern Cape embarked on youth leadership projects. The Western Cape embarked on a human resources development plan. They trained 160 principals in communication, decision-making and curriculum networking. By the end of 1997 Kwa-Zulu Natal and Mpumalanga had not yet given an indication of how they would revive learning because they had not as yet held conferences to that effect (Mecoamere 1998: 1) .

Notwithstanding all the efforts of the different provinces, 1998 started with a shortfall of learning resources and supplies in certain provinces (Naidu & Seripe 1998: 1). However, the environment for quality schooling improved with parents, teachers, learners and the

wider community presumably committed to improving the culture of learning (Hofmeyer 1998: 18).

4.14 Summary

From 1976, learning in Black schools had been severely disrupted. The disruptions that occurred resulted in a deterioration of the existing culture of learning. Resistance had been characterised by school boycotts, marches, sit-ins and chalkdowns by learners and teachers. Students dissatisfied with the quality of education and the conditions in which it was offered, challenged the government by organising a campaign to defy the policy of Afrikaans as a compulsory medium of instruction imposed on them.

Learners formed COSAS to be their mouthpiece. The protests that were organised by COSAS made educational institutions ungovernable and caused a breakdown in the culture of learning.

The situation was exacerbated by the economic pressure of the 1970's and the 1980's. The country was in an economic recession which left a greater percentage of the Black population unemployed. The socio-economic conditions did not favour even the matriculants who had recently left school. One of the reasons for disrupting the educational process was discontentment with education that provided students with no skills.

The socio-political turbulence of many years, especially the 1980's, encouraged the students to forge unity with the Black workers. Black people came together under the United Democratic Front to challenge the tricameral parliament which consisted of Whites, Indians and Coloureds with the total exclusion of Blacks. The protests that took off were fuelled by rent boycotts in several Black areas which were purported to be rich although some families were starving. The stay-aways and rent boycotts that ensued, crippled the culture of learning because learners became actively involved in the political

struggle in solidarity with their parents and communities, with a total disregard for education and learning.

The brutal response of the government exacerbated the situation. Learners, under COSAS, continued to strike. The NECC, the mouthpiece of parents challenged the state to restore the culture of learning. They requested the government to establish a single, unitary democratic education department. The government's failure to accede to the requests and demands of the Black people resulted in sporadic disruptions that left the culture of learning in disarray. To curb the further deterioration in the culture of learning the government made negligible improvements such as building better schools and providing better facilities. However, Black education at the insistence of the government remained separate and inferior. Disruptions continued because some learners were not satisfied with the improvements, thus prolonging the disruption of the culture of learning.

The culture of learning only improved after the government had surrendered to the demands of the learners and the wider community by unbanning the political movements and their leaders such as Nelson Mandela. Mandela's release ushered in an era that was characterised by minimal tranquillity though at times punctuated by threats of chalk-downs by teachers. During his period in office, Mandela and his government of National Unity, introduced a single education department that implemented new policies such as OBE, which emphasised skills more than content in the curriculum. The government also redeployed excess teachers to redress the imbalance of the past. They also placed the responsibility for schooling in the hands of the nine newly created provinces.

The provinces did everything in their power to revive the culture of learning such as an adherence to compulsory attendance of schools by both educators and learners, providing support systems for educators and providing management and administration courses for principals. All these policies, were introduced with the sole purpose of restoring the culture of learning in Black schools in South Africa

CHAPTER 5

Findings, conclusions and recommendations

5.1 *Findings and conclusions*

The breakdown in the culture of learning among Blacks from 1652-1998 cannot be attributed to a single factor. It encompasses factors such as the breakdown of teaching through teacher strikes, lack of motivation among teachers and learners, militant resistance to learning and class boycotts, *et cetera*. A major contributory factor was neglected. Teachers, parents, pupils and the government failed to contribute to the invigoration of the learning situation.

In some instances teachers failed learners by abusing the female learners, by an authoritarian style and by absenting themselves from the classroom. The predominantly White government failed to fund Black education adequately. The government's failure to provide equitable spending led to inferior education for the Black masses. Education was provided to preserve social control and subjugation. That is clearly shown when the first schooling was established in 1658 (cf 3.3.6.2).

The Nationalist government provided Black schooling with the purpose of segregating Blacks on a racial and ethnic basis (cf 3.3.3 and 3.10.2). During the 1950s and 1960s, the majority of Black South African youth was subjected to an extended period of institutionalised schooling called the Bantu Education. This policy practised segregation by race and later by locality. The division thus practised among the Blacks presented an ideological basis for the absence of political rights. Black schooling was also based on the labour requirement of the country as prescribed by the ruling party, the Nationalist party. Black education produced only unskilled and semi-skilled labourers. That type of education limited educational opportunities for Blacks.

Notwithstanding the racist and repressive nature of the Bantu education system, it nevertheless required, in South Africa as anywhere else in the world, an education order

based on mass schooling. For the first time in the South African history a large majority of Black youth were enrolled in schools.

The introduction of Bantu education was meant to replace the ineffective mission schools (cf 3.10.2). The missionaries failed in their schools because they lacked adequate funds, accommodation and resources. However, some mission schools provided an education of outstanding quality, such as Lovedale College.

Before the 1970's the private sector had a mammoth task of persuading the government to allow it to participate in the development of Black education in South Africa. It was only during the mid-1970s that the private sector became actively involved in education after negotiations with the Nationalist government.

Since many changes and improvements were necessary to invigorate the learning situation, several commissions (cf 3.10 and 3.11.2) were appointed during different eras to investigate how best a culture of learning could be developed. Nevertheless, the government failed to implement all the recommendations. The deterioration situation led to students' protests such as the 1976 Soweto riots (cf 4.1.2). The resistance by students became part of the education order for many years.

Moreover, students linked their educational struggle to the political protests. The political protests crippled the routine of schooling. A back-to-school call made by certain organisations (cf 4.1.12.7) was ignored. It was only after a negotiated settlement between the President, Mr F.W. De Klerk and Mr N.R. Mandela, that a new education order was imposed. The education crisis then received attention.

After the first democratic elections in 1994, learning was resumed with gusto. Many reforms were introduced. The reforms took into account issues such as language, age, race, gender and ability. These are seen in the recognition of the eleven South African languages, introduction of outcomes-based education and adult and basic education and training, the acceptance of learners with HIV/AIDS into the schools and the establishment of the culture of learning and teaching services (COLTS). COLTS

adopted the motto *Re a soma, We are working in our schools*. The nine provinces endeavoured to promote COLTS.

5.2 Recommendations

A major task that faces the new South Africa is winning back and sustaining the culture of learning which Black schooling in particular has lost. A number of issues require attention right before the above-mentioned task can be realised.

It is essential that the government should deal with the following:

- ◆ Redistribution and expansion of education on a non-racial and non-elitist basis;
- ◆ Overcoming basic problems in schools such as overcrowding, absence of electricity, book shortages and the inherent difficulties of under-qualified teachers;
- ◆ A balance between general formative preparatory education and career orientation to limit a bias towards an academic orientation;
- ◆ Technology education and training should be offered to teachers.

A high rate of unemployment especially among the youth of South Africa, as in many countries, is crippling the country. This leads to increased crime. The state, in conjunction with the private sector should establish self-help schemes, for matriculants. The assistance that can be offered could be in the form of funding, provision of equipment and time and the giving of expert advice. Grants for meals and transport in impoverished areas should be considered.

Parents' lack of interest in the education of their children should be re-invigorated. Parents must be involved in home-based school activities initiated by teachers. Teachers can organise workshops for parents at a time convenient for all where parents will be taught to supervise homework, and help students with their studies. Parents can also be taught to speak to their children with an educational aim in mind. The task

should not be relegated to the professionals only. Parents who lack literacy in any area of learning should be encouraged to attend ABET courses.

Militancy in the youth should be channelled to productive experiences in various youth movements such as Girl Guide and Boy Scout movements. Teachers as prime movers in the development of the culture of learning should stand back from authoritarianism and help learners to grapple with challenges facing them in the new South Africa. Teachers must relate to learners in ways that are authentic and which can win respect.

Successful learning is not determined by individual learner factors alone. Every citizen in the country like South Africa, must reflect on exploring the challenges of learning. Learning requires involvement in communities, by the communities, through the communities. Therefore, whether it be teachers, parents, learners or educational officials, a contribution to invigorate a culture of learning should be the central objective. This a task with a new vision and mission which will take learners to a point of critical understanding, so that they can be able to make informed judgements and decisions for themselves.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ash, M. J. Anderson, P. A. & Goetz, P. A. 1992. *Educational psychology: A classroom perspective*. Toronto: Macmillan.

Beare, H., Caldwell, B. J. & Milkan, R. H. 1989. *Creating an excellent school*. New York: Routledge.

Behardien, E. 1981. The Bantu Education Act of 1953. MEd dissertation. University of Cape Town, Cape Town.

Behr, A. L. 1978. *New perspectives in South African education*. Durban: Butterworths.

Behr, A. L. 1979. *New perspectives in South Africa*. Durban: Butterworths.

Behr, A. L. 1984. *New perspectives in South African education*. 2nd edition. Durban: Butterworths.

Behr, A. L. 1985. *Education in South Africa: Origins, issues and trends 1952-1988*. Pretoria: Academica.

Behr, A. L. 1988. *Education in South Africa: Issues, origins and trends 1652-1988*. 2nd edition. Pretoria: Academia.

Behr, A. L. and Macmillan, R. G. 1971. *Education in South Africa*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Bezuidenhout, J. J. 1986. *Vergelykende onderwys-stastieke. Deel Swart onderwys: 1960 tot 1983*. Pretoria: RGN.

Bigge, M. L. 1982. *Learning theories for teachers*. New York: Harper and Row.

Bot, A. K. 1951. *The Development of education in the Transvaal 1936-1951*. Pretoria: Transvaal Education Department.

Break Time. 1990. *The changing face of South African education*. Human Awareness Programme.

Brembeck, C. 1996. *Social foundations of education: A cross-cultural approach*. London: Wiley and Sons.

Brian, R. 1970. *Education in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Collier-Macmillan.

Brown-Miller, 1994. *Learning to learn: Ways to nurture your child's intelligence*. New York: Polonium Press.

Cameron, M. J. 1986. The introduction of Bantu Education and the question of resistance, co-operation, non-collaboration or defiance: The struggle for African schooling with special reference to Cape Town (1945 - 1960) D. Ed Thesis. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Cameron, T. 1986. *An illustrated history of South Africa*. Johannesburg: Van Schaik.

Child, D. 1993. *Psychology and the teacher*. 5th edition. London: Capsules.

Chrispeels, J. H. 1992. *Purposeful restructuring: Creating a culture of learning and achievement in elementary schools*. London: Palar Press.

Christie, P. 1991. *The right to learn. The struggle for education in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Christie, P. 1992. From crisis to transformation: Education in post apartheid South Africa. *Australian journal of education*. (36(1):36-52.

Clarke-Stewart, A. & Friedman, S. 1987. *Child development: Infancy through adolescence*. New York: Wiley & Sons.

Coetzee, J. C. 1958. *Onderwys in Suid Afrika*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Coetzee, J. C. 1975. *Onderwys in Suid Afrika*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Coetzer, I. A. & Van Zyl A. E. 1989. *History of education: A few contemporary educational issues*. Pretoria: Unisa.

Coombs, P. H. 1985. *The world crisis in education: the view from the eighties*. New York: Oxford University.

Cross, M. 1986. A historical review of education in South Africa: Towards an assessment. *Comparative Education* 22(3): 185-200.

Cross, M. & Chisholm, L. 1991. *The roots of segregated schooling in the 20th century South Africa*. New Jersey: Trenton.

Curzon, L. B. 1985. *Teaching in further education: An outline of principles and practice*. Toronto : Rhine-Holt.

Cusick, P. A. 1992. *The education system, its nature and logic*. New York: Mc Graw-Hill.

D'aeth, R. 1975. *Education and development in the third world*. London: Saxon House.

Dreckmeyr, M. 1993. *Contemporary problems in didactics*. Pretoria: Unisa.

Drum. October 1990: Student leaders: Dogged by controversy that followed him to the grave. p 26-27.

Du Plooy, J. L., Griesel, G. A. K. & Oberholzer, M. O. 1987. *Fundamental pedagogics for advanced students*. Pretoria: Haum.

Du Toit, P. S. 1944. *Onderwys aan die Kaap onder die Bataafse Republiek*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Du Toit, P. S. & Nel, W. L. 1981. *Onderwys in Kaapland (1652- 1980)*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Engelbrecht, S. W. B. & Lubbe, A. N. P. No date. *Education psychology*. Johannesburg: Via Africa.

Funk & Wagnalls New Standard Dictionary of English Language. 1963. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Gage, N. L. & Berliner, D. C. 1991. *Educational psychology*. 5th edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Gagne, R. M. 1977. *The conditions of learning*. New York: Holt-Rhineholt.

Gardiner, M. 1991. *Pedagogy of domination: Efforts at creating alternative curricula conceptual and practical considerations*. New Jersey: Trenton.

Gay, L. R. 1992. *Educational research: competencies for analysis and application*. 4th edition. New York: Macmillan.

Gerdes, L. 1988. *The developing adult*. Durban: Butterworths.

Goduka, I. & Hildebrand, V. 1987. Childhood in South Africa. *Early Child Development and Care*, 28: 373-386.

Good, T. L. & Brophy, J. E. 1990. *Educational psychology*. 4th edition. New York: Longman.

Government Gazette. 15 March 1995. *White Paper of Education & Training*. vol 357 no 16312. Notice No 196 of 1995.

Graham, P. 1987. The provision of education in South Africa. Idasa paper.

Gray, D. & McGuigan, J. 1993. *Studying culture*. New York: Hodder & Stoughton.

- Gredler, P. E. 1982. *Learning and instruction: Theory and practice*. Toronto: Macmillan.
- Grendler, P. F. 1989. *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literature and learning*. London: John S Hopkins University Press.
- Hamachek, D. E. 1995. *Psychology in teaching, learning and growth*. Boston: Allyn-Bacon.
- Harper, G., Stooch, B. & Nash, E. 1990. *Human behaviour*. Cape Town: Juta.
- Hartshorne, K. 1992. *Crisis and challenge: Black education 1910-1990*. Oxford: Oxford University.
- Heese, C & Badenhorst, D. L. 1992. *South Africa: The Bantu education Act of 1953*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.
- Heese, C. 1992. *South Africa: The education equation*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Hildebrand, V. & Goduka, I. 1987. Childhood in South Africa: Separate and unequal, *Early Child Development*. 28 (4): 373-386.
- Hlahla, P. 1992. *Pretoria News*. 14 January, p 4.
- Hofmeyer, J. 1998. *Sunday Times*. 01 February, p 18.
- Holahan, C. J. 1982. *Environmental psychology*. New York: Rawdon House.
- Horrel, M. 1968. *Bantu education to 1968*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.
- Human Science Research Council (HSRC)*. 1982. Memorandum of the views of the Main Committee on the Investigation into Education.
- Hyslop, J. 1987. *Perspectives in Education*. 2.(9): 3 - 24.

Jaccaci, A. T. 1989. Social architecture of a learning culture. *Training and Development Journal*. 50: 49-51.

Jacobson, W. 1996. Learning, culture and learning culture. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 47(1): 15-28.

Johnston, C. A. 1996. *Unlocking the will to learn*. London: Sage.

Kallaway, P. 1984: *Apartheid and education: The education of Black South Africans*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Kallaway, P. 1988. Colonial education in Natal: the Zwartkop Government Native School: 1888-1892. *Perspectives in Education*, 10(2): 17-32.

Kapp, J. A. 1991. *Children with problems: An orthopedagogical perspective*. Pretoria: Serva Publications.

Khan, S. 1989. *Sowetan*. 9 September, 1989 p 6.

Khuzwayo, L. & Roderrick, L. 1992. *Vrye Weekblad*. 10-16 Januarie, p 13.

Klausmeier, H. J. 1985. *Educational psychology*. New York: Harper and Row.

Kraak, A. 1989. Private sector investment in Black Education and Training: Rescuing South African capitalism from apartheid crisis. *Comparative Education*. 25(2): 197-218.

Kros, C. 1991. Deep rumblings: Z. K. Mathews and African education before 1955. *Perspectives in education*. 12(1): 21-40.

Kruger, E. G., Bisschoff, T. C., Van Heerden, S. M., Venter, I. S. J. & Verster, T. L. 1990. *Education : Past, present and future*. Pretoria: Euro.

Kruger, E. G. 1986. *Education : Past, present and future*. Pretoria: Euro Publications.

- Kutoane, K. I. & Kruger, R. A. 1990. The need for a culture-based curriculum. *Educumus*. 36(10): 8 - 12.
- Lawton, L. H. & Gordon, P. 1993. *Dictionary of education*. Suffolk: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Le Roux, J. 1993. *The black child in crisis: A pedagogical perspective*. Vol. 2. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Leonie, A. 1965. The development of Bantu Education in South Africa 1652 – 1954. MEd dissertation. Montana State University.
- Lethuli, P. C. 1981. *The philosophical foundations of Black education in South Africa*. Durban : Butterworths.
- Levine, L. H. 1988. Teaching the erratic student. *Instructor*. 97(8): 66-68.
- Loram, C. T. 1917. *The education of South African Natives*. London: Collier-Macmillan.
- Loram, C. T. 1929. A national system of Native Education on South Africa. *South African Journal of Science*. 26:921-927.
- Love, J. & Sederberg, P. C. 1990. Black education and didactics of transformation in South Africa 1982-1988. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 28(2): 299-326.
- Lucas, C. J. 1972. *Our Western educational heritage*. London : Collier-Macmillan.
- Mahlangu, P. C. 1991. A comparative study: differences and similarities between Native Education and Bantu Education with regard to schooling for Africans. DEd thesis. New Mexico State University.

Malherbe, E. G. 1958. *Education in South Africa, 1652-1922*. Johannesburg: Juta.

Marivate, C. N. 1993. Language and education with special reference to mother tongue policy in South African schools. *Language Matters*, 24: 91 - 105.

Mashile, E.O. & Mellet, S. M. 1996. Political and social factors related to secondary school attitude towards school. *South African Journal of Education*. 4(6): 223-226.

Masitsa, M. G. 1995. The establishment of the culture of learning as a prerequisite for Achievement. DEd thesis. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Matlin, M. 1983. *Cognition*. New York: Holt-Rhinehart.

Mbonambi, P. 1998. *Sunday Times*. August 30, p 2.

Mboya, M. M. & Mwamwenda, T. 1994. Quality education in Black schools of South Africa. *International Journal of Education*. 14(4): 4.

McCown, R., Drissol, B. & Roop, P. G. 1992. *Educational psychology*. Boston: Allyn-Bacon.

McGurk, N. J. 1990. *I speak as a white*. Pretoria: Heinemann.

McKerron, M. E. 1934. *A history of education in South Africa*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Mecoamere, V. 1998. *Sowetan Education Supplement*. 8 May, p 2.

Mehl, M. C. 1991. *Science Education in South Africa: Future directions from present realities. Pedagogy of domination*. New Jersey: Trenton.

Miller, S. & Jeffrey, L. 1992. *Rand Daily Mail*. 29 January, p 4.

Mncwabe, M. P. 1990. *Separate and equal education: South African education at a crossroad*. Durban: Butterworths.

Mncwabe, M. P. 1993. *Post-apartheid education: Towards non-racial unitary democratic socialisation in the new South Africa*. New York: Longman.

Mojapelo, J. S. 1980. *Rand Daily Mail*. 26 September, p 12.

Mokubung, N. 1990. *The pedagogy of domination*. New York: Africa World Press.

Molefe, P. 1992. *The Star*. 29 July, p 2.

Molefe, P. 1993. *The Star*. 14 May, p 4.

Moller, V. 1994. *Township youth and their homework*. Pretoria: HSRC.

Mtshali, P. 1992. *Sowetan*. 16 April, p 20.

Muller, J. 1987. Much Ado: Man power shortages and educational policy in South Africa. *Journal of Education Policy*. 2(2): 83-97.

Muller, J. C. 1969. *500 years. A history of South Africa*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Munn, P. 1993. *Parent involvement*. New York: Routledge.

Murphy, D. 1997. *South from the Limpopo: Travels through South Africa*. London: Flamingo.

Mussen, P. H., Conger, J. S., Kagan, J. & Huston, A. C. 1984. *Child development and personality*. 6th ed. New York: Harper and Row.

Mwamwenda, T. 1995. *Educational psychology: An African perspective*. 2nd ed. Durban: Butterworths.

Naidoo, K. 1991. *The politics of student resistance in the 1980's. Pedagogy of Domination*. New Jersey: Trenton.

Naidu, M. & Seripe, S. 1998. *Sowetan*. 15 January, p 01.

Nasson, B. 1984. White school farms. *Matlhasedi*. 3 (2\3) :40.

Natal Mercury. 1992. 16 January, p 12.

Neville, O. K. 1984. Learning culture through rituals: The family reunion. *Journal*, vol. 15: 151 - 166.

New Nation. 1992. 12 -18 June.

New Nation. 1992. 14-20 August, p 10.

New Nation. 1990/1991. 20 December – January, p 20.

Nkomo, M. 1990. *Pedagogy of domination*. Trenton : New Jersey.

Nkomo, M. 1991. Apartheid education and popular struggles. *Perspectives in Education*. 13(1): 81-84.

Nkonka, N. S. 1996. Cultivating a culture of service. *Free State Teacher*. 86(9): 5-6.

Nwandula, C. 1988. The Head of the Native Swiss Mission Education at Lemana. *Perspectives of education*. 10(1): 43-52.

Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary. 1995. New York: Oxford University Press.

Paterson, A. N. M. 1992. Village headmen, teachers and mission schools. *Matlhasedi*. 11(1): 11-12.

Paterson, A. N. M. 1993. Debating education for a future South Africa. *Pedagogic Historica*. 29(3): 823-832.

Pells, E. G. 1938a. *300 years in education in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Juta.

Pells, E. G. 1938b. *European, Coloured and Native Education in South Africa - 1938*. Pretoria: Academica.

Pintrich, P. & Schunk, D. H. 1996. *Motivation in educational theory: Research and application*. Ohio: Prentice -Hall.

Pityana, S. 1994. *Sunday Times*. 22 May, p 22.

Plotkin, N. C. 1982. *Learning, development and culture*. New York: John Wiley.

Reagan, T. C. & Ntshoe, I. 1987. Language policy and Black education. *Journal of research and development in Education*. 20(2): 41-52.

Reagan, T. G. 1987. The politics of linguistic apartheid : Language Policy in Black education in South Africa. *Journal of Negro Education*. 56(3): 299-312.

Reeves, C. 1994. *The struggle to teach*. Cape Town: Maskew-Miller.

Rodale, J. J. 1979. *Synonym finder*. Aylesbury: Rodale Press.

Rogers, C. 1969. *Freedom to learn for the eighties*. Ohio: Merrill

Rose, B. & Tunmer, R. 1975. *Document in South African Education*. Pretoria: Donker Publishers.

Ruperti, R. M. 1975. *The education system of South Africa*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

SACHED. *Bringing back the culture of learning*. Braamfontein: Ravan.

Samuel, J. C. 1990. *Education: From poverty to liberty*. Cape Town: David Phillip.

Seifert, K. L. 1992. *Educational Psychology*. 2nd edition. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin.

Sello, S. 1990. Black Education in crisis: Who is really to blame for the worsening tragedy? *Drum*. August No 141: 26-27.

Shatritz, J. M., Koeppe, R. P. & Soper, E. 1968. *The facts on file: Dictionary of Education*. London: Methner and Co.

Shepherd, R. H. W. Christian Council Study Series.

Smit, B. 1996. Towards global learning in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Journal for Language Teaching*. 30(1): 59-67.

Smith, P. K. & Sharp, S. 1994. *School bullying*. London: Routledge.

Sonnekus, M. C. H. 1977. *Learning: A psychopedagogical perspective*. Stellenbosch: University Publication.

Soudien, C. 1995. Violence and the discourse of Apartheid in Education Act. *Academica*. 27(1):35 - 58.

Sowetan. 1989. 9 February.

Sowetan. 1992. 9 March.

Sowetan. 1998. 15 January.

Sowetan. 1998. 8 May.

Speck, G. E. 1958. *The Wonderbook encyclopaedia*. Cape Town: Lock and Co.

Squelch, J. 1994. *Parent participation*. Pretoria: Acacia.

Standard Encyclopaedia of South Africa 1971. Vol. 4. Cape Town: Nassau

Stone, H. J. S. 1981. *The nature and structure of the school*. Pretoria: Academica.

The Citizen. 1992. 16 January, p 8.

The Natal Mercury. 1992. 16 January, p 2.

Thorpe, M., Edward, R. & Hanson, A. 1993. *Culture and processes of learning*. New York: Routledge.

Unterhalter, E., Wolpe, H., Botha, T., Badat, S. & Khotseng, B. 1991. Apartheid Education and popular Struggles. *Perspectives in Education*. 13(1): 81 - 84.

Vaal Weekblad. 1984. 20 October, p 2.

Van den Aardweg, E. M. & Van den Aardweg, E. D. 1988. *Dictionary of empirical education/Educational psychology*. Pretoria: Enterprises.

Van der Horst, H. & McDonald, R. 1998. *Educare*. 27 (1 & 2)

Van der Stoep, F. & Louw, W. J. 1984. *Didactics*. Pretoria: Academica.

Van der Westhuizen, A. 1992. *Beeld*. 15 January, p 2.

Van Heerden, D. 1990. *Sunday Times*. 8 July, p 21.

Van Rensburg, C. J. J., Landman, W. A. & Bodenstein, H. C. A. 1988. *Basic concepts in education*. Halfway House: Orion.

Van Schalkwyk, O. J. 1977. *The education system: Theory and practice*. Alkantrant: Alkatrant.

Venter, I. S. J. & Van Heerden, S. M. 1989. *The grounding of History of Education*. Pretoria: Euro Publications.

Venter, I. S. J. & Verster, T. L. 1986. *Educational themes in time perspective Part 3* Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Verster, T. L., Theron, A. M. C. & Van Zyl, A. E. 1982. *Educational themes in Time Perspective*. Part 2. Durban: Butterworths.

Verwey, C. T., Carsten, P. D. & du Plessis, A. 1983. Education and manpower Production. *Journal for Research Institute of the University of Bloemfontein*.

Vos, A. J. & Brits, V. M. 1987. *Comparative and International Education for student teachers*. 2nd edition. Durban: Butterworths.

Vrey, J. D. 1979. *The self-actualising educand*. Pretoria: Unisa.

Vrye Weekblad. 1992. p10.

Wakefield, J. F. 1996. *Educational psychology: Learning to a problem solver*. New Jersey: Houghton-Mifflin.

Webster Third New International Dictionary. 1961. Chicago: Lakeside Press

Whitmore, D. 1986. *Psychosynthesis in education*. Vermont: Destiny Books.

Woolfolk, A. E. 1987. *Educational psychology*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Wilson, M. & Thompson, L. C. 1982. *A history of South Africa to 1970*. David Phillips: Claremont-Cape Town.

Wollheim, O. D. 1943. Crisis in Native Education. *Race Relations*. 10(2): 36-45.