THE TRANSFORMATION OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA SINCE 1994. A HISTORICAL-EDUCATIONAL SURVEY AND EVALUATION

by

MAPULA ROSINA LEGODI

submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

in the subject

HISTORY OF EDUCATION

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

PROMOTER: DR S A COETZEE

November 2001

*********************
DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my late brother
POLICE INSPECTOR, GODFREY KOTI KGOPOTSO MOFYA
who liked studying and his work very much.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank God, through my Saviour, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, who at all times has made it possible for me to undertake this research. The love of God and His everlasting blessings upon me will forever be acknowledged through the presentation of this thesis. To God be all the glory and praise for He is indeed the Almighty, for He can do anything.

Special thanks to my promoter Dr S A Coetzee for her expert advise, enthusiasm, motivation and encouragement to perserve, even in difficult times. Her sincere interest, assistance and clear insight in this investigation have made it possible for me to complete this thesis. Her guidance, from the very beginning and up to the completion of this thesis, has made a great difference in my life. May God bless her and her family.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Dr G Reeler for editing and proof-reading the manuscript of this work. Her guidance and encouragement have made a great contribution towards this work.

The final typing of this thesis was accurately and professionally done by Mr Solomon Mudau. I wish to extend my gratitude to him.

I wish to thank the staff of the Unisa library both in Pretoria and Pietersburg, for their support in this venture, particularly Mrs D Motsatsi, for her efforts in making all relevant sources available to me.

To Professor Marcus Ramogale and Dr S K Matseke for generously making it possible for me to have access to their writings. Ke a leboga.
My appreciation to the Northern Province Department of Education for the privilege I have been given to study and complete this thesis. In particular I wish to thank the retired Polokwane District Manager Mr FM Tladi and Messrs SRM Mashao and SJ Mohlala and the rest of the staff at Polokwane District Office.

To my son Jeoffrey and my two daughters Shoki and Lebogang. I wish to express my gratitude for their endless efforts in typing the drafts of this investigation.

My most heartfelt gratitude to my wonderful husband, Albert Mankwana, without whose support I would not have been able to reach the finalisation of this study. He has always stood by me and our family. May God bless him and forever be with him.

To my Mother Jubilee, my Granny Serumula Mofya and my Mother-in-law Anna Matselane Legodi, who encouraged me to work hard and persevere, even when the difficulties seemed insurmountable. I also wish to thank Fannie and Dinah Mokau who offered me accommodation when I visited Unisa. Golang!

To my friends and co-students Mrs Sejeng Caroline Mamabolo, Messrs Peter Letlodi Mafokoane and Sariel Matlala with whom I have been sharing the common sentiments and hardships of being adult students. I thank you for your comradeship.
Student Number: 459 - 210 - 7

I declare that

THE TRANSFORMATION OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA SINCE 1994. A
HISTORICAL-EDUCATIONAL SURVEY AND EVALUATION is my own work and
that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and
acknowledged by means of complete references.

SIGNATURE
Mrs MR Legodi

DATE
04 January 2002
SUMMARY

In order to understand the dynamics of transformation taking place in South Africa today and its impact on teaching and learning, it is essential that the concept of transformation be well understood within the context of South African history of education. This country had an unpleasant history of discrimination and inequality for over three centuries. Through literature study, the past of education prior to the 1994 democratic elections was revealed. Through this revelation, it became possible to gain insight into the present and to plan for the future. The major political break-through that was achieved in 1994 demanded that fundamental changes be implemented in education.

The Government of National Unity (GNU) ruled the country from May 1994 to 1999. It focussed mainly on changing the education policy from being discriminatory and racist to a democratic and non-racist one. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa and many other Acts were legislated. On several occasions, the effectiveness of the new Constitution was tested.

This study has indicated that transformation is a process that cannot be achieved overnight. A historical research method was applied to gather information, gleaned from primary and secondary sources, to follow the process of transformation. The new legislation and its implementation were not realised at its best during the first five years of democracy. The five year period of the GNU was hampered by excessive crime and practices that eroded the culture of teaching and learning at institutions of learning, such as faking certificates, cheating during the Grade 12 (Std 10) examinations, strikes by educators for better salaries, poor matric results and class-boycotts for financial assistance.

Another area that received attention is strategies for education transformation. The following were evaluated: the influx to private and previously White schools,
affirmative action, gender equality and the quality of education at farm schools. To speed up education transformation there is a need for all stakeholders in education (educators, the government, learners, the private sector, parents and the community) to join hands. It is hoped that complete education transformation will eventually be achieved.
Key Terms

Transformation
Education transformation
Survey
Evaluation
Culture
The Government of National Unity (GNU)
Multicultural education
Democracy
Africanisation
African Renaissance
Strategies for change
Transformation resistance
Liberalist theory of change
The culture of teaching and learning
Affirmative action
Gender equality
Farm schools
The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABB</td>
<td>Afrikaner Broederbond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATASA</td>
<td>African Teachers' Association of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AZAPO</td>
<td>Azanian People's Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AWB</td>
<td>Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CATA</td>
<td>Cape African Teachers' Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCMA</td>
<td>Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEM</td>
<td>Council of Education Ministers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGE</td>
<td>Commission on Gender Equality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNE</td>
<td>Christian National Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CODESA</td>
<td>Convention for Democratic South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLTS</td>
<td>Culture of Learning, Teaching and Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSAS</td>
<td>Congress of South African Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSATU</td>
<td>Congress of South African Trade Unions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTPA</td>
<td>Cape Teachers' Professional Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEIC</td>
<td>Dutch East Indian Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET</td>
<td>Department of Education and Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DNE</td>
<td>Department of National Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP</td>
<td>Democratic Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELRA</td>
<td>Education Labour Relations Act 146 of 1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELRC</td>
<td>Education Labour Relations Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPU</td>
<td>Education Policy Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERS</td>
<td>Education Renewal Strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAGBSAS</td>
<td>Federation of Association of Governing Bodies of South African Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FF</td>
<td>Freedom Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEAR</td>
<td>Growth Employment and Redistribution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GNU</td>
<td>Government of National Unity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEDCO</td>
<td>Heads of Education Departments Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immune-deficiency Virus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HRC</td>
<td>Human Rights Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSRC</td>
<td>Human Science Research Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFP</td>
<td>Inkatha Freedom Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LRA</td>
<td>Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LRC</td>
<td>Labour Relations Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAPEP</td>
<td>Macmillan Primary English Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEC</td>
<td>Member of the Executive Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEDUNSA</td>
<td>Medical University of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAPTOSA</td>
<td>National Professional Teachers' Organisation of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDF</td>
<td>National Defence Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NECC</td>
<td>National Education Crisis Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEDLAC</td>
<td>National Economic Development and Labour Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEF</td>
<td>National Economic Forum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEPI</td>
<td>National Education Policy Investigation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIA</td>
<td>National Intelligence Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>National Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNP</td>
<td>New National Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTUF</td>
<td>National Teachers Unity Forum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OAU</td>
<td>Organisation of African Unity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBE</td>
<td>Outcomes-Based Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEU</td>
<td>Professional Educators' Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSCBC</td>
<td>Public Service Co-ordinating Bargaining Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RDP</td>
<td>Reconstruction and Development Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSA</td>
<td>Republic of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SABC</td>
<td>South African Broadcasting Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SABRA</td>
<td>South African Bureau of Racial Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SACE</td>
<td>South African Council of Educators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SACP</td>
<td>South African Communist Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SADTU</td>
<td>South African Democratic Teachers' Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAFCERT</td>
<td>South African Certification Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAHRC</td>
<td>South African Human Rights Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAIRR</td>
<td>South African Institute of Race Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAOU</td>
<td>Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysersunie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAPS</td>
<td>South African Police Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SASA</td>
<td>South African Schools Act 84 of 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SASS</td>
<td>South African Secret Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SATA</td>
<td>South African Teachers' Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SATU</td>
<td>South African Teachers' Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCA</td>
<td>Soweto Civic Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRC</td>
<td>Students' Representative Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TATA</td>
<td>Transvaal African Teachers Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TFA</td>
<td>Teachers' Federation Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TUATA</td>
<td>Transvaal United African Teachers' Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UCT</td>
<td>University of Cape Town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Education, Science and Cultural Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children's Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unisa</td>
<td>University of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UP</td>
<td>United Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>United States of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTASA</td>
<td>Union of Teacher's Association of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WCOTP</td>
<td>World Confederation of Organisation of the Teaching Profession</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dedication ................................................................. (i)
Acknowledgements .................................................... (ii)
Declarations ............................................................... (iv)
Summary ................................................................. (v)
Key terms ................................................................. (vii)
List of abbreviations and acronyms ................................. (viii)
List of Tables ............................................................ (xxvii)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL ORIENTATION

1.1 Genesis of the research .......................................... 1
1.2 Statement of the problem ......................................... 2
1.3 Aims and objectives of the study ............................... 4
  1.3.1 Aims .................................................... 4
  1.3.2 Objectives .............................................. 4
1.4 Significance of the study ......................................... 5
1.5 Delimitation of the field of study .............................. 6
  1.5.1 Conceptual analysis ...................................... 7
    1.5.1.1 Educational Transformation ........................ 7
    1.5.1.2 Historical-educational ............................ 9
    1.5.1.3 Survey .................................................. 10
    1.5.1.4 Evaluation ............................................. 11
    1.5.1.5 Democracy ............................................ 11
    1.5.1.6 Culture .................................................. 13
    1.5.1.7 Multicultural education ............................ 14
    1.5.1.8 Racial, racism and racist .......................... 15
1.5.1.9 Multiracial education ........................................ 16
1.5.1.10 Ethnic ..................................................... 17
1.5.1.11 Multiethnic ............................................... 18
1.5.1.12 The Government of National Unity (GNU) .............. 18
1.5.2 The scope of the study ........................................... 20
1.5.3 Programme for research ......................................... 21

1.6 Methodological account .......................................... 23

1.6.1 Approaches .................................................... 24
1.6.1.1 The metabletic approach .................................... 24
1.6.1.1.1 The theoretical principles .............................. 25
1.6.1.1.2 The practical principles ............................... 25
1.6.1.2 The problem-historical approach ............................ 26

1.6.2 Research method ............................................... 27
1.6.2.1 The historical-educational method .......................... 28

1.7 Conclusion ........................................................ 33

(xii)
# CHAPTER 2

**ISSUES CHARACTERISING EDUCATION PRIOR TO 1994**

## 2.1 Introduction

## 2.2 Aspects that shaped education in South Africa prior to 1994

2.2.1 South Africa, a fragmented society

2.2.2 The genesis of racial discrimination

## 2.3 Putting segregation in place by means of legislation

2.3.1 The Population Registration Act 30 of 1950

2.3.2 The Group Areas Act 41 of 1950

2.3.3 Reservation of The Separate Amenities Act 49 of 1953

2.3.4 The Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953

2.3.5 The Mixed Marriages Act 55 of 1949

2.3.6 The Bantu Self-government Act 46 of 1959

2.3.7 The Extention of University Act 45 of 1959

2.3.8 Medical University of South Africa Act 78 of 1976

2.3.9 Vista University Act 106 of 1981

## 2.4 Issues characterising the education system in South Africa prior to 1994

2.4.1 Racial discrimination in education

2.4.1.1 Defying discriminatory education

2.4.2 Education used as an instrument for serving political, religious and economical purposes

2.4.2.1 Possible reasons for establishing African schools

2.4.2.2 The aim of education

2.4.2.3 Defying the aim of education

2.4.3 Education characterised by inequality

2.4.4 Transplanting European culture into South Africa
2.4.4.1 European culture in South Africa .................. 62
2.4.4.2 Education devoid of cultural roots .................. 64
2.4.5 Curriculum and syllabi for Black schools ................. 65
  2.4.5.1 Irrelevant and inferior curriculum .................. 65
  2.4.5.2 The irrelevance of syllabi .......................... 67
    2.4.5.2.1 History as a controversial subject ............ 67
    2.4.5.2.2 The status of Religious Education ............ 69
2.4.6 The language policy as political instrument ............... 70
2.4.7 The medium of instruction ................................ 71
2.5 The absence of a culture of teaching and learning ........... 75
  2.5.1 Factors that eroded the culture of teaching and learning .... 75
    2.5.1.1 Liberation struggle ................................ 75
    2.5.1.2 Unfavourable conditions at higher education
      institutions ............................................ 77
    2.5.1.3 Lack of representation in school governance .......... 78
    2.5.1.4 The conditions of service for educators and the
      culture of teaching ..................................... 79
      2.5.1.4.1 Disempowered educators ...................... 80
      2.5.1.4.2 Lack of facilities .......................... 81
    2.5.1.5 Teacher training and the culture of teaching and
      learning ................................................. 82
    2.5.1.6 Professionalism and unionism and the culture of
      teaching and learning .................................. 83
      2.5.1.6.1 Professionalism versus unionism .............. 83
      2.5.1.6.2 The influence of professionalism and
        unionism on educators' salaries
        negotiations ......................................... 86
    2.5.1.7 The poor quality of education for Blacks ............ 87
    2.5.1.8 Farm schools ..................................... 88
    2.5.1.9 The impact of lack of affirmative action on the

CHAPTER 3

STRATEGIES, PERSPECTIVES AND VIEWS ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 Introduction ............................................................... 96

3.2 Strategies for education transformation ........................................ 96
   3.2.1 The Liberalist theory of change ........................................ 97
   3.2.2 Multicultural education .................................................. 100
       3.2.2.1 The emergence of multicultural education .................... 100
       3.2.2.2 The characteristics of multicultural education ............ 101
       3.2.2.3 The goals of multicultural education .......................... 102
       3.2.2.4 Essential conditions for effective multicultural education ........................................ 103
       3.2.2.5 Theories related to a multicultural approach to change ........................................ 104
       3.2.2.5.1 The amalgamation theory ........................................ 104
       3.2.2.5.2 The assimilation theory ........................................ 106
       3.2.2.5.3 The cultural pluralism theory .................................. 107

3.3 Strategies for education transformation with an African origin ............. 110
   3.3.1 Africanisation ....................................................... 110
   3.3.2 African Renaissance .................................................. 114
   3.3.3 People's Education ................................................... 117

3.4 Perspectives of authoritative South African educationists on education transformation ........................................ 120
   3.4.1 Professor Malegapuru William Makgoba ................................ 121
       3.4.1.1 Makgoba's conception of education transformation ............. 122
       3.4.1.1.1 Alienation of Blacks and affirmative action .................. 122
       3.4.1.1.2 Cultural revolution .............................................. 122

(xvi)
3.4.1.1.3 Transformation of leadership and management and affirmative action ... 123
3.4.1.1.4 Africanisation of institutions of learning ... 123
3.4.1.1.5 Inequality and racism ... 124
3.4.1.1.6 Curriculum ... 124
3.4.1.2 Makgoba's strategies for education transformation 124
3.4.2 Professor Marcus Ramogale ... 125
3.4.2.1 Ramogale's perspective on education transformation ... 126
3.4.2.1.1 Transformation of attitudes ... 126
3.4.2.1.2 Discipline as the major strategy for education transformation ... 127
3.4.2.1.3 Accepting full responsibility for one's failure ... 128
3.4.2.1.4 Achieving quality education through effective teaching ... 128
3.4.3 Doctor Solomon Kgokgophana Matseke ... 129
3.4.3.1 Matseke's view of the problems in education ... 130
3.4.3.1.1 The proper leadership roles of principals ... 130
3.4.3.1.2 Quality education depends on quality educators ... 131
3.4.3.1.3 Retaining the good from the education of the apartheid era ... 132
3.4.4 Doctor Kenneth Brown Hartshorne ... 133
3.4.4.1 Hartshorne's view on, and strategies for transformation ... 134
3.4.4.1.1 Adequate provision of resources ... 135
3.4.4.1.2 Achieving equality in education ... 135

(xvii)
3.4.4.1.3 Achieving quality education through quality educators .................. 136
3.4.4.1.4 The need for relevancy in schooling . 137
3.4.4.1.5 Attitudinal change ................ 137
3.4.4.1.6 Transformation as long-term process 137

3.4.5 Franklin Abraham Sonn ........................................ 138
3.4.5.1 Sonn's strategy for education transformation ..... 139
3.4.5.1.1 The country needs competent educators .......................... 139
3.4.5.1.2 Affirmative action, a necessity .......................... 139
3.4.5.1.3 Equal education for all .................... 140

3.4.5.2 History teaching and transformation ..................... 140

3.4.6 Professor Kader Asmal ....................................... 141
3.4.6.1 Asmal's thoughts on problems in education ..... 141
3.4.6.1.1 Educators to be empowered and respected ................. 142
3.4.6.1.2 Professionalism as an essential tool for effective change .... 142
3.4.6.1.3 Fighting illiteracy ................................ 143
3.4.6.1.4 Discipline and motivation as the cornerstones of education 144

3.4.7 Doctor Oscar Dumisani Dhlomo .......................... 146
3.4.7.1 Dhlomo's strategy for correcting the education system ........................................ 146
3.4.7.1.1 Discipline, freedom and responsibility 147
3.4.7.1.2 Schools should reflect the people's philosophy .............. 147
3.4.7.1.3 Pursuing mutual understanding ............ 147
3.4.7.1.4 Affirmative action and manpower supply .................... 148

(xviii)
3.4.8 Randall Van den Heever ............................................ 148
3.4.8.1 Van den Heever’s strategy for transformation ....... 149
  3.4.8.1.1 Government commitment to uphold 
      fundamental human rights ......................... 149
  3.4.8.1.2 An open education system and a single 
      ministry of education ......................... 149
  3.4.8.1.3 Eradication of historic backlogs ............ 149
  3.4.8.1.4 Democratic participation of local parent 
      communities ................................. 150

3.5 Conclusion .......................................................... 150
CHAPTER 4

EDUCATION TRANSFORMATION DURING THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY

4.1 Introduction .................................................. 152

4.2 Commissions and investigations that preceded the transformation .............................................. 152
  4.2.1 The De Lange Commission of enquiry ........ 153
  4.2.2 The National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) .......... 153
  4.2.3 The Education Policy Unit (EPU) ..................... 154
  4.2.4 Education Renewal Strategy (ERS) .................. 155

4.3 The role played by the GNU in the transformation of education ................................................. 157
  4.3.1 Legislating transformation ................................ 157
    4.3.1.1 The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996 ........................................... 157
    4.3.1.2 The South African Schools Act 84 of 1996 (SASA) 161
    4.3.1.3 The White Paper on Education and Training .... 162
    4.3.1.4 The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) ................................................. 165

4.4 Issues that shaped transformation under the GNU ......................................................... 168
  4.4.1 Putting an end to racism .................................. 168
  4.4.2 Achieving equality in education ......................... 170
    4.4.2.1 Compulsory education ............................... 171
    4.4.2.2 The educator-learner ratio ...................... 171
    4.4.2.3 Matric results ..................................... 172
    4.4.2.4 The role played by the private sector .......... 176
    4.4.2.5 Redeployment and rationalisation as a means to achieve equality ........................................ 177
  4.4.3 Acknowledging cultural diversity and ethnicity ..................................................... 178

(xx)
4.4.4 The authentic aim of education ........................................ 179
4.4.5 A relevant curriculum .................................................. 180
  4.4.5.1 Curriculum 2005 .............................................. 180
  4.4.5.2 Criticism against Curriculum 2005 ....................... 183
  4.4.5.3 The interim syllabi ........................................... 185
  4.4.5.4 History as a controversial subject ....................... 185
    4.4.5.4.1 Anglo Boer War week .............................. 186
    4.4.5.4.2 The Legacy Project launched ...................... 187
    4.4.5.4.3 New history publications ......................... 187
  4.4.5.5 Freedom of religious practices and observances .... 188
  4.4.6 Choice of the medium of instruction ....................... 189
4.5 Conclusion ..................................................................... 192
CHAPTER 5

THE CULTURE OF TEACHING AND LEARNING DURING THE REIGN OF
THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONALUNITY 1994-1999

5.1 Introduction .................................................................. 194

5.2 The lack of a culture of learning ............................... 195
  5.2.1 External factors that impede transformation .......... 196
  5.2.2 Criminal elements in education ......................... 197
  5.2.3 'Yizo Yizo', a reality in Black schools or an exaggeration? ... 199
  5.2.4 Learners giving birth on the school premises .......... 201
  5.2.5 Cheating at school level during the Grade 12 (Std 10) final
      examination .............................................. 202

5.3 Provincial and national events that affected the culture of
    teaching and learning and transformation ................. 203
  5.3.1 Irregularities during the 1998 examination in Mpumalanga
      Province .............................................. 203
  5.3.2 National tertiary institutions protest .................... 209

5.4 The conditions of service for educators and the culture of
    teaching ......................................................... 211
  5.4.1 Legislating educators' representation .................. 212
      5.4.1.1 The Education Labour Relations Act 146 of 1993
            (ELRA) ........................................ 212
      5.4.1.2 The South African Council of Educators (SACE) ... 215

5.5 The influence of unprofessional practices on transformation .. 217
  5.5.1 The criminal behaviour of some educators .......... 217
  5.5.2 The unprofessional conduct of educators ............. 218
  5.5.3 The culture of faking certificates ..................... 219
5.6 Professionalism and unionism in the organised teaching profession .......................... 220
   5.6.1 Professionalism versus unionism .......................................................... 220
   5.6.2 Educators' militancy ................................................................................. 224
   5.6.3 Educators' strike over salaries from 1994-1999 ........................................ 226

5.7 Educators' unprofessional behaviour under scrutiny ................................. 230
   5.7.1 Criticism from the South African Government of National Unity .................. 231
   5.7.2 SADTU criticised by its political allies ...................................................... 233
   5.7.3 Disapproval voiced by SADTU's executive ................................................. 233
   5.7.4 Disapproval from educationists and intellectuals ....................................... 233
      5.7.4.1 Professor Kader Asmal ................................................................. 234
      5.7.4.2 Logan Govender .............................................................................. 235
      5.7.4.3 Doctor Oscar Dhlomo and Advocate Dikgang Moseneke ....................... 235

5.8 Farm schools ................................................................................................. 236

5.9 The influx into private and historically White-only schools since 1994 ............ 239

5.10 Affirmative action ......................................................................................... 242

5.11 Gender inequality ......................................................................................... 243

5.12 Conclusion ...................................................................................................... 247
CHAPTER 6
RESISTANCE TO EDUCATION TRANSFORMATION FROM 1994 TO 1999

6.1 Introduction ........................................... 249

6.2 Pretexts for resistance .................................. 250
   6.2.1 Closure of farm schools .......................... 250
   6.2.2 Defying redeployment and rationalisation ........ 250
   6.2.3 Language as a pretext for not accepting other racial groups . 251

6.3 Resistance from some White communities ................ 251
   6.3.1 Racist attitudes in education ...................... 251
   6.3.2 Racial conflict and incidents in institutions of learning ...... 252

6.4 Resistance at Laerskool Potgietersrus .................... 253
   6.4.1 White parents prevent Black children from entering a formerly
         White-only school .................................... 253
   6.4.2 Laerskool Potgietersrus matter taken to court ........ 255
   6.4.3 The Afrikaans 'Volk' school ........................ 259

6.5 Resistance at Vryburg Hoërskool ........................ 260
   6.5.1 The genesis of resistance at Vryburg Hoërskool ....... 261
   6.5.2 Racial unrest at Vryburg Hoërskool ................ 263
   6.5.3 The Absolute Consultancy Task Team's enquiries and
         findings .............................................. 265
   6.5.4 The appointment of the first Black deputy principal at Vryburg
         Hoërskool ........................................... 267
   6.5.5 The Andrew Babeile's case .......................... 269

6.6 Conclusion ............................................ 272
CHAPTER 7

FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction ........................................... 273
7.2 Retrospection ........................................ 273
7.3 Findings ............................................. 277
   7.3.1 The culture of teaching and learning is not yet fully restored 277
      7.3.1.1 Effective teaching is not taking place at some
              schools ........................................ 277
      7.3.1.2 No effective disciplinary measures at schools .... 277
      7.3.1.3 Educators’ morale at its lowest ebb ............ 278
      7.3.1.4 The lack of professionalism among educators .... 278
   7.3.2 Poor matric results ................................ 279
   7.3.3 The GNU and the basic demands for resources ...... 279
   7.3.4 Lack of confidence in the former Black-only schools ...... 280
   7.3.5 Racism still exists in some former White schools ...... 280
   7.3.6 Crime is rife at institutions of learning ............. 280
   7.3.7 Lack of reliable and competent administration officials ..... 281
   7.3.8 The future of farm schools at stake ................... 281
   7.3.9 Disempowered managers ................................ 282
   7.3.10 Curriculum ...................................... 282
   7.3.11 No effective policy on gender equality ............. 282
7.4 Conclusion ............................................ 283
7.5 Recommendations ...................................... 283
   7.5.1 Aims for long-term transformation ..................... 283
   7.5.2 Language ....................................... 284
   7.5.3 In-service training ................................ 284
   7.5.4 The need to combat racism in learning institutions .... 284
   7.5.5 Provision of security at schools ..................... 285
7.5.6 Lack of effective support systems ........................................ 286
7.5.7 Appointment of principals .............................................. 286
7.5.8 Revisiting teachers' right to strike ..................................... 286
7.5.9 The improvement of educators' salaries and conditions of service .................................................. 287
7.5.10 The need to design an effective gender equality policy .......... 288
7.5.11 Transforming teaching at institutional level ....................... 288
7.5.12 The development of a strong administrative power base .... 288
7.5.13 Compulsory HIV/AIDS Programmes .................................. 289
7.5.14 Change of attitude amongst South Africans ....................... 289

7.6 Conclusion ............................................................................ 289

Bibliography .............................................................................. 291
LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1  Per capita spending per learner for various cultural groups . . 57
Table 4.1  Matric results for nine provinces from 1995-1996 . . . . . . . 173
Table 4.2  Levels of phasing in curriculum 2005 in schools . . . . . . . 181
Table 4.3  The proportion of the total population in South Africa
using eleven official languages according to 1994/1995
race relation survey . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 191
Table 5.1  The Grade 12 (Std 10) pass rate for Mpumalanga Province
over a four year period: 1995-1998 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 204
Table 5.2  Debt at Universities for the second half of 1997 . . . . . . . 210
Table 5.3  Pre-budget by the Department of Education for the
purpose of salary adjustment for educators in 1996 . . . . . . . 228

(xxvii)
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL ORIENTATION

1.1 Genesis of the research

When the Government of National Unity (GNU) took over the South African Government in 1994, the country’s education system needed fundamental changes in order to put an end to crime in schools, improve matric results, enhance delivery by the government and cultivate a culture of teaching and learning. After the euphoria of the first democratic elections, most South Africans experienced a feeling of elation.

Unfortunately, regardless of major political changes and the nominal establishment of a single ministry of national education in July 1994, schools are still characterised by crime, racist practices, inequality and total lack of culture of teaching and learning (Hlophe 1999(b):3; Tleane 2000:11; Wedekind, Lubisi, Harley & Gulting 1996:42).

The following written media evidence bears witness to the situation in the education sphere in 1999 and 2000:

- University of Venda (UniVen) decides it’s time to call for a police presence Mulaudzi 1999:2).
- The right to learn is tragically wasted (Komane 1999(a):9).
- Teacher gets 20 years for raping pupil (Gama 1999(a):7).
- Agricultural College turns to killing field (Nkosi & Mulaudzi 1999:1).
- Schools still waiting for text books (Hlophe 1999(b):3).
- Alleged ringleader quits school (Mtshali 2000:16).
High school is accused of racism (Sefara 2000:4).

It is clear that education in South Africa is still at the cross roads and the transformation process is still at its teething stage. This is also the opinion of South Africa’s second democratic post-election Minister of national education, Professor Kader Asmal who describes education as being in a crisis and a state of emergency (Mecoamere 1999(g):3). Such a state of affairs in the education system warrants research at doctoral degree level to evaluate the transformation process in the country. It seems that there is a dire need for an intensive study into the changes that have taken place in the educational sphere in South Africa since 1994. There is also a need to evaluate to what extent these changes succeeded in establishing a relevant, open and non-racial education system and in changing schools from battle fields to places of teaching and learning.

It is therefore the intention of this researcher to investigate and evaluate what, why and how education transformation has taken place in South Africa since 1994. As a researcher in History of Education, the investigation aspires to reach reliable, credible, accurate, certain, valid and objective findings and to make pronouncements (Venter & Van Heerden 1989:103) as far as education transformation is concerned. With this background in mind, the following section will focus on the statement of the problem.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Professor Bengu, the then Minister of Education, in his address to the National Assembly on 26 May 1994, emphasised that he prioritised the transformation of

---

1 Kader Asmal became the Minister of Education in the ANC government, after the second democratic elections in South Africa in June 1999. Asmal is referred to in this research not only in his capacity as a Minister of Education in the ANC government but also as an educationist.
education in the country as his most important task. He promised that the education department will strive to ensure equity, capacity building, empowerment, social regeneration and enrichment for all the people (McKay 1995:(ii)).

In the light of the envisaged transformation and the assurance by the GNU to transform the education in the country, the statement of the problem that underlies the present study can be expressed in the following questions:

- Which essential issues characterising education (1658–1994) prompted this dire need for transformation?
- What was the state of the culture of teaching and learning at institutional level prior to the democratic elections in 1994?
- What educational transformation strategies are applicable to South Africa? What are the different perspectives, views and theories of the personalities and educationists as far as educational transformation is concerned?
- Was the GNU able to address all the issues that demanded that educational transformation be treated as a matter of urgency?
- Did the GNU succeed in restoring the culture of teaching and learning during its reign?
- How was the resistance towards educational transformation addressed and what role did the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996 play in normalising the situation?

A refinement of these broad questions brings further issues to the fore which will be discussed below. The researcher had specific aims in her initiation of this study. The objectives thereof need to be mentioned at this stage in order to provide guidelines and direction for this study.

\(^2\)Hereafter referred to as the Constitution.
1.3 Aims and objectives of the study

1.3.1 Aims

The aim of historical research, as seen by Gall, Borg and Gall (1996:643), is to help educators to understand the present condition of education by shedding light on the past. The overall aim of this study in particular is to investigate the success and failure of the GNU as far as the transformation of education in South Africa is concerned. This research aims (in particular) at:

- describing and explaining the concept of transformation
- evaluating and surveying the education transformation process during the time the GNU was in power (1994-1999)
- focusing on aspects that need intensive attention in the new education system, and
- looking at the attainability of effective education transformation.

In the final chapter of this thesis it is evaluated whether the research aims have been realised. The researcher finds it essential that these broad research aims should be refined and reformulated in terms of concrete, operational and pertinent objectives.

1.3.2 Objectives

This study will strive to:

- describe and analyse education issues from the previous system of education in order to identify and analyse past educational practices in South Africa that influenced the need for education transformation
investigate the culture of teaching and learning prior to the democratic elections in 1994. This investigation will make it possible to assess how far change has been implemented in education

- analyse various educational strategies and perspectives which originated from outside and inside the country, which may be relevant in transforming the education system in the country

- critically examine the efforts of the GNU towards restoring the culture of teaching and learning in order to determine its success and/or failure in this regard

- gather data on, and give an appraisal of the development of education transformation and to assess whether the GNU was able to address essential issues in the history of education in South Africa which resulted in the need for transformation

- investigate resistance towards education transformation during the reign of the GNU and obtain clarity on the role the Constitution of South Africa Act 108 of 1996 and the South African Schools Act 84 of 1996 played in addressing this resistance.

After having highlighted the aim and objectives of this research, attention is paid to the significance of this study for South Africa and the world at large.

1.4 Significance of the study

In determining the significance of this research, the researcher kept in mind that whatever a nation has retained and handed down as education, was determined in the past by the origin and trend of the culture to which it belonged (Venter 1976:120). Much depended on whether the culture of a nation depended essentially on its own resources or whether significant elements of its culture

\[3\text{Hereafter referred to as the Schools Act}\]
were derived from other nations. Venter (1976:120) is of the opinion that nations with a culture developed by themselves found their education on indigenous ground and their own past. The teaching content and the language in which it is presented, carry a national stamp. Nations with derived cultures, on the other hand, are dependent on finding their teaching content on strange soil, and sometimes use a foreign language as their medium of instruction.

The researcher will focus on transformation as it took place in the country, keeping in mind the origin of the current education system. It is hoped that this research will also contribute to the country and the rest of the world in that it will:

- shed light on the educational transformation process in South Africa during the five years of the GNU
- briefly indicate the history of education in the country prior to 1994
- identify and describe various scientific theories and models for educational change
- indicate the real situation in the country as far as the culture of teaching and learning is concerned
- reveal the resistance to transformation that emerged during the period under discussion

Having discussed the significance of this research, a clear delimitation of the field of study needs to be formulated.

1.5 Delimitation of the field of study

A delimitation of the field of study is done in order to determine what is relevant to this study and what not. It will include a conceptual analysis, a discussion of the scope of the study and an indication of the programme of research.
1.5.1 Conceptual analysis

At this stage it is essential to clarify the most significant concepts in order to ensure that their meanings are understood; especially in the context in which they are used in this research.

1.5.1.1 Educational Transformation

**Educational Transformation** is a central theme of this study. At this stage a brief introductory explanation is appropriate to set the scene. A more detailed explanation of this concept is given in chapters 3 and 4.

**Educational** is an adjective derived from education. Chesler (1993:20) confirms that there are many meanings attributed to the term *education*. Each meaning depends on the context in which the term is used. Meier (1994:9) views education as a synonym for pedagogy. The concept of *education* originated from the Greek word “paidagogia” which means “begeleiding van die kind” (leading of the child) (Meier 1994:9). Education is a universal and social enterprise in which the society’s knowledge, customs, social values and skills are consciously and purposefully transmitted from one generation to another (Mathunyane 1996:11). **Education** refers to the instillation of all the basic experiences, attitudes and concepts which are essential to adult life in a highly differentiated society while it also supports a given social order (Mathunyane 1996:11; Naicker 1996:17).

The school is seen as an environment where formal and secondary education is transmitted to younger generations and where genuine transformation will eventually be realised. Nevertheless, Van den Bos (1986:vii) argues that not all activities in schools, colleges and universities as well as in those learning experiences which occur in the work place or other non-formal situations in the country can be said to be educative.
Schooling is a means through which education can take place at a school. There is no way in which education can be divorced from schooling as the school plays a major role in education today. Fullan (1991:14) regards the two major purposes of schooling as to educate learners in various academic or cognitive skills and knowledge, and to educate learners, as individuals, in social skills and knowledge necessary to function occupationally and socio-politically in society. Schooling differs from education in that education refers to the leading of the child where society's customs, knowledge, social values and norms are transmitted while schooling focuses on academic and life skills for economic-socio-political survival.

From the above definitions of the concept of education it could be deduced that education fulfils the learner's future needs by providing skills and knowledge. To eliminate possible misunderstanding and confusion, the concept of educational qualifies transformation which is interpreted in this research to mean the transmission of beliefs, traditions, customs and the cultural and ethnic values of a community to a younger generation through institutions of learning, such as schools.

According to the Oxford English Mini Dictionary (1997, s.v. 'transformation') the concept of transformation means "a great change in appearance and order". The Reader's Digest Complete Wordfinder (1994, s.v. 'transformation') explains transformation as an act of making a "thorough or dramatic change in the form, outward appearance and character". Makgoba (1997:95-96), from a more contextual background, described transformation as a challenge which institutions in South Africa face. In Makgoba's opinion (1997:2, 78-83), transformation in South Africa is underpinned by three closely related factors namely race, gender and culture.

In this study the concept of transformation, will be understood as fundamental changes in the character, order and appearance of the education system that
took place since the opening of the first school in 1658 to the first democratic elections of 1994.

Having placed the key concepts of education and transformation in perspective, the next step is to determine the meaning of the phrase, educational transformation. The meaning of the concept of education is compounded, when it assumes the role of the qualifier ‘educational’.

Educational transformation implies a complete and fundamental change from one kind of education system to another. In the South African context, the change is from a previously established discriminatory system of education to a democratically, participatory, open system of education.

1.5.1.2 Historical-educational

This investigation is demarcated to the historical-educational field. The entire research focussed on educational practice in South Africa in a particular historical period, namely 1994 to 1999. The concept of historical-educational, assumed the role of qualifying the term history and education.

The term historic is an adjective from history. ‘History’ derived from the Greek word “historia” which refers to ‘knowledge derived by investigation’ (Van Niekerk 1997:33; Venter 1976:43). Venter and Verster (1986:48) view historic as referring to ‘interpreting and describing the structural relatedness of the education phenomenon or education reality of the past in its situatedness’. A study of the past aims at illuminating the present and providing guidelines for the future. History is understood as a meaningful record of man’s past, which does not necessarily consist of a list of chronological events but also truthful scientifically integrated accounts of the relationship between persons, events, times and places. Through history humankind is able to understand its origin, roots and past which facilitate its future planning and being. In this manner,
humankind becomes aware of the interconnectedness between the past, the present in which it lives and the future for which it is planning (Venter 1976:45).

Historicity is also manifested in education. The historical past should not be regarded as dead, irrelevant or gone for ever. It is through the historical past that the historical events of education are vitalised and rendered relevant. Kruger (1990:87) believes that lacking the historical perspective, the dynamic course of empirical reality, current didactic assistance and accompanying of the child towards adulthood cannot proceed as it should. The South African educational past should not merely be seen as a historical past, which is less effective than the present or the future. The educational past determines the present. The past is living and current in the present (Venter 1976:45).

Venter (1976:43, 202) regards history of education as the study concerned with 'education in its manifestation through the ages'. In this research, the retelling of historical events is not only the point of departure, but more importantly, the researcher, through this study, aims to focus on the scientific analysis of the educational transformation as revealed in the five years of the reign of the GNU in South Africa (1994-1999).

1.5.1.3 Survey

Fowler and Fowler (1964:1304) define the term survey as 'examining the general view of something'. Good (1959, s.v. 'survey') understands survey as 'an investigation of a field in order to discover current practices, trends and norms'. To Shafritz, Koeppe and Soper (1988, s.v. 'survey') survey is a scientifically designed process of education measuring.

Comparing the above three definitions, the researcher concludes that in surveying transformation in this study, there is an examination, an investigation and a measuring of events, practices, trends, norms, views, opinions and
programmes related to educational transformation during the period 1994 to 1999.

1.5.1.4 Evaluation

The concept of evaluation is derived from the French word 'evaluer' which means 'to determine the value of'. Oxford Paperback Dictionary (1994, s.v. 'evaluate') defines evaluate as 'finding out or stating the value of', or 'assessing'. Shafrits et al. (1988, s.v. 'evaluation') see evaluation as 'a research technique to measure the degree to which identified objectives have been achieved in a programme'.

Other concepts related to the concept of evaluation are measuring, appraising and examining (Barrow & Milburn 1990, s.v. 'evaluation'). From these definitions, evaluation means to determine the value of something. For the purpose of this research, the term evaluation is understood as determining the value of education transformation in the country since 1994.

1.5.1.5 Democracy

The term democracy is a derivative from two Greek words 'demos', which means the people and "kratein" or "kratos" which means to rule. Democracy has been defined as a system in which people govern themselves (Carr & Hartnett 1996:39-40; Cohen 1971:3). Nguru (1995:60) and Carr and Hartnett (1996:4) also refer to democracy as a contemporary system of governance. According to Le Roux (1998:27) it is the government of the people, by the people and for the people. The political power in a democratic government resides in all the people and is exercised by them directly or is given to elected representatives (Brits 1995:67). The preceding statement implies that in a truly democratic government, each individual citizen has the power to make decisions in public matters. It is a type of system of government in which the democratic ends
demand democratic methods for their realisation (Nguru 1995:59-60). From these definitions, it may be deduced that the point of departure of a democracy is that the people should rule.

A democratic education system refers to a system which contributes to the realisation of democracy in the lives of citizens so that they may participate fully in all facets of life in their particular communities and the nation in general. Nguru (1995:61) warns that democracy anywhere (including South Africa) cannot be successful without an enlightened citizenry, which demands that people must be educated effectively. For the sake of being able to provide a democratic education, South Africans must be aware of and also be committed to equality, justice, freedom, diversity, integrity, respect for human life and dignity, honesty and empathy.

Karlsson, Pampallis and Sithole (1996:12) are of the opinion that in a democratic state, the policy and practice in the schooling system should ensure the active participation of all stakeholders in both policy making and implementation. Stakeholders who should be included are educators, parents, learners, non-educators, employers and could also include representatives of the broader community.

In this research and in the context of South African education history, democracy implies the emancipation of a discriminatory system of education and establishment of an education system in which communities will participate effectively and constructively in education activities, in policy making, management and decision making (Winn & Randall 1959:23-24; Wolpe 1995:27).
1.5.1.6 Culture

The term culture is derived from the Latin word "cultura" which originally meant to activate land. With time the concept developed to encompass a meaning related to the cultivation of the human mind (Coutts 1992:97). Because culture is, according to Hernandez (1989:4), a phenomenon that is cumulative, universal, human integrated, pervasive and psychologically real, the concept grew to include such a variety of aspects that, in modern times, there are different ways of understanding, interpreting and describing culture (Van Heerden 1997:192). Perhaps that is why Barrow and Milburn (1990, s.v. 'culture') emphasise that there is limited agreement among researchers concerning the meaning of the concept of culture.

This lack of agreement among researchers on the meaning of the concept of culture is evident from the various definitions found in literature. Lemmer and Squelch (1993(b):11), Rawntree (1981:59) and Zadrozny (1959:77-78) see culture as all the learned socially meaningful conduct which is practised in a given "society" including customs, norms, values, traditions common to a particular group, language, the religious, economic and political beliefs and practices and art.

According to Van Heerden (1997:191-192), the concept of culture refers not only to material goods or to the obviously observable aspects of people's lives but it is also possessed by the intellectuals, the sophisticated, those who are refined and those who visit libraries and museums. Every human being has culture, regardless of the type of society in which he or she lives. Culture is also inclusive of the universal phenomenon which is applicable to the whole human being. Included are a way of life of a particular human group, comprehensive cultural group, national boundaries and culture as ideas underlying behaviour (Van Heerden 1997:192).
From an educational point of view, Le Roux (1997:9) states that culture can be differentiated on the basis of:

- ethnic diversity
- social diversity
- racial diversity, and
- cultural diversity.

**Culture** involves many factors such as language, social-economic, historic and geographical development, philosophy and art (Abbutt & Pearce [S.a.]:11). In the South African context, culture is closely identified with racial categories. There isn’t a clear cut explanation of or demarcation between culture, race and ethnicity. Coutts (1992:37) confirms that there has been a confusion between culture and race which can not be strictly justified. A blurred view of culture that is widely current, has resulted in racial discrimination. This cultural attitude has further resulted in an isolated, alienated understanding of what culture is.

From the perspective of this study, which is concerned with both the educational and historical, it is essential to note that a human is a cultural being. This research therefore constitutes an investigation of culture and education. In this study, the concept of culture will be understood as a body of ideas, beliefs, values, activities, traditions and customs adhered to by various cultural groups in the country.

1.5.1.7 Multicultural education

After an intensive study of the concept of **multicultural education** the researcher agrees with Grant, Sleeter and Anderson (1986:69), Hernandez (1989:4) and Lemmer and Squelch (1993:3) that recognition should be given to the fact that there are multiple meanings ascribed to this concept from a variety of perspectives and by various individuals. The usage of the concept of
multicultural education therefore depends on the relevancy of the context of the theme under discussion.

The prefix ‘multi’ is derived from the Latin ‘multus’ which means many (Meier 1994:9). Speaking of a multicultural school implies that children drawn from different racial, cultural and socio-economic backgrounds are learning together in the same classroom. Multicultural education can briefly be defined as the process of educating learners who are bearers of different cultural heritages (Coutts 1992:32). These children have different cultural patterns such as language, religion, styles of food and dress, customs and traditions (Klein 1993:13). The curriculum plays an important role in multicultural education as it has to address cultural diversity.

In the South African context, multicultural education is regarded as education for freedom and democracy that is essential in a multicultural society. This is also the meaning which will be attached to the concept of multicultural education in this study. Multicultural education will thus be understood against the historical background of the country as a means through which the education system and practice as a whole can be transformed.

1.5.1.8 Racial, racism and racist

The word ‘racial’ is a derivative from the noun race. According to Klein (1993:4) race refers to the socially imposed categories of human beings in terms of ethnicity, skin colour and other visible differences. Matters such as language, religion, customs and cultural heritage are used to categorise people in various racial groups. When there is antagonism between these racial groups, racism does occur.

Racism was a deeply entrenched practice in which ideologies, social and institutional structures constantly maintained a social and economic order that
guarantee that Whites were in a superior position to Blacks (Klein 1993:13) in the South African context. Lynch (1986:97) defines racism as:

... a set of inflexible, institutional, personal and societal values, attitudes, behaviours and procedures which create or perpetuate privilege for one group of individuals and deprivation for another based on a racial (or other) cultural definition of groups and their members.

Related to the term, racism, is the term racist which refers to people who believe that people of a particular race, colour or ethnic origin are inherently inferior so that their identity, culture, self-esteem views and feelings are of a lesser value than their own, and can be disregarded or treated as less important (Lemmer and Squelch 1993:3; Duncan 1987:88). Some racial groups believe that they are inherently superior while and others are inherently inferior (Hernandez 1989:28). In this research the concept will be understood in the South African context where for about forty years (1953-1994) there had been racial discrimination between Black and White racial groups.

1.5.1.9 Multiracial education

The concept of multiracialism is derived from the Latin prefix "multi-" which means many or various (Good 1973, s.v. 'prefixes and suffixes') and the noun race. A multiracial society is one in which each perceived or designated ethnic or ethno-linguistic group is deemed to have a separate identity, distinct from all other groups. Each society may have group rights whether by customary practice or by law. It is the nature of a multicultural society that it reinforces the concept of racial exclusivity, identity, social division and rivalry, loyalty to the group for sectional gain rather than to the nation for the general good of a society (Emmerson 1980:80).
In South African context, a **multiracial** school is a school with children from various racial groups taught the curriculum relevant to a single racial group. The staff at such a school is from the dominant culture, namely European (Emmerson 1980:8). While in the multicultural school the cultural diversity is recognised and respected as valuable assets of each group, in a **multiracial** school the emphasis is on race and the colour of one's skin. Therefore, a multiracial school may not necessarily be a multicultural school.

1.5.1.10 Ethnic

According to Klein (1993:12) everyone belongs to a particular **ethnic** group which has, in Chesler's (1993:59) view, besides the cultural and linguistic, also biological and structural ties. An **ethnic** group is a group of people who belong to a common cultural, racial or religious group. Shafritz et al. (1988 :182) define an **ethnic** group as a group with a common cultural tradition and a sense of identity that exist as a subgroup of a larger society. Therefore members of an ethnic group may have a common ancestry (real or fictitious), and their own language or dialect, religion, norms, values and customs and common identity which is the sum total of feelings on the part of group members about those values, symbols and common histories that identify them as a group (Andereck 1992:10; Berremann 1982:504; Hernandez 1989:28; McNergney & Herbert 1995:248). Hernandez (1989:28) regards the following as attributes associated with ethnicity:

- group image and sense of identity derived from contemporary cultural patterns like values, behaviours, beliefs and language
- shared political and economic interests
- membership that is voluntary.

In this study the concept of **ethnic** will refer to subgroups with a common cultural tradition, custom, language and identity.
1.5.1.11 Multiethnic

As mentioned above, the prefix ‘multi’ means many or various. The term multiethnic will therefore imply many or various ethnic groups. South Africa is characterised by the existence of many ethnic groups.

Besides the four main racial groups in South Africa (Blacks, Whites, Indians and Coloureds) there are also various ethnic groups (such as the Zulus, Tswanas, Afrikaners and Pedis) which share a common religion, tradition or customs. Ethnicity has for many years played a major role in education and schooling in South Africa.

The presence of various ethnic groups in South Africa, each with its own language, culture, tradition and custom had a great impact on South African education provision and curriculum implemented in the previous education system. Even in the democratic South Africa ethnicity still plays a major role.

In this study the focus is on the period 1994 to 1999 in which South Africa was governed by the Government of National Unity. The researcher in the following paragraphs briefly explains what the Government of National Unity is.

1.5.1.12 The Government of National Unity (GNU)

The GNU is the first post-apartheid and a multi-party government instituted in South Africa after the first democratic elections in April 1994. The GNU resulted from the negotiations held at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park from 20 December 1991 to the end of 1993. These negotiations are known as the Convention for Democratic South Africa (CODESA). Eventually, CODESA formulated an Interim Constitution Act 200 of 1993 as an interim measure towards transformation while the adoption of the final Constitution was still in process (Karlsson et al. 1996:40; Legodi 1996:82).
The GNU had an enormous task to perform. One of the first priorities of the GNU together with education authorities, was to create and implement a system of education within the parameters of the Interim Constitution. This meant that the imperatives of democracy and human-rights protection had to be followed (Bray 1996:37).

The GNU was based on a system of proportional representation in accordance with the Interim Constitution. The minority parties were represented in the cabinet, in other government structures and in the vice-presidency. 4Dr Nelson Mandela was the first president, and the two executive deputy presidents were 5Thabo Mbeki (ANC) and 6FW de Klerk (NP) (Britz 1995:99-100).

The GNU further had to prepare the ground for peaceful and workable transformation in South Africa. In the White Paper in Education and Training, the ANC committed itself to ensure consultation and appropriate forms of decision-making between elected representatives of the stakeholders, interest groups and role players (Karlsson et al. 1996:40). To achieve that it had to operate in a manner consistent with the provision of the Interim Constitution, of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996.

After having analysid various concepts and determined how they are interpreted in this study, the next section shed light on how this study was approached and

4 Nelson Mandela was inaugurated as the first president of South Africa after the country's first democratic elections in 1994. He was released from jail in February 1990 after being imprisoned for twenty-seven years. He was also the president of ANC (Encyclopaedia Britanica 1991 s.v 'Mandela; 1995. s.v. South Africa').

5 Mr Thabo Mbeki was the first deputy president of a democratic South Africa and he became the president of the country after the second democratic elections in 1999.

6 FW de Klerk was the last president of the apartheid era in South Africa. He lifted the banning of 65 politically related organisations, local and outside (including ANC and PAC) in the Republic of South Africa, and realeased 374 political activists including Nelson Mandela (Encyclopaedia Britanicca 1995. s.v. 'South Africa'; Fabricious 1990:1)
which research method was applied.

1.5.2 The scope of the study

Time and space are important fundamental categories of human existence. There is a distinction between chronological (objective) time and the concretely lived (subjective) time (Venter 1976:86). In this research both the objective and subjective aspects of time will be investigated as elements from which education history is constructed. The scope of this study includes:

- the transformation of education in South Africa in the period 1994 to 1999. The April 1994 elections marked the end of the partial reign and ownership of the country which has been in existence for some time. The GNU, which was the first democratically elected government, took over in April 1994. The GNU's reign ended when the African National Congress (ANC) government won the June 1999 elections.

- the historical background from 1658, when the first school was established to the end of the National Party government prior to the April 1994 elections. The researcher believes that from that background there will emerge factors that influenced the dire need for transformation.

The research will focus on:

- education transformation in South Africa as a whole. The nine provinces will be distinguished but not demarcated or separated.

- the South Africans as a population. The researcher cannot avoid distinguishing between various racial, ethnical and even traditional groups as they have had an influence and an impact in the educational historical past and even on the GNU.
culture, race, equality, the aim of education, curriculum, quality versus quantity, the culture of teaching and learning, crime in institutions, and the role of the government both prior to the GNU and during its reign.

the resistance to transformation. This aspect concentrated on what took place in the institutions of learning.

The scope of this research has been laid out above. With that scope and the problem statement in mind, the progression of the study is traced in the chapter demarcation that follows.

1.5.3 Programme for research

This research unfolded as follow:

In Chapter one the statement of the problem, the aim and objectives thereof, the significance of this study, the scope and the programme of the study are discussed. Concept analysis of concepts used in the study and those related to the topic is done and the method applied in the investigation described.

In Chapter two the researcher focussed on issues in the educational history of South Africa that shaped education in South Africa prior to 1994. The legislation of the discriminatory system of education by the previous government was highlighted. The circumstances that brought about those essential issues that called for transformation also received attention.

This chapter provides the historical overview of the culture of teaching and learning prior to the 1994 democratic elections in South Africa. The researcher surveyed the conditions at schools and also at higher education institutions in this chapter. Other issues such as affirmative action, gender equality and the migration and influx to the former white schools which are related to the culture
of teaching and learning are also elaborated upon. Teaching and learning and the role of the government at farm schools is discussed. Other issues that were given attention in this chapter are equality, racism, multiculturalism, ethnicity, aim of education, curriculum and crime at institutions of learning.

In Chapter three an overview of theories of educational change is undertaken. Perspectives of intellectuals and educationists on strategies for and approaches to educational change in the country are provided. This chapter looked into perspectives of educational change with a South African origin and in a South African context.

In Chapter four the role played by the GNU during its term of office is evaluated. Educational issues prior to 1994 (discussed in chapter two as indicated above) that shaped education in South Africa and had an influence on education transformation are evaluated as they were at the end of the reign of the GNU in order to see if transformation has indeed taken place. In this chapter, post-apartheid legislation is discussed together with the circumstances that surrounded major political change.

The evaluation of the culture of teaching and learning during the time when the GNU was in power (as against the situation prior to 1994 discussed in chapter two) is dealt with in Chapter five. Both the internal and the external factors that affected teaching and learning and in particular the factors that had a direct influence on the culture of teaching and learning, are outlined. Furthermore, an outline of unprofessional behaviour of educators and the attitudes of learners towards schooling is provided. In this chapter there is a further survey of the role played by professionalism and unionism amongst educators. The researcher looked into affirmative action, gender equality, influx into private and originally White schools and education at farm schools.

Chapter six is devoted to a survey of the resistance to change during the five
years of the reign of the GNU. At some institutions such as the Potgietersrus Laerskool and Vryburg Hoërskool, conflict related to transformation resistance occurred. These matters received attention. The Constitution and its implications are investigated particularly in the Potgietersrus Laerskool issue.

Finally, the summary, conclusion and findings are provided in Chapter seven as a guideline to future recommendations for achieving successful transformation in the country.

Having indicated the delimitation of the study, in the next section the researcher elaborated on the approach, structure and execution of this research.

1.6 Methodological account

Research methodology and approaches indicate the answers to questions as to how research should be designed, structured, approached and executed. With a reliable research method and approach the research should therefore be able to produce more reliable, valid and objective knowledge (Mahlangu 1987:4). Gay (1992:207) argues that the purpose of historical research of this nature should not be to find what is already known or to retell what has occurred but to explain, make recommendations for the future and control the phenomenon. It is through relevant and reliable methods and approaches that the researcher hopes to be able to conduct a controlled, purposive, accurate, systematic and scientific research in the said field of education and the transformation of education in South Africa.

In conducting this investigation, the researcher intends to proceed according to a specific scientific approach or attitude. The researcher will keep in mind that, although approach, method and techniques may be distinguished, they are not water-tight compartments and are unseparable (Venter & Verster 1986:107).
The first aspect of the method of research namely, an approach to this research, is discussed below.

1.6.1 Approaches

Venter and Van Heerden (1989:106) stress that one of the criteria essential in research in History of Education is that:

...the authority of the past ... must be recognised, even though the researcher is entitled to existential freedom.

The education past determines the present situation and the need for transformation. Historical-educational research such as this investigation into educational transformation in South Africa from 1994 to 1999 could best be conducted by means of the metabletic, and the problem historical approaches.

1.6.1.1 The metabletic approach

History of Education is that part perspective of Education which involves education in its variable, that is metabletic change. The word metabletic is derived from the Greek word “metaballein” which means change (Venter & Van Heerden 1989:156; Venter & Verster 1986:46-47). The metabletic approach aims at indicating how education theories and practice have changed over time. When applying the metabletic approach the researcher will take the five principles of this approach as presented by Venter and Van Heerden (1989:157-159) as point of departure. These principles are divided into theoretical and practical principles.
1.6.1.1.1 The theoretical principles

The first theoretical principle, *the principle of non-disturbance*, implies that the relationship and the context in which the phenomenon reveals itself need not be disturbed. No elements should be removed from it for it will then no longer be the original. The researcher should under no circumstances add anything nor take anything away from the subject under investigation. The educational transformation under investigation as a phenomenon, should be allowed to reveal itself as it has taken place from 1994 –1999 in South Africa.

The second theoretical principle, *the principle of changeability*, requires the researcher to show an interest in the education reality as it has changed through the ages. The observable and obvious change should not be regarded as the only reality but the researcher should delve deeper for other opinions, in order to arrive at a true image of the transformation of education in the country.

The third theoretical principle is the *principle of reality*. It implies a deliberate attempt at describing realistically the solid, concrete education realities as they revealed themselves in the educational past. Following this principle, the researcher will have to describe the real truth behind the history of education and transformation in South Africa without adding irrelevant events or statements. This principle implies that the researcher has to be very critical and selective when it comes to choosing primary and secondary sources.

1.6.1.1.2 The practical principles

The *principle of simultaneity* requires that the researcher investigates the past to determine whether a particular discovery, attributed to a specific innovator, was not perhaps also discovered at the same time by others. The period 1658 to 1994 is explored in order to discover what could have happened during that
time that needed to be transformed by the GNU.

The principle of the unique occurrence requires that not only the opinion or insights of the many historians or contemporary personalities should be considered important, but also the views of individual persons. The metableticist wishes to return to the source of change – to the initiative of the person or persons who reported it for the first time. The researcher will focus on individual opinions of contemporary educationists and personalities on transformation in South Africa.

Unique occurrences are investigated intensively when the principle of emphasis is applied. The secrets are revealed so it may become clear why they have gained such significance even though they stand alone. An occurrence, such as the announcement made on 1 February 1991 that all remaining discriminatory legislation were to be scrapped (Pretorius 1992:102), needs not only to be retold but the awareness of how it influenced and affected transformation be presented.

In this research the principles of the metabletic approach is applied in order to penetrate to the root of the historical occurrence in the transformation of education in South Africa.

1.6.1.2 The problem-historical approach

The problem-historical approach advocates that a mere collection of data on the historical educational past is not sufficient to produce scientific knowledge. The educational past can only be uncovered by asking questions arising from current difficulties in education (Naicker 1996:19; Price 1995:15). Venter (1976:167) believes that some present situation with its problems is always the true starting point of history. This statement explicitly challenges in particular the South
African situation where almost all education problems are said to be the result of the apartheid education policy. The problem-historical approach will be applied in order to identify the educational past with its problems that resulted in the campaign for the transformation of education after the first democratic elections in 1994.

The education problems mentioned in 1.2 create the need for this investigation to be undertaken. The encounter between an adult and learner in educational institutions is in most cases characterised by tension and conflict which necessitates that research be undertaken and possible solutions be identified. Venter (1976:169) also avers that the historical-educational investigation could be interesting when one concentrates on current educational problems and ideas.

After briefly examining the approaches of research of this nature, the following section looked at the research method relevant to this research.

1.6.2 Research method

The term method is derived from the Greek “meta + hodos” or “methodos” which literally means ‘the path along which or the road by which’. In other words, it refers to the road by which educationists carry out their research and eventually discover the truth which they use to establish science (Du Plooy, Griessel & Oberholzer 1993:211; Venter & Van Heerden 1989:108). The researcher also believes that in any research the method used to arrive at the hoped for destination, is determined by the phenomenon that is to be investigated and the approach (perspective) thereof. The approach will also determine which method will be the most appropriate. Furthermore, the what and the who to be investigated, will also determine the most appropriate method (De Jager, Reeler, Oberholzer & Landman 1985:29). The method to
be used in this research is the historical educational method.

1.6.2.1 The historical-educational method

Ary, Jacobs and Razavi (1990:453) see the historical educational method as an attempt to establish facts and arrive at conclusions concerning the past. Grant and Landson-Billings (1997:269) clarify the historical-educational method as the process of recording, interpreting and discovering facts having historical significance. The method also looks at the collection, arrangement, criticism and synthesis of the data into an acceptable whole and subsequent interpretation of such data. When evidence is gathered and conclusions are drawn, it increases the reader’s knowledge of how and why past evidence occurred and the process by which the past became the present. The research process will follow the following procedure:

- investigation of the theme in the educational past
- critical evaluation of data
- interpretation of historical research and
- writing of the report.

According to Venter and Van Heerden (1989:111-113), *investigation of the theme in the educational past* is preceded by an identification of the research problem which is the initial step in any research. At this stage the researcher is, for the first time confronted with the actual intensive literature study towards the problem under investigation. Gay (1992:208) recognises that the term *literature*, has a broader meaning in a historical study. It refers to all sorts of written communication and documents which are in most cases difficult to identify and to acquire. There is a distinction between primary and secondary sources.
Primary sources of historical information refer to documents containing first hand information such as diaries, manuscripts, school records, correspondence, laws, newspapers, commission reports, reports by actual participants or direct observers (eye-witnesses) which are contained in the institutional repositories or achieves (Ary et al. 1990:454; Borg & Gall 1989:817; Gay 1992:209; Good 1963:17; Mahlangu 1987:38-42). In the compilation of the primary source the observer or the reporter comes between the event and what he is recording. Most of these sources were deliberately compiled to supply information. In this research original documents will be of utter importance, especially Acts, tribute messages and biographies as they all have relevance and mostly contain recent information on transformation in South Africa.

Secondary sources of the historical data are provided by a reporter, who may also be an eye-witness, that is a primary source. The user of the records is then the third person to which the source is transferred. Such compiled information is a secondary source. Whereas primary sources provide first-hand information, secondary sources provide second-hand information. Such information is likely to be less comprehensive and accurate (Ary et al. 1990:454; Lucey 1958:169; Venter & Van Heerden 1989:114).

Because primary sources are often difficult to obtain (Gay 1992:209) the researcher will also have to rely on secondary sources. In this study, secondary sources like books, articles from journals, encyclopaedias, dissertations, theses and dictionaries will be used. The researcher will try to make use of both primary and secondary sources depending on their availability.

Data elimination or critical evaluation of data is the next step after having collected as much data as possible systematically. Historical sources exist
independently and were not specifically written or developed for use in any particular research project. Sometimes the collected data may fit into the researcher's demarcation of the study but at other times, such data may not serve the purpose of the investigation. A thorough and intensive refinement of data is essential in order to produce a high quality research report (Gay 1992:210).

The analysis and refinement also need to be scientific. All data with regard to education transformation in South Africa must therefore be subjected to an evaluation with regard to their authenticity (external criticism) and their accuracy (internal criticism). In the criticism and analysis of sources, external and internal criticism will be applied.

By determining when, where, why and by whom the documents were written, the researcher is ensured that the documents used are authentic. In this study the researcher applied the following criteria when determining the authenticity and accuracy of sources on transformation of education in South Africa (Gay 1992:210-211):

- **Knowledge and competence**
  The author should show enough competence and knowledge concerning the subject he/she writes about.

- **Time delay**
  How much time could have elapsed between the occurrence of events and the recording thereof. The shorter the time the more accurate but the longer the time the greater the possibility that the information is inaccurate. Documents written between 1994 and 1999 on the events that took place during that period on transformation could be more accurate and of course more reliable than those written many years after that period.


- **Bias and motive of the author**

Incorrect information can be either intentional or unintentional. People may tend to amplify in order to make their writing more interesting. An attempt will be made to avoid this in this study.

- **Consistency of data**

Comparisons will be made and if an observer's account differs from the accounts of other observers, his/her testimonies may become suspect. The authenticity of research as a whole depends on the researcher. External criticism will be intensively applied.

Documents will be tested to establish if they carry the true, reliable and accepted report of an event (Ary *et al.* 1990:454; Venter & Van Heerden 1989:45). In examining the accuracy of statements the following questions are asked:

- Is it possible that people can act in the way described by the writer?
- Is it possible that events can happen so quickly?
- Are the educational changes mentioned really possible in the South African context?
- Is the writer logical, capable, honest and unprejudiced?
- Were there other motives than establishing the truth, that could have influenced the recording of the data?

In this research, data collected is analysed internally in order to have a reliable report on the transformation of education in the democratic South Africa.

After the critical evaluation of data, the next step is the *interpretation of the data gathered*. It may happen that witnesses to an event report it from different impressions based on their competence and relationship to that event. Why do
interpretations of the same event vary? Borg and Gall (1989:825) believe that biases, values and personal interest allow a person to “see” certain aspects of past events but not others. Furthermore Borg and Gall (1989:825) postulate that recent historians appear too have a radical bias in their interpretation where older historians had a “liberal reform bias”. When interpreting historical facts the researcher needs to take extreme caution to avoid being biased.

Borg and Gall (1989:825) recognise presentism as another form of interpreting data. An author was guilty of presentism when he/she interpreted past events by using very recent concepts and methods of interpretation. The researcher, in interpreting data on education transformation, tried to prevent generalisation and presentism.

One strategy which can be followed when interpreting sources, is to make use of concepts to organise and interpret the collected data. Gall et al. (1996:662) define concepts as terms that can be used to group various individuals, events or objects that share a common set of attributes. Concepts are used carefully in order to avoid misinterpretation.

Another strategy for interpreting sources in historical-educational research is causal inferences. Borg and Gall (1989:828) explain this as:

...the process of reaching the conclusion that one set of events brought about, directly or in directly, a subsequent set of events.

Research cannot prove that an event in the past, like the 1976 Soweto riots was caused by another or rather was the result of the apartheid education but it can make explicit the assumption that underlies the act of ascribing causality to sequences of historical events.
Finally the last step in the historical educational research method is the writing of the research report. The historical facts are presented in chronological order and according to topics or themes. In other words both the chronological and the thematic approaches are combined so that a chapter may not emphasise one at the expense of the other.

The researcher is aware that synthesising historical research data involves logical analysis rather than statistical analysis. In her conclusion and summary the researcher therefore strived for objectivity.

1.7 Conclusion

In this initial chapter of this study, the researcher has laid down the background to the investigation. The educational past which has had an influence on the present, and the present problems have been briefly presented. A sincere attempt is made to keep the aim of this investigation (cf. 1.3.1) in mind throughout the research.

Through the detailed explanation of concepts, the researcher intended to ensure consistency with regard to the meaning attached to the different concepts as they were applied in the rest of the chapters. The demarcation and scope of the study provide the researcher with the boundaries within which this study is undertaken.

In chapter 2, the researcher investigated issues that characterised education before the first democratic elections in 1994. Those issues formed the basis of the education system.
Chapter two is also devoted to an examination of the culture of teaching and learning as it manifested itself in the education system during the rule of the National Party government.
CHAPTER 2

ISSUES CHARACTERISING EDUCATION PRIOR TO 1994

2.1 Introduction

According to Sonn (1986(a):141) and Walker (1991:164) one could identify among others the following features in Black education in South Africa prior to the first democratic elections in 1994:

- racial separation
- inequality with regards to standards set for various racial groups
- an outmoded and inadequate education system
- overcrowded classrooms
- minimal resources and an imbalance in resource provision
- mono-cultural, prescribed syllabuses and text books, and
- a lack of a culture of teaching and learning.

Professor Kader Asmal, the Minister of Education in the ANC government, after the second democratic elections, indicated that, during the apartheid era, there was no uniform system of education, no mission nor vision (Hlokwa-la-tsela ntshebele 1999(a)). This chapter is essentially intended to assist the reader to evaluate transformation after 1994 and it also aims to expose the position of the culture of teaching and learning before the first democratic elections in 1994.

Education in South Africa had been used to achieve political aims. Compared to the education received by the other three racial groups (White, Indian and Coloured), the education for Black South Africans was the most adversely affected by inequality, underprovision and the inadequate supply of almost all teaching and learning resources (Hartshorne 1985:148; 1984:4). Before
attempting to identify the various issues characterising education prior to 1994, the researcher investigated the historical background behind these preceding characteristics in the next section.

2.2 Aspects that shaped education in South Africa prior to 1994

2.2.1 South Africa, a fragmented society

In South Africa the Constitution was based on racial segregation tended to work against the socio-political and socio-economical interest of the Black people and in favour of the socio-political interests of the White minority (Dhlomo 1991:134). The South African population was divided into four main groups, namely Asians, Coloureds, Whites and Blacks (Richardson, Orkin & Pavlich 1996:248-249; Stonier 1998:214):

- The Asians are pre-dominantly of Indian extraction. Originally they had been recruited as indentured labourers until in 1911, the Indian government ended voluntary immigration. Most Asians live in and around Kwa-Zulu Natal and most speak English and they represented 2.5% of the South African population in 1993.
- The Coloureds, who were estimated at 8.5% of the 40.7m people in South Africa in 1993 (according to the Development Bank of South Africa) originated from mixed races and varied origins. Most of them are to be found in the Western and Northern Cape and they speak Afrikaans. Due to apartheid formalisation they were identified as an independent race in 1948.
- The Whites in South Africa, comprising primarily of Afrikaans and English speaking groups, were estimated at 13% of the population in 1993. The Afrikaner community are the descendants of the settlers who came to South Africa in 1652, predominantly from the Netherlands and some areas in Europe.
The Africans were estimated at 76% of the South African population and were in the majority in 1993 according to the Development Bank of South Africa. They are the descendants of a number of ethnic groups that occupied South Africa prior to the arrival of the Europeans in 1652. Concepts such as Natives, Africans, Blacks, Bantu and Kaffir, which is an Arab name for an unbeliever (Pells 1938:14), all refer to Black South Africans. Black South Africans belong to various ethnic groups which are further fragmented into smaller traditional groups (Carrim & Soudien 1999:154). Different Bantu ethnic groups are linked not only through language, but also through other cultural traditions which they have in common (Atkinson 1978:8).

It was difficult, if not impossible to speak of South Africans per se without adding an adjective depicting the colour of their skins. Race is central to any understanding of activities and mishaps (Carrim & Soudien1999:155). Although on the face of it the division looks like a simple fact of sociology, it was largely a matter of politics (Gabela 1990:10).

During the liberation struggle the terms Blacks and Africans did not refer to Black South Africans only, but to all non-European. These terms were used to make a distinction between the oppressed and the oppressor. Included among the oppressed were the Coloured and the Indian communities. Because the liberation struggle was not only fought by Black South Africans but by men and women of all races the inclusion of Coloureds and Indians in the Black grouping was viewed as justified by political activists (Benson 1993:1). The indigenous Africans, as well as Coloureds, Indians and Asians all suffered racial discrimination, humiliation and oppression in South Africa (La Guma 1993:236).

Fragmentation was reaffirmed in 1983 when the tricameral parliament was established. General affairs and Own affairs divisions were established. There
were fifteen major departments of education each led by its own minister. Six departments were controlled by Black homelands namely, Lebowa, Qwaqwa, Kwa-Ndebele, Kwa-Zulu, Kangwane, and Gazankulu. There were also four independent states each with its own Department of Education, namely Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. The Department of Education and Training (DET) was responsible not only for education for Blacks who were residing in the so-called White urban areas, but also for farm schools all over the country. The Department of Education and Culture, was responsible for Asian, Coloured and White schooling each as a separate entity. The fifteenth department was the umbrella department that co-ordinated funds and policies, namely the Department of National Education (DNE) (Donn 1995:1; Van Zyl 1997:59). The various departments which existed until 1 April 1995 (Donn 1995:1), differed with regard to expenditure, aim of education, quality of education, language policies, curricular requirements, government structures and examination systems.

The fragmented ministries of education were strictly determined by racial and ethnic criteria which have a long history in South Africa. It is essential at this stage to examine the origins of racial discrimination.

2.2.2 The genesis of racial discrimination

There are various views regarding the origin of racial segregation in South Africa. Joyce (1990:8) argues that discrimination based on race and class differences started after the first Dutch settler had stepped ashore in April 1652. Referring specifically to schooling, there were no traces of segregation when the first school was opened on 17 April 1658 and the second one in 1663, which catered for both European and Khoi learners (Mohlamme 1990:1; Pells 1938:49). Mohlamme (1990:1) argues that the first attempts to segregate schooling came from the church in 1676. When the National Party came to
power in 1948, racial discrimination was intensified and separate schooling became part of the South African education policy (Dugard 1978:29).

The strategy used by the National Party to fight the elections was built round the promotion of apartheid (Barker, Bell, Duggan, Horlen, Le Roux, Maurice, Reynierse & Schafer 1988:367) and involved the careful soft-pedalling of issues likely to arouse dissemination within the White community. These issues included the demand for a republic and the proposal for separate development to regulate the relationship between different racial groups. As a means of assuring the survival of the White civilisation in a country where non-White people outnumbered Whites by four to one, the proposal suggested two options. These options were the option of integration, which in the long run would amount to national suicide on the part of the Whites, and the option of apartheid (Atkinson 1978:220-221; Cameron 1989:95). By choosing the second option, the National Party (NP) was able to become the ruling party in parliament. The three pillars on which the policy of racial discrimination rested were the need to maintain White political dominance, values and identity the religious convictions of the Afrikaners and intellectual justification.

The opportunity to translate the ideals of Afrikaner supremacy into action came with the Nationalist victory in the elections of May 1948 where the NP won by seventy seats as against the sixty-five of Smuts' United Party (UP) (Atkinson 1978:220; Barker et al 1988:367). At that time most schools for Africans were controlled by missionaries and churches. Shindler (1984:2) and Stonier (1998:210) are of the opinion that the NP inherited a system of education for Africans that was already informally segregated, and which was already inferior to other groups. Segregation then became formalised. The period 1953 to 1994 saw the full implementation of active programmes of social engineering by a White parliament that had as its focus the separation of people into racial groups in every facet of society's structures.
The Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953 indicated that the main aim of that education transformation was:

... to transform education for Natives into Bantu Education ... A Bantu pupil must obtain knowledge, skills and attitudes which will be useful and advantageous to him and at the same time beneficial to his community...There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour... (Robertson 1973:159).

The above quotation is indicative of the South African government position with education for the Blacks7. The government opted for a racially and ethnically segregated education system (Dostal 1989:73) and tried by all means to avoid cultural interaction with Blacks.

Dr H.F. Verwoerd stated categorically that:

Bantu education should have its roots entirely in the Native areas and in the Native environment and in the Native community ... The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour (Mohlamme 1990:29).

Verwoerd emphasised that previously, the Bantu learners had been taught European ideas and it was time he was taught in a way that suited him and his situation (Kandjou 1985:65). The government of the day would never voluntarily abdicate its power (Behr 1988:15) for they were not in any other way prepared to meet the full implications of educational and political change. The rector of the Afrikaans University of the Orange Free State explicitly stated this in his claim that:

7Blacks in this sentence refers to all non-Whites who opposed Apartheid.
The university belongs to the volk, and therefore must be from the volk, of the volk and for the volk, a volksuniversiteit, anchored in the traditions of the volk in accordance with its conception of life and the world, therefore on a Christian-national basis (Robertson 1973:191).

Separate education for Indians was actualised in 1964. In 1967 Afrikaans and the English learners at primary and secondary schools had separate classrooms and, where possible, even separate schools (Mohlamme 1990:29).

In order to make such a discriminatory policy work, the newly elected NP government legislated many Acts. In the next section the researcher briefly discussed some of these Acts.

2.3 Putting segregation in place by means of legislation

To effect racial segregation, the NP government legislated among others the Population Registration Act 30 of 1950, the Group Areas Act 41 of 1950, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act 49 of 1953, the Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953, the Mixed Marriages Act 55 of 1949, the Bantu Self-government Act 46 of 1959, the Extension of University Act 45 of 1959, the Medical University of South Africa Act 78 of 1976 and the Vista University Act 106 of 1981. These Acts became pillars of separation in all structures including learning institutions.

2.3.1 The Population Registration Act 30 of 1950

The Population Registration Act 30 of 1950 provided for the establishment of a national register. All South Africans over the age of 16 were to be classified according to race. Later the government introduced identity cards which indicated the official racial classification of all adults. According to Dr D F Malan,
the then Prime Minister, the national register was the basis of the whole policy of Apartheid (Barker *et al.* 1988:376; Morrow 1990:174; Murphy 1973:96). Due to negotiations for a democratic South Africa, this Act was reversed by the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act 108 of 1991 (Van Zyl 1997:57).

2.3.2 The Group Areas Act 41 of 1950

The Group Areas Act 41 of 1950 and the Group Areas Amendment Act 29 of 1956 (United Nations 1963:42) formalised and extended the already existing patterns of residential segregation (Naicker 1996:34). The Group Areas Act provided the machinery and criteria for defining residential areas for various racial groups including urban neighbourhoods in which each racial group could legally live (Behr 1988:14; Murphy 1973:96; Van Zyl 1997:57). The Act aimed at eliminating non-Europeans from White urban areas and creating residential segregation between Whites, Indians, Coloured and Africans. To the Indians, this Act was a blessing in disguise as they enjoyed the right to permanent occupation of certain areas which previously they could not occupy (Atkinson 1978:243). This Act was repealed on 17 June 1991 by the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act 108 of 1991. The Act reversed the main pillars of racial restrictions on places of residence and permitted the use of public accommodation including usage of schools by all racial groups (Murphy 1992:367; Van Zyl 1997:57).

2.3.3 Reservation of The Separate Amenities Act 49 of 1953

The Reservation of The Separate Amenities Act 49 of 1953 provided comprehensive segregation in the use of public facilities such as: post offices, restaurants, cinemas, trains, buses, meeting halls and schools (Naicker 1996:46). This Act was repealed in 1990 (Murphy 1973:96; Van Zyl 1997:57). The Native Amendment Bill of 1957 made provision for the so-called “church clause”. The “church clause” gave the Minister, (with the concurrence of the
local authority) the authority to forbid Africans to attend churches or schools located in the so-called White areas. Africans were also not to set foot in hospitals, clubs and other institutions or places of entertainment outside the segregated locations (Reeves 1993:270).

2.3.4 The Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953

Prior to 1953, missionaries provided most of school education for Blacks. Segregated education was practised although it was not legislated. Segregated education for Blacks was legislated by means of the Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953 by which the activities of Black education were regulated by the Minister of the Department of Native Affairs. The Act stated that from the commencement of this Act, the control of Native education was to be vested in the Government of the Union. The executive committee of a province ceased to have any powers, authority and functions (South Africa 1953 sec. 2). To make sure that its mission was accomplished, all educators and officers employed by the department on or after July 1953 were transferred to the new Department, namely, the Department of Native Affairs (South Africa 1953 sec. 4&5). This Act was withdrawn in 1979 (Van Zyl 1997:57).

2.3.5 The Mixed Marriages Act 55 of 1949

The Mixed Marriages Act 55 of 1949 outlawed marriages between persons of different races. The Immorality Amendment Act 21 of 1950 prohibited sexual relations between persons of different races (Barker et al. 1988:375; Naicker 1996:40). This Act was also reversed in 1986 (Van Zyl 1997:57).
2.3.6 The Bantu Self-government Act 46 of 1959

The Bantu Self-government Act 46 of 1959 was the first major step towards the creation of Bantustans or self-governing African territories inside the Republic of South Africa (Murphy 1973:99). Finally, the Bantu or Homeland Citizenship Act 26 of 1970 classified every Black South African as having homeland citizenship except those in the so-called White areas. This law was repealed in 1993 by the interim Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 200 of 1993 (Naicker 1996:35; Barker et al. 1988:378; Van Zyl 1997:57).

2.3.7 The Extension of University Act 45 of 1959

The Extension of University Act 45 of 1959, provided for the establishment of non-White universities and empowered the Minister of Bantu Education to admit only members of specified Bantu ethnic groups to particular colleges or universities. This Act resulted in the establishment of the non-European universities during the 1960s. Fort Hare catered only for Xhosa speaking students, Turfloop or the University of the North for Northern Sotho, Venda and Tsonga speaking students only, University of Zululand only for Zulus and Swazis, the University of the Western Cape for Coloured students and the University of Durban Westville for Indians. All universities became autonomous between 1969 and 1971 (Atkinson 1978:284-285; Barker et al. 1988:379; Behr 1988:192-194; Black education and Resistance 1980:69; Christie 1985:223; Horrel 1969:3; Smock 1983:2). This Act was repealed by the Tertiary Education Act 66 of 1988 (South Africa 1988, sec. 21) after decades of resistance (Van Zyl 1997:57).
2.3.8 Medical University of South Africa Act 78 of 1976

The Medical University of South Africa Act 78 of 1976 provided for the establishment of the Medical University of South Africa (MEDUNSA). Only Black doctors were trained at MEDUNSA.

2.3.9 Vista University Act 106 of 1981

The Vista University Act 106 of 1981 further promoted the policy of racial education by providing for the opening of Vista University in 1983 with campuses throughout the country which were meant solely for Blacks. Other Universities were there but they could not register Black students. (Behr 1988:194-195; Grattan-Guinness 1989:154). The establishment of Vista University was another strategy by the NP government for reinforcing the policy of racial segregation in education. It was amended by the Vista University Act 40 of 1993.

The classification of South Africans on the grounds of race and ethnicity influenced every aspect of the lives of South Africans. It had an influence on where they lived, where they were schooled, with whom they interacted, which social amenities they had access to, their social relations including with whom they shared a bed, and their political position and affiliation. Most, if not all, social and educational transactions were carefully and intentionally governed by the legislation discussed above (Carrim & Soudien 1999:154). By means of legislation of these Acts a complete and permanent separation of different racial groups in South Africa was achieved in the cultural, economic, social, political, biological, territorial (Mathabathe 1987:31; Murphy 1973:87) and educational spheres. This is what came to be known as apartheid (Gabela 1990:11). In the following paragraphs the researcher focussed on issues characterising education in South Africa prior to the period of the GNU.
2.4 Issues characterising the education system in South Africa prior to 1994

Education in South Africa was characterised by the following issues that influenced the need for transformation: racial discrimination, education as political, economical and religious instrument, education inequality, lack of cultural roots in education, mono-cultural curricula, irrelevant language policy, foreign medium of instruction and erosion of the culture of teaching and learning.

It is relevant to have a picture of the educational past. Kgotseng (1994(a):11) indicates that if people want to know where they are going, it is essential for them to first understand where they are and where they have been.

2.4.1 Racial discrimination in education

Cultural pluralism or separatism has always been a significant feature of South African education (cf. 3.2.2.5.3(c)). Before 1900 there was no legislated separation of Africans into segregated residential and schooling areas in Cape Town. It was largely the availability of work and land which determined the places where African people lived (Cameron 1989:95). Racism became rife only in the 20th century when the complete separation of European and non-European learners was recognised by legal enactment and through the adoption of a system of Bantu education in 1953 (cf. 2.3.4).

The architecture of such a policy neglected the fact that a school has to be used as an instrument for socialisation and to assist learners to internalise the value system required in South Africa's future (Sonn 1986(b):218). In Sonn's view, the Minister of Native Education, Dr HF Verwoerd emphasised complete separation between racial groups in all aspects. Verwoerd believed that there is no way in which Blacks could be equal to Whites. This is evident from Verwoerd's speech in which he averred that any system of education of the Native should be decided upon by the European, more particularly that in their view, the Boers were the senior guardians of the Native (Gabela 1990:10).
Against this background, the educational issues that had an impact on education, and that needed to be transformed are discussed in the next section.

2.4.1.1 Defying discriminatory education

There has been intensive defiance and struggle against segregation from the first day of its announcement (Levin 1991(b):117). Open defiance came from all spheres of the community, including the churches, the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), Black communities, educators, liberation movements and political organisations (Behr 1984:68; Davis 1972:27; Hlatshwayo 1991:101-102; Horrel 1963:67; Mphahlele 1981:165; SABRA 1955:39). Students and learners joined the anti-apartheid struggle in 1976 and became a major force for change in South Africa. O'Connell (1991:140) suggests that without the support of students and learners, the struggle might not have gone that far and transformation might not have been possible.

Separation of races or Apartheid implies that each individual race or group will be able to develop into a separate, national, political, cultural and social unit, according to its own identity and inherent capabilities (Murphy 1973:87). Hartshorne (1992(b):xv) and Rengi ([S.a.]: 205) referred to racial discrimination as a great waste of resources and man-power.

Racial discrimination, as characteristic of the pre-election period, had bitter consequences for the lives and especially education of all racial groups in the country. The following are some of the perspectives on the consequences that the racial discriminatory policy had for education in South Africa:

- According to Gabela (1990:11) racial discrimination affected mental conditioning when strategies such as indoctrination, manipulation, propaganda, and brainwashing are used to teach learners to accept
specific views with regard to race uncritically.

- According to Gillborn (1995:1) racial discrimination can be equated with prejudice, ignorance and irrational hatred or fear of another racial group.

- Proponents of a third perspective regard the degradation of Black people as a major consequence of racial discriminatory practices in education (Badat 1989:107; Sonn 1986(c):60). Degrading practices included:

  - Blacks being educated only to a certain level and only for certain forms of labour (Mohlamme 1990:29).

  - Blacks being confined to low paying jobs and manual labour (Badat 1989:107).

Cameron (1989:35) sees degradation as deliberate because:

  ...education has been historically a device for allocating individuals to economic positions where inequality among the positions themselves is inherent...

- It is also believed that racial discrimination has led Blacks to become foreigners when they were in the so-called European areas, which were mainly the cities (Kandjou 1985:65). For example, Black learners were not allowed to attend schools outside the so-called Black areas (Reeves 1993:270).

- A fifth perspective holds that racial discrimination has divided South African citizens (Hofmeyr 1989:23). Naicker (1996:28) and O'Connell (1991:140) are of the opinion that South Africa is the only country in the world where the state has not aimed at educating for national
unity.

- The oppressive force of racial discrimination forced Black South Africans into despair, rage and rebellion, which gave rise to a pervading belief among many people that the system had dehumanised them, and that they had been relegated to the position of non-white and non-person. The question of racial justice and righteousness resulted in racial tension amongst all South Africans. (Sonn 1986(d):175). The 1976 Soweto uprising is an example of the consequences of unhealthy racial relationships that had been left to develop for over two decades before the historical event took place (Barker et al. 1988:440-442).

- According to Kandjou (1985:77) racial discrimination, enslaved and detribalised the African population. Students were confined to particular institutions and if such an institution could not offer what they wanted educationally, there were no other options open to them (cf. 2.3.7).

- Racial discrimination promoted the idea that Whites were superior and the dominant race in South Africa. Discrimination protected White privilege and power, socially, economically and politically (Naicker 1996:28). Discrimination has been a major cause of perpetuating alienation among the majority of people and more expressly the youth (Sonn 1986(e):150).

- Another tragic consequence was the loss of a whole generation of Black learners. Their schooling was disrupted and most of them never completed their education. They did not receive effective schooling, and as a result, they were unable to find jobs and were susceptible to undesirable activities like crime and drug abuse. Since there was no hope for them, they were called the 'lost generation' or the 'marginalised group' (James 1997:4; Stonier 1998:219).

- According to Helman (in Dhlomo 1980:142) racial discrimination was
a tragedy in economic terms. It prevented Black South Africans the full use of talents and resources of a rich country and a productive population.

Racial discrimination was also a tragedy in international terms. Black and White South Africans could not exercise, their abilities and skills together with the rest of the world. Racial discrimination violated every standard and precept of international law and international relationships (Dhlomo 1980:142).

Racial discrimination denied Black children opportunities to make use of private schools, in particular the Roman Catholic schools. To retain financial assistance from the NP government, schools had to hand over control of their school to the government (Behr 1988: 53). Attempts by the Roman Catholic Church to open its schools to all races resulted in threats of prosecution by the Cape and Transvaal Provincial Administrations (Atkinson 1978:235). In 1987, 85% of learners in private schools were White while 15% represented the three other racial groups (Christie and Freer 1992:135-138).

Attempts to challenge these issues of segregation at schools have a long history (Gillborn 1995:1). Anti-racism movements emerged, especially since the 1950s. Both equality in education and community participation in the formulation of education policy as well as in the running of schools, have been top priorities of these movements for a democratic education system (Matsepe-Casaburri 1993:13).

The segregated education system, through separate schools, prepared children for a segregated society (Sonn 1986(b):218) and has left a heritage of bitterness and backlog in infrastructure. The NP government is blamed for institutionalising
misery in education by legislating the segregation laws (Sonn 1986(c):60). Many of the problems in education can be traced back to some or other form of racist behaviour (Van der Walt 1990:292). The whole policy of apartheid was unfair and unjust. Chief justice Warren in the supreme Court of the United States of America (USA) in the case of Brown v Board of Education (347 U.S. 843 (1954)) held that:

To separate (black children) from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone (Dugard 1978:30).

The rest of the issues characterising education as indicated below emerged as the consequences of legislation that supported racism in education. The next issue to be discussed is the aim of educating Blacks.

2.4.2 Education used as an instrument for serving political, religious and economical purposes

The aim of educating Blacks changed, depending on the need of the government in power. In the next section the focus is on the historical development of the aim of education and the reasons for schooling.

2.4.2.1 Possible reasons for establishing African schools

The opening of the first school in the country which was established for the slaves in South Africa was not in line with the expectations of slaves (Christie 1991:32; Coetzee 1995:404; Malherbe 1925:28; McDonagh 1980:19). The main aim of establishing that school was to enable the slaves of the Dutch East Indian Company (DEIC) and private slave owners to learn the Dutch language and to be in a position to receive instructions (Behr and MacMillan 1971:357; Harmse,
Stonier (1998:217) suggests that slaves and the rest of the Black people, were forced to accept Western education in order to survive, although the schooling offered was not what the indigenous people would have chosen for their children. The settlers had their own personal aim with educating the slaves. Morrow (1990:173) could be correct in contending that the aim of opening the first school was not to benefit the slaves and their communities. Mkhathswa (1988:1) contended that education is never neutral because there can be different purposes behind any education system. Education can be a catalyst for social change or can to the contrary be exploited to prevent change. In South Africa, education was used to retain the original White identity, culture and customs.

Since then the reasons behind education have been changing, depending on the views of those in control, Sir Langham Dale, the Superintended General of the Cape Colony stressed in 1890, that:

...the sons and daughters of the colonists and those who come hither to throw in their lot with them, should have at least such an education as their peers in Europe enjoy, with such local identifications as will fit them to maintain their unquestioned superiority and supremacy in the land (Dostal 1989:73).

The inherent aim of education for the slave children differed from that of the Whites. There was also the economical aim of educating Blacks, which was for the benefit of the Whites. Slaves were educated in order to be able to communicate with their employers for the sake of better production. The rest of the schooling never stood the test of time because such education was not part of their lifestyle and their roots.
2.4.2.2 The aim of education

The foremost aim of the missionary societies and the churches, to which all other educational aims were subservient, was the evangelisation of the Native (Fact Paper 39:2; Pells 1938:7; Stonier 1998:216). To achieve that aim missionary education had to teach Africans to read the Bible (Hams 1988:17). Educators were usually the clergy, and minor church officials who might combine religious teaching with a little elementary instruction in the three Rs – reading, writing and arithmetic. Confirmation, which implied the ability to read the Bible, was the satisfactory standard of education for them and the Bible remained the source of knowledge together with repeating the catechism and letter writing. Many children received no other formal education than this preparation for confirmation, which has been jocularly dubbed ‘Boerematriek’ (The farmer’s matric) (McKerron 1934:56-57 and 61-62).

While the missionaries’ aim of education was evangelisation, the NP government had a completely different aim with the imposing of Bantu Education. The NP’s aims with and the results striven for in educating Blacks after 1948, according to Ashley (1988:8), Cameron (1989:35-39), Dostal (1989:73), Dugard (1978:32), Hams (1988:36), Kutoane and Kruger (1990:8), McGurk (1988:1), Mohlamme (1990:1, Morrow (1990:173), Shingler (1973:278-290), Wolpe and Unterhalter (1991:4), and Black education and resistance (1980:67) were:

- to provide education that would serve the Whites’ economical purposes
- to facilitate communication with the Blacks
- to preserve separate identities and to prevent the emergence of a common unity
- to maintain and protect the Whites’ identity, domination, power and status (to maintain the political, economic, and cultural traditions of

53
Afrikaners even to the extent of neglecting other population groups and to preserve and expand the Afrikaans culture by means of Christian National Education)

- to socialise and humble Africans to accept their subordination within the apartheid system.

In order to achieve their discriminatory aim with education, the NP determined that Blacks had to be trained in accordance with their opportunities in life. The aim was also to avoid creating any false expectations on the part of Blacks that they might have unlimited opportunities and to impress on them that they should remain essentially Bantu (McConkey 1972:1; Van Den Berg 1990:6). Eventually, apartheid education resulted in:

- consolidation and perpetuation of the privilege of the white minority. According to Van Den Berg (1990:6), the education aim was not directed at the advancement of Africans.
- perpetuating the racially divided education system that ensured that most Blacks remained unskilled or semi-skilled workers, while Whites retained their hold over supervisory and professional jobs (Schools & Teachers under apartheid [S.a.]:4) and enjoy the dominant positions in society (Murphy 1973:368).
- the consolidation of autocratic and anti-democratic rule by the compulsion of positivistic pseudo-education for the broad mass of the people, as opposed to that in purposely privileged schooling environments in the country (Van Den Berg 1990:6).

Rex (1987:1) is of the opinion that the aim of education was not about the transmission of moral values but about certificates and about competition and as a result it was never accepted by Blacks. The section below briefly indicates how the aim of Bantu education was defied.
2.4.2.3 Defying the aim of education

Education had been a contested terrain between the state and the disenfranchised majority. The educational crisis in South Africa can be seen either as a catastrophe or an opportunity. While some were being advantaged, another part of the population was disadvantaged. Education planned for Blacks has been rejected because it was deemed to be inferior (Mkhatshwa 1988:1).

The National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) came up with an alternative aim of education in its 'People's education' (cf. 4.3.3) which advocated against racism, sexism, capitalism, elitism, imperialism, colonialism and especially against the education of the National Party government which was regarded as oppressive and exploitative (Dostal 1989:77). Blacks had no say in the kind of education they desire, and they strongly resisted the imposition of a philosophy of education on all citizens by one group (Sonn 1986(b):219).

Together with the aim of education, inequality is another issue that characterised education then, and it will be discussed below.

2.4.3 Education characterised by inequality

The implementation of policies of racial segregation obviously resulted in inequality in all spheres of education. These policies affected educator qualifications, educator-learner ratios, funding, and the provision of building equipment, facilities, books and stationery. The provision for education was characterised by inequality (Mkhathswa 1988:1; Mohlamme 1990:29; Murphy 1992:369). Mathabathe (1987:33) contended that there was hardly any comparison between Black schools and White schools as far as facilities like libraries, science laboratories and sports and recreational facilities were concerned.

Educational inequality resulted in racial and socio-political problems in South
Africa. It is therefore not surprising that the De Lange Commission of Inquiry of 1981, (cf. 4.2.1) appealed for equal education opportunities, for every inhabitant irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex (Behr 1988:39; Education: All will gain from equal education 1981:13; Euerback 1986:75; Hartshorne 1984:1).

In the following paragraphs the researcher focused on inequality with regards to financial provision, compulsory education, educator-learner ratio and Grade 12 (Std 10) pass rate.

The pattern of state expenditure on education has largely favoured White education while Black education was disadvantaged and got very little financial support. The Welsh Commission of 1935 recommended the same principle of financing in Black schools as that which was used in White schools. There was a big discrepancy between the budgets of Black and White learners. The amount for a White learner was £20 per annum, for Coloureds £5 per learner and for a Black learner £3:12:9 per year (Mohlamme 1990:22).

The situation around 1938 was that an increase in the enrolment of Coloured learners between 1932 and 1938 in the Cape led to an insufficient amount of money being available for the education of Coloured learners. The expenditure for the 350 000 White learners at that time was £ 6, 500.000 per year while for 283 000 Native learners the expenditure was £600.000 per annum (Pells 1938:108-113).

The disparities in state spending on education for the various racial groups had been planned to ensure severe inequality and constricted life-time opportunities for the Black population. In the early 1950s the annual per capita spending on education for Black and White learners was not the same (Jackson 1990:21).
The table below illustrates the per capita spending per learner for various racial groups (Mohlamme 1990:31) in the period 1953 to 1985. Since the 1990s, the gap was gradually narrowed due to intensified political struggle and negotiation.

Table 2.1 Per capita spending per learner for various racial groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1953-4</td>
<td>R17</td>
<td>R40</td>
<td>R40</td>
<td>R128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-6</td>
<td>R42</td>
<td>R150</td>
<td>R190</td>
<td>R591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-5</td>
<td>R214</td>
<td>R501</td>
<td>R905</td>
<td>R1 511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988-9</td>
<td>R763</td>
<td>R2 127</td>
<td>R2 607</td>
<td>R3 554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>R1 817</td>
<td>R3 601</td>
<td>R4 422</td>
<td>R4 772</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Education in South Africa 1994; Mohlamme (1990:31)

Unterhalter and Wolpe (1989:2) see the 1976 opposition to racially segregated education as a demand for quality education and better conditions in schools. The state itself generated the culture in which rebellion would be the eventual reaction (Murphy 1992:368). Since 1976, the government had been attempting to set up equal education for equal opportunities but failed (Unterhalter & Wolpe 1989:76). Until the end of 1994, financial provision was still determined by racial categories. On the other hand an attempt by the government to improve the shortage of skilled workers by spending more on Black education than ever before, has changed nothing (Alexander 1990:6). On the contrary, it backfired because the main priority was not to achieve equality in terms of material resources but to acquire political stability.

Fort Hare, the first Native University College founded in 1916, also experienced financial inequality right from the day it was established. R600,00 was budgeted for a White student and R40,00 for a Black student. This is a clear indication that those responsible for allocating resources, did so in accordance with political
priorities and they clearly ranked education for Blacks as a low priority (Pells 1938:130). Since the proclamation of the Union of South Africa and later, after
the announcement of the Bantu Education Act in 1953, financial support to Black
students did not show a significant increase. The supply of resources at Black
universities was far below as compared to that at White universities.

The 1976 report of the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) indicates that
by 1970 the Rand Afrikaans University's library contained 195 000 books while
libraries of the Black Universities held between 67 000 and 84 000 books. Many
volumes at the University of the North in 1981 were 'obsolete or otherwise
useless' for they were either out of date, of poor quality, or rejects from other
libraries (Badat 1991:88). Not only universities were ill-resourced but also Black
schools.

Classrooms in Black schools were generally inadequate in the early 1970s.
Many classrooms were quite unfit for school use. Where available they were
overcrowded particularly in rural areas and there was not much opportunity for
individual attention from educators who were overworked and underpaid (Badat
1991:90; Le Roux & Smith 1993:36). Where classrooms were provided, they
were inadequately furnished and had limited resources (McConkey 1972:8-9).

Because of overcrowding and lack of funds, conditions in many Black schools
were poor. Learners had to sit on the floor because there were no chairs. Where
equipment was available, it was likely to be outdated and insufficient. In most
cases learners had to share textbooks (Le Roux & Smith 1993:36). The situation
was so critical that in 1959-1960, a large number of learners had to be turned
away from Cape Coloured schools because of a shortage of accommodation
(Dostal 1989:237-238). During rainy and windy days, schools were closed
because they had no shelter and this curtailed the children's school terms. Toilet
facilities were also inadequate in rural schools and in some schools toilets were
non-existent (McConkey 1972:8-9).
The financing of school buildings was usually on a Rand for Rand basis where the School Board had to raise 50% of the proposed expenditure from parents in order for the project to be approved and for the government to contribute its 50% subsidy. Where parents could not raise the 50%, children would be taught in wretched wattle and daub huts, grimy and dark with leaking roofs and no sanitation. In many cases classes were conducted under trees, in the open air (McConkey 1972:8-9).

In urban areas, after the approval of the plans, the Department would erect schools and the money would be recovered from the levies on house rentals. The standard classroom in a Black school had a cement floor, no ceiling and no or, very scanty fittings (McConkey 1972:8-9).

Until the early 1990s, most Black schools were still without libraries, science equipment, playgrounds, electricity, indoor plumbing and running water which were considered essential in White schools (Murphy 1992:369). In some schools there was no chalk, paper, textbooks or desks for learners. Under such conditions it was hard, if not impossible to achieve high quality education.

Inequality in financial support had an impact on the provision of classrooms and educators. The facilities at Black, Coloured and Indian schools were inadequate. It was also not possible to share even though some political activist learners and students did advocate the sharing of scarce education resources such as educators with scarce subject qualifications, laboratories, media, and sports facilities (Behr 1988:53). In the mid nineteen-eighties, White schools were standing empty while Black schools, a few kilometres away, were overcrowded. Instead of sharing, the NP government opted for the duplication of facilities which was costly.
While the financial provision was not equal, compulsory education was also not meant for all South Africans. There has been no compulsory and free education for Blacks (Kgware 1973:18; School & Teacher under apartheid [S.a]:3) but for Whites, there was free and compulsory education. Around 1960 compulsory education for Coloured and Indians was introduced but not for Blacks (Morrow 1990:74; Schools & Teachers under Apartheid [S.a.]:3; United Nations 1963:63).

Inequality was also visible in the educator-learner ratio. In 1936 the Interdepartmental Commission of Enquiry into Native education indicated that some of the schools had up to 400 learners with only four educators: that is an educator-learner ratio of 1:100. There was at that time a serious shortage of educators (Behr & Macmillan 1971:394).

The educator-learner ratio reflected the same general pattern of inequality between the various racial groups in the early 1990s. Since the establishment of separate schooling systems for the various races the educator-learner ratio has never been the same for all racial groups in the country. In primary schools, the educator-learner ratio was 1:10 for White schools, 1:19 for Coloured schools and 1:33 for Black schools (Mohlamme 1990:31). The average educator-learner ratio at a Black school was very high despite a progressive decrease over the years, and it affected matric results for many years.

White and Indian learners had been performing well in the matriculation examination. The worst results were always those of Coloured and Black learners (Naicker 1996:248). In 1936, 50% of all White learners who passed Grade 7 (Std 5), proceeded to further education. Most of the Black learners could not proceed any further. Pells (1935:108-113) indicated that the situation at Black schools was that less than a quarter of the Native children between the ages of six and sixteen were in schools and over a million never saw the inside of a school. In the case of those who went to school, the time spent and the work
done there was so meagre that it was the same as if they have never been to school. Over half of Black learners terminated their schooling in the Grade 1 & 2 (Sub-standards A&B) and very few reached Grade 4 (Std 2).

It is shocking to realise that of 750 000 Black learners who left formal schooling in 1989, 26% dropped out of Grade 1 (Sub-standard A) while only 12% passed Grade 12 (Std 10). Since 1990 the pass rate in Grade 12 (Std 10) has dropped to 35% (Murphy 1992:371).

Squelch (1993(a):176-177) has no doubt that the standard of education for White learners can be compared to that of other modern education systems while Black education was characterised by poorly qualified educators, inadequate physical resources, over-crowded classrooms, high attribution rates and poor examination results. Inequality had a detrimental effect on the education and socialisation of the Black child. This was deliberately caused by the socio-political order that apartheid policies created (Squelch 1993(a): 177).

In an attempt to address these inequalities in education the improvements have been largely quantitative and not qualitative (Wolpe & Unterhalter 1991:2). Instead of going for equal education for all, the NP government opted for equal but separate education (Unterhalter & Wolpe 1989:79).

After having discussed inequality in education prior to the first democratic elections, the researcher focussed on the cultural aspect of education in South Africa.

2.4.4 Transplanting European culture into South Africa

An educational issue that caused problems during the previous system of education was the failure to take Black culture into consideration when the curricula were designed for Black schools. Dostal (1989:61-69) argues that there
is no way in which a society can be educated successfully if its education system is not rooted in its culture. Kutoane and Kruger (1990:8) contend that Black culture was never considered in curriculum design and as a result, there has never been a shared cultural or multi-cultural curriculum. According to Dostal (1989:61), this resulted in cross cultural ignorance and misunderstanding. Cultural identity needs to be the basis of educational activities. Makgoba (1996:114-115) warns that culture and identity are important national educational matters. When they are not clearly defined or articulated or are skewed, societal tension increases and national reconciliation and success (economically, educationally, politically) are stunted. Culture and identity form a common thread that weaves society together and facilitate coherent development among various groups. Social conflict between groups, alienation amongst people and the hostility that is prevailing in the country are believed to be the result of an absence of cultural roots in education activities. Education that lacked cultural roots has determined the South African perception, logic, judgement, orientation, motivation and morality (Dostal 1989:64).

Education at Black schools lacked the cultural touch because the culture incorporated in the learning activities was transplanted from Europe to Africa. The researcher discussed this aspect next.

2.4.4.1 European culture in South Africa

In the United States, the government attempted deculturalisation, which is the educational process of eliminating other cultures. The Native cultures of the American Puerto Ricans were replaced with the dominant White culture (Spring 1994:1). The same situation has occurred in South Africa, where Europeans succeeded in deculturalising Black culture through schooling. The early settlers at the Cape were proud of their mother country (Holland) and they desired to transplant the old life, with as little change as possible, to South Africa. As the Reformation condition dominated Holland, so it dominated South African
education for many years and its influence still lingers (McKerron 1934:15) even up 1994.

Education was targeted as a tool to turn South Africa into an European colony by the ruling party. It occupied a central place in the design for an Afrikaner-dominated South Africa and again it was an effective means of transmitting culture from one generation to another (Atkinson 1978:118).

The issue of cultural transplantation became very problematic when most Blacks started to realise that their culture had not been part of their education. It appears that the ruling party did not realise or care that they caused great harm to other cultures especially the Black culture with their authoritarian approach and Christian National Education (CNE). Education was seen as an essential mechanism for the reproduction of specific components of White domination in post-World War II South Africa. The Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953 was the major instrument by means of which the government attempted to shape education in such a way that Blacks would eventually be excluded from all job categories except that of unskilled labourers (Wolpe and Unterhalter 1991:4).

The powerful and influential Afrikaner Broederbond (ABB) was launched in Johannesburg in 1918 with the aim of promoting the political, cultural and economic interests of the Afrikaners. It maintained an open registration until 1924 when it went underground and its affairs became largely a matter of conjecture. The ABB gave its support to the NP and played an important role in its election victory in 1948. All leading NP Afrikaners belonged to the ABB and were dedicated to arouse Afrikaner self-consciousness and to inspire love of the Afrikaans language, religion, traditions, country and people. It was a programme dedicated to ensuring that Afrikanerisation of South Africa succeeded while other cultures had no place in the country. To achieve this objective they ensured that Broeders were placed in key positions which could
then be utilised for the advancement of the Volk (Atkinson 1978:217; Barker et al., 1988:375; Brits 1995:7). The ABB was specific in its constitution, stating that it was born out of the deep conviction that the Afrikaner nation was put in this land by God and was destined to continue its existence as a nation with its own nature and calling (Murphy 1973:81–82).

The imposition of a foreign culture on the education of Blacks had an impact on and caused alienation in their education. The results of a lack of cultural roots in formal education is discussed next.

2.4.4.2 Education devoid of cultural roots

Luthuli (1984:11) contends that experiences offered in Black schools have not been relevant and meaningful to the need of Blacks and to the self-actualisation of their potentials and aspirations as a people, due to lack of cultural foundation.

The school's failure to develop the home culture of learners in a formal education situation has resulted in the development of new culture amongst Black children, namely, the culture of total indifference to learning and to hard work, a self-defeating and suicidal approach to life. Learners have eventually become bitter, violent and anti-social (Mashabela 1991:58).

The school curricula seemed to have no relevance to the learners' home culture. It appears that Black learners and especially those entering the originally White only schools, often experienced cultural discontinuity, especially when the ethos, values, tradition, culture and expectations differed markedly from those of their home background and previous school experience (Squelch 1993(a):182).

With the above discussion in mind, the curriculum and more specifically the curriculum prescribed for Black schools is examined below.
2.4.5 Curriculum and syllabi for Black schools

The curriculum and the syllabi prescribed for Black schools had been controversial for many years prior to 1994. The curricula and the content of some of the subjects is given attention in the next paragraphs.

2.4.5.1 Irrelevant and inferior curriculum

The school curriculum, more than any other aspect of formal education, bears the burden of preparing learners for life, of passing on to them those things they must know if they are to live as adults in an often cruel and demanding world (Luthuli 1990:83). The curriculum during the missionary era included reading, writing and arithmetic in primary schools. In secondary schools it included singing, drill, drawing, gymnastics, Bible history, English history, geography, grammar, translation, physics, physiology, chemistry, elementary Latin and French. This curriculum was designed to inculcate Christian values (Hams 1988:19). Since culture is the basis of what is to be taught in schools (Kutoane & Kruger 1990:8) the absence of people of colour in Black schooling resulted in the production of both "apartheid" educators and learners. In particular, educators and learners in Black schools were products of the intellectually sterile curriculum content (Walker 1991:158). These curricula were not accepted by the Black community because it was viewed as inferior, excessively academic and eurocentric (Murphy 1992:369).

After the Dutch occupation of the Cape, formal education was synonymous with instruction in the doctrines of the Dutch Reformed Church in Bible history, psalm singing and reading and writing sufficient for qualification for church membership. The only subject was Arithmetic. Secondary education was only obtainable overseas (Pells 1938:20-21). Prior to and around 1900, the primary
school curriculum consisted of the Three Rs (reading, writing and arithmetic). Moral instruction, Hygiene, Native languages, Native study, Handwork, Agriculture and Domestic Science could not be taught because of a lack of equipment. Modern subjects included in the curriculum were Drawing, Needlework, Woodwork, and Nature study (Pells 1938:44, 132). Workaholic and ambitious educators might further have included some instruction in Religious Teaching, History and Geography (McKerron 1934:57). This curriculum seemed to be irrelevant especially to Blacks. Although there had been some changes in the approach, there was still much to be done as far as the curriculum was concerned.

The curriculum design was done by the Department of Education which was mainly White. As a result the curriculum failed to take into consideration the culture and the needs of Black learners. A statement such as the following indicates how reluctant the Whites were to develop Black education to the same level as White education.

> Why teach man to read if he can never get hold of a book? Why teach him the use of table cloths and cutlery if he cannot afford to buy them? Why teach him agriculture when all the arable land is already occupied (Pells 1938:141).

Blacks and Coloureds have been the smallest learner groups taking Mathematics and Physical Science in Grade 11 & 12 (Stds 9 & 10). Even in the early 1990s when Blacks started to have a special interest in Mathematics and Science, most learners became Grade 12 (Std 10) dropouts because they could not satisfy the requirement of the Senior Certificate as they repeatedly failed these subjects. Perhaps there is justification for Murphy (1992:369) when he avers that the curricula of the South African matriculation examination for Blacks was too complex and difficult, considering their background and medium of instruction.
Up to 1994 this curriculum was still used with some additions in that it included programmes for improving English such as ‘English through activity’ in the late 1980s, and the Macmillan Primary English Project (MAPEP) ‘Break through’ for second language teaching in the 1990s (McKerron 1934:57).

2.4.5.2 The irrelevance of syllabi

The curriculum and the teaching in Black schools had been controversial prior to the 1994 political break-through. The approach to teaching in Black schools was completely unacceptable. Blacks argued that the teaching was mostly theoretical, with very little opportunity for practical application (Jonas 1992:19). The researcher, in her study of the relevance of the syllabi, put stress on two subjects namely, History and Religious Education.

2.4.5.2.1 History as a controversial subject

Kapp (1993:42) identified the following roles history teaching should play in the school curriculum, namely:

- providing people with an identity
- developing a historical consciousness
- laying the foundation for political literacy
- serving the needs for establishing a democratic order; and
- creating a non-racial, unitary state.

Looking at the above-mentioned roles of history teaching, one may have some reservations with regard to relevance of history teaching, particularly in Black schools. Bonner (1994:978) and Kallaway (1993:56) indicated that the teaching of history at a White school and at a Black school were different. Through History teaching, learners were alienated from the genuine and authentic history of South Africa. In Black schools educators were monitored carefully and
were sometimes even dismissed if they were found to be engaged in practices which were understood to be "bringing politics into the classroom" (Sonn 1986 (b):218). Educators were used as instruments of indoctrination (Alexander 1990:18). In reality, history teaching promoted separatism by adhering to an ethnic, compartmentalised approach, whereas it should have, together with the study of the languages and literature, emphasised the contribution of all South Africans to their past and present. Proper History teaching could have acted as a vehicle for promoting understanding and unity among all members of our national community (Sonn 1986(b):218).

The South African debate on the teaching of history is focussed on the content of the school syllabus (Kapp 1993:42). Professor Bengu contends that close to half of the textbooks' content of what is known as South African history is biased and untrue, and therefore needs to be amended (Donn 1995:15). The question as to whether a controversial and potentially divisive subject like history should be taught in schools in the new South Africa was also raised (Kallaway 1993:52). The following are some of the reasons behind the controversy regarding the content of history syllabi and for the subject's failure to promote human rights:

- Black people's heroes were not included in the history books (Kapp 1993:89). If ever any attention was paid to Black historical personalities (Murphy 1973:369) they were either depicted as problematic or only mentioned in passing. Black people were in most cases portrayed as quarrelsome people who led unprovoked raids into White people's land and stole their stock (Vakalisa 1996:13; Van den Heever 1987:13).

- There was a lack of role models in school textbooks with whom Blacks, Coloureds and Asians could identify or whom they could emulate (Dostal 1989:77).

- History content favoured the Afrikaner heritage in which Whites
were superior while Blacks were inferior (Murphy 1992:369; Van den Heever 1987:13). The contents of the subject of history created the impression that only Afrikaners had a special relationship with God and that they were militarily ingenious and strong (Dostal 1989:77).

The contents of the history syllabi failed to reflect the historic experiences and contributions of majority groups accurately and remained biased and alien to Blacks (Squelch 1993(a):182).

Since more truths had been discovered since the 1970s, history should be rewritten in order to eliminate inaccuracy and invalid content. The History Workshop, a practice that was introduced during the liberation struggle by historians, was first held in 1977. During this workshop, accuracy and valid content were encouraged in history writing (Bonner 1994:977).

2.4.5.2.2 The status of Religious Education

In South African schools, the prescribed syllabus in religious education contained only the teaching of Christianity, as based on the Afrikaner Calvinistic religion. It started as a subject in a school system known as Christian National Education. General Smuts' government opted for CNE which was formulated as early as 1906 at a CNE Congress. The CNE institutions were assimilated into the government system under the Smuts (Transvaal) Education Act 25 of 1907. CNE was described as (Van Zyl 1997:86):

education according to the Holy Scriptures in accordance with the articles of faith of the three Dutch Churches. National education means that the history of the (Afrikaner) nation and the language and the traditions of the forefathers are to be taught and kept because of God’s guidance in the history of the Afrikaner nation.
In 1967, CNE was acknowledged in the National Education Act 39 of 1967 after an extended struggle by its supporters. The same Act complicated matters by stating that the religious convictions of parents had to be respected as far as religious education and religious ceremonies were concerned. When this decision was taken, the fact that South Africa is a multi-religious, culturally pluralistic society was not taken into consideration. Seeing that the Act was in itself contradictory, the government amended it in the National Policy for General Affairs Act 76 of 1984 (Van Zyl 1997:87).

The fulfilment of the curricula depends on the medium of instruction. The researcher finds it relevant at this stage to explore on the language policy prior to 1994.

2.4.6 The language policy as political instrument

The language policy in education has formed part of the power struggle between various groups. Anglicisation of Dutch schools which followed the 2nd Anglo-Boer war in 1902 and the active promotion of Afrikaans by the Nationalist government after 1948, emphasised the role language played in politics. In Black schools the choice of language medium has always been strongly dictated by the political ideology of the day.

Prior to 1994, the choice of medium of instruction in schools was based on the structures developed under the apartheid education system (Atkinson 1978:219). Around 1948, attention was given to the position of Afrikaans medium schools because the issue of the medium of instruction was found to be a tool to achieve political objectives (Atkinson 1978:219). For example, from 1948 to 1975, the NP government opted for a language policy in Black schooling which shifted its emphasis from English to Afrikaans. Afrikaans, the language of the dominant, political group, the NP, was enforced and became the medium of instruction in the mid 1970s (Lemmer 1993:147).
South Africa is one of the most culturally and linguistically diverse countries in the world (Lemmer 1993:146). Therefore, language diversity exerts a powerful influence on the content, methods of instruction and outcomes of schooling. Language linked to race, cultural group and social class is a highly contentious issue. The section below elaborated on the medium of instruction.

2.4.7 The medium of instruction

At a conference of education specialists organised by the United Nations Education Science and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) held in Paris in 1951, it was concluded that mother tongue education was the most suitable language medium for any child's learning (Mouton 1978:54-56). Emphasising the importance of the child's first language, Robb (1995:18) stresses that one of the basic educational principles is to "start from where the child is", the child's language being inclusive in this. South African children are in Africa hence Mbeki's campaign for African Renaissance demands that African children should know and feel pride in who they are. The past education system:

... treated black children like foreigners in their own country. In fact, they and their languages, culture, religion, tradition and interests have been made largely invisible. Children need to know who they are and have pride in themselves. They need to know where they come from. We need to acknowledge, affirm and build on what each child brings to the group (Robb 1995:18).

Two major questions that had an impact on mother-tongue as medium of instruction were:

- At what age, and in which manner should the transition from mother-tongue to English take place?
- How should the child's language acquisition be supported
throughout the subsequent levels of schooling?

Abbutt and Pierce ([S.a.]:12) emphasise that the right to learn in one's mother-tongue and to choose to be educated in it or through the medium of one's own language, is a basic human right. The position of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction has always been one of the critically debated issues in Black education (Behr 1988:103). From 1974, the implementation of a language policy in Black schools, particularly in the Transvaal, (presently part of Northern Province, Gauteng, North West and Mpumalanga) became more inflexible and consequently it was laid down that Mathematics and Social Studies were to be learned in Afrikaans (Hartshorne 1992(b):203; Lemmer 1993:148).

Resistance to Afrikaans being used as a compulsory medium of instruction served as a pretext to resist Bantu Education. Black learners were not at ease with Afrikaans because it was associated with the racist policy of governance (Legodi 1992:117). Afrikaans became stigmatised as the language of the oppressor, despite its usefulness and its claim to being a quasi-indigenous or “African” language (Behr 1988:103-104) while English, on the other hand, enjoyed exceptional popularity. The 1976 Soweto riots were the result of the negative attitudes learners had towards Afrikaans as the medium of instruction (Behr 1984:195-197). The Department of Bantu Education made matters worse by extending the dual medium of instruction to Std 5, and making Afrikaans the medium of instruction from Std 6 to Std 10 (Van Zyl 1997:71).

Asian and Black parents preferred English to Afrikaans as language of instruction. Notwithstanding the fact that English has an imperial history that cannot be ignored, African language speakers in South Africa have adopted it for use in various contexts (Mawasha 1993:109). The adoption is not motivated by language loyalty or similar sentimental reasons, but by utilitarian and instrumental reasons. Lemmer (1993:109-110) suggests that approximately 70% of South African Blacks adopted English for their education and socio-economic
purposes. According to De Klerk (1995(a):28) and Thembela (1989:5) some parents are voting for English as the medium of instruction in preference to their own languages because English is:

- seen as an important language for the future and as the main language in South Africa
- a negotiating language
- a business language
- an important tool for further studies.

Blacks have a tendency of rejecting mother-tongue instruction (Behr 1988:102-103; Lemmer 1993:150). The Afrikaners on the contrary revere their language so much that they even erected a monument called the ‘Taal-monument’ to its honour in the country side near Paarl, to the North-west of Cape Town in the mid 1960s (Grattan-Guinness 1989:147). Black people on the other hand view the use of their languages at school as part of the former apartheid ideology intended to prepare different language groups for a separate existence (Lemmer 1993:150; Mouton 1978:544-56). Masola (1989:10) warns that any person looking down upon his language despises his own culture and ultimately his own identity.

The timing and the manner in which English was introduced as medium of instruction in Black schools has been a debatable issue. Most Black parents believed that the sooner their children were exposed to English the greater the chances that they would be academically successful. This resulted in an increasing influx of Black learners into English medium, state aided primary schools. Yet, they lacked the English competency required by such schools (Lemmer 1993:150). Black children in English medium schools faced a dual problem. They not only had to know academic content but they had to master it through a medium other than their mother-tongue (Lemmer 1993:150).
In DET schools children were instructed in their mother tongue during the lower primary phase, Grade 1 (Sub-standard A) to Grade 4 (Std 2) (Behr 1988:102). In Grade 5 (Std 3) there was a sudden and abrupt transition to English as the medium of instruction for the entire primary curriculum, which concurrently broadened to ten subjects. This transition caused many learning problems (Lemmer 1993:149).

Another controversy, with regard to the language issue, emerged when the second language medium of instruction, which has been adopted for the purpose of securing international participation, doubles the burden on the Black learner and contributes to an appalling failure rate (Thembela 1989:2). That is, Black learners were expected to study all their subjects in a foreign language, usually English. Furthermore they also had to learn another foreign language on second language level as well as their own language (Squelch 1993(a):183). Their White, Coloured and Indian counterparts had to study only two languages namely English and Afrikaans (Schuring 1993:92).

The Black learners' choice of and attitude towards English, Afrikaans and indigenous languages have largely been shaped by the education policy and within the broad context of political issues.

Essential issues discussed above in formal education from the first day of its introduction in 1658, had an impact on schooling in the country. Broodryk and Van Westhuizen (1994:141) believe that the problems resulted from the issue of medium of instruction is the result of the lack of a general democratic culture. As the first learners found themselves in a dilemma, that situation resulted in truancy and behavioural problems (Christie 1991:221-222; Molteno 1984:46) and eventually eroded the culture of teaching and learning.
2.5 The absence of a culture of teaching and learning

Since the late 1970s, there has been no genuine teaching and learning, particularly in Black schools in the country. Blacks schools have been used as tools to achieve political objectives. The liberation struggle, particularly in the late 1970s eroded the culture of teaching and learning. This section also focussed on factors that eroded the culture of teaching and learning. Unfavourable conditions at institutions of learning and lack of effective school representation in school governance also formed an important part of the discussion below.

2.5.1 Factors that eroded the culture of teaching and learning

There are several factors that had an impact on the culture of teaching and learning. The liberation struggle has played a major role in eroding the culture of teaching and learning.

2.5.1.1 Liberation struggle

A sound educational climate had not existed since the introduction of Black schooling and matters have been getting steadily worse. Black schooling had been turned into a struggle for achieving political objectives in South Africa (Wolpe & Unterhalter 1991:2).

Since 1920 there had been unrest in Black schools throughout the country because of the dissatisfaction with the entire schooling system (Black education and resistance 1980:67; Levin, Moll & Narsing 1991:238; Murphy 1992:369-370; Naicker 1996:247). This unrest could be attributed to:

- the poor standard of food in boarding schools
- enforced labour
- extreme forms of discipline, including corporal punishment
lack of independence on the part of learners
lack of critical thinking and exploring on the part of learners
ongoing boycotts and school takeovers
vandalism and persistent police harassment
detention of learners
killing at school
schools being characterised by a top-down administrative structure where overwhelming power rested in principals who tended to monopolise decision-making functions
separation between the administrative and academic functions of schools
the insufficient supply of books.

The Soweto uprising of June 1976, which began as a well-organised mass protest, left a legacy of ineffective schooling that affected the culture of teaching and learning in South Africa. The learners in Soweto began the protest as a reaction to the deprivation of Black education which was a long term effect of the Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953 (Barker et al. 1988:440; Makhubela 1978:x; RESA 1989:7). Some of the most important criticism brought against the education system during the 1976 riots were:

Education programmes for Blacks were regarded as irrelevant for both learners and employers
Learners objected against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction
There was no strategy for overcoming problems such as the chronic shortage of properly qualified educators, inadequate financing of education and unequal provision of education opportunities
Education was based on racial discrimination hence there were
Since June 16, 1976 the culture of teaching and learning collapsed in Black schools in South Africa (Felicia Mabuza-Suttle Talk Show 1999). The political protest led to a breakdown of learning, especially in urban secondary schools. These schools became staging areas of disruption and places of conflict where learners organised unrest (Shindler 1984:2). The Soweto upheavals forced the NP government to admit to some of the problems within the system of education. The NP government committed itself to improving the education of Blacks by training more educators, improving educator qualifications and building more classrooms.

Crime has been another element operating in schools in South Africa, especially since the 1980s. Educators feared for their lives as learners came to school armed with knives and even guns. This practice was an indication that effective learning was not taking place.

Since 1990 much emphasis has been placed in South Africa on the need to shift from a culture of resistance to a culture of teaching and learning. The presence of an effective culture of teaching and learning, will empower all learners to realise their potentials and be able to determine issues, actions and choices for themselves.

The absence of effective teaching in schools, resulted in the national education being deeply affected. In the section below factors that affected the culture of teaching and learning at institutions of learning were discussed.

2.5.1.2 Unfavourable conditions at higher education institutions

The culture of teaching and learning had not been conducive for educative
teaching for some time. Some of the unfavourable conditions at higher education institutions were the quality of catering and food in hostels, the tight security and policing at entrances and the harassment of student activists. Many university and college administrations summoned the riot police at the slightest sign of student opposition. In most cases students would be whipped, baton charged and tear-gassed by police (Badat 1991:90).

The conditions existing in institutions of learning had eroded the culture of teaching and learning. The influence of school governance on the culture of teaching and learning is focussed on in the next section.

2.5.1.3 Lack of representation in school governance

Black parents, educators and the learners played no part in shaping their education. The Department of Native Affairs came up with school committee structures which were controlled by chiefs in rural areas, Advisory School Board Members in urban areas and farmers on the commercial farmland (Mboya 1993:xv).

The Government Notice of 4 January 1955 stipulated that the NP government gave powers to the school committees and school board members chosen from the communities to manage all Black schools as from April 1955 (Makhubela 1978:11). Most of these individuals were illiterate and poorly informed about educational matters of which they had to take charge such as employing and retrenching of educators. At the end of the NP government rule, only the school committees were still in operation (Manyike 1992:53-54; Mminele 1989:171; Mphahlele 1981:167; Ruperti 1976:159;).

In the research undertaken by Nxumalo (1993:57) in Kwa-Mashu, parents acknowledged a lack of involvement on their part as far as the schooling of their children was concerned. They admitted to being unsupportive and were without
Interest in school issues. Lack of effective school governance resulted in the absence of effective school-going habits and values and the loss of faith in the benefits and legitimacy of education on the part of school communities. These results were seen as obstacles to genuine education in schools (Schools & Teachers under Apartheid [S.a.]:2).

The period prior to the 1994 elections had been characterised by problems which resulted in the culture of teaching and learning being eroded in many institutions. Another factor which contributed to the decay of the culture of teaching was the conditions of service for educators.

2.5.1.4 The conditions of service for educators and the culture of teaching

The culture of teaching amongst educators and the status of professionalism have been gradually eroded since 1953 when the struggle for relevant education was declared by anti-apartheid education movements. Motlana (1978:38-40) emphasised that there was a crisis in education because of the intolerable conditions in the classrooms, discrimination in salaries and conditions of service. Educators in Black schools were caught in the middle of the conflict. They were under pressure from both learners and education authorities (Schools & Teachers under Apartheid [S.a.]:2).

The conditions of service for educators made it impossible to restore the culture of teaching and learning. Restoring a culture of teaching and learning is simply about bringing the conditions conducive to educative teaching and learning and discipline to both educators and learners. Regular attendance, punctuality and acceptance of authority and the culture of reconstruction and development are the gist of the culture of teaching and learning (School & Teachers under Apartheid [S.a.]:2).

The disempowerment of educators, which has been a problem, particularly in
Black only schools, was investigated and is addressed in the next section.

2.5.1.4.1 Disempowered educators

In the late 1970s, Black schools came to a complete standstill with the collapse of authority on an unprecedented scale. The role of educators and principals had been reduced to that of spectators in their schools because they were regarded as tools of the apartheid system. Since 1976, the mobilisation of the education struggle has largely been led by learners who heeded the admonition of their elders (Murphy 1992:370). Murphy (1992:370-371) stated that in 1991, 48 principals from the schools around Mamelodi near Pretoria, were expelled from their schools by learners. Learners destroyed textbooks and threatened educators. Such circumstances resulted in the collapse of professional conduct of educators and administrators in many Black schools. It also resulted in a high level of demoralisation amongst educators and learners. Educators went to school unprepared and, to a certain extent, contributed to the collapse of schooling (Murphy 1992:370).

From 1985 onwards it was learners, educators and the community at large who were on the forefront of the struggle for relevant education. The intention was to transform and democratised education. The attitude of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association (CTPA) to learner activism was very different from the existing practice in which learners were used to achieve political objectives. The CTPA believed that they themselves had to carry on the struggle irrespective of their powerless status. They never wanted to hide behind the learners, and they never wanted to push them to the front or stir up a revolution with learners (Sonn 1986(k):96).

The platoon system and double sessions, which were strategies implemented to overcome the severe lack of facilities, also affected the culture of teaching and learning negatively.
2.5.1.4.2 Lack of facilities

Lack of facilities resulted in the platoon system and double sessions. With the platoon system children were taught for four and a half hours instead of five and a half hours. Children were “educational half timers”, meaning that they were robbed of their full school session. A school was used for two different sessions, either by learners of the same school or learners from another school, with its management using the same buildings during the second session. A school close to Pietersburg in the Northern Province rural area, had 1612 learners and 16 educators in 1971. The educator-learner ratio was 1:101, with poor facilities, inadequate classrooms and no toilet facilities (McConkey 1972:27). In these circumstances, the platoon system could only affect the culture of teaching and learning negatively and this was also the case with the double session system.

The double session system, announced in 1954, was a practice where more learners shared an educator and facilities like textbooks and buildings in double sessions. This practice further demoralised educators. Each group of learners’ time was shortened to fewer working hours than the normal school day. The double sessions mainly aimed at alleviating accommodation problems. The numbers of learners in classes were often uncomfortably high, being up to 55 learners in upper primary classes and as a result educators had a heavy work load (Behr 1988:234; Fact Paper 39 1957:6). This system was condemned by Black educationists as it wasted time for primary school learners. It was still used in 1972 (McConkey 1972:14). The government had to come up with a plan to improve these conditions.

The platoon system and the double sessions were disadvantaging learners and educators. This situation was worsened by the fact that educators lacked training. The next section highlighted on teacher training and the culture of teaching and learning.
2.5.1.5 Teacher training and the culture of teaching and learning

The standard of educators in South Africa was severely imbalanced. The White schools had the highest number of qualified educators as compared to African, Coloured and Indians schools (Naicker 1996:245).

As early as 1838 the first institution for the training of Coloured educators was established at Genadendal. In 1874 it was announced that a teachers' certificate was an essential requirement for an appointment of White educators and there was no provision made for the training of Black educators. The first formal teacher training institution for Blacks was Fort Hare, established in 1916 (Behr 1988:152). Since Fort Hare was the only college for Black educators it could not cope with the demands from the Black community.

To reduce the educator-learner ratio privately paid educators were employed by schools. 15% of educators were privately paid in government aided schools in 1968 (Horrel 1969:8). There was a serious lack of qualified educators in Black schools in 1968 and of those educators who were not qualified about 7 500 were privately paid. In 1991, about half of the educators in Black schools did not have diplomas while most had only Grade 12 (Std 10) and two years of teacher training. Only 20% of educators at high schools had university diplomas (Murphy 1992:369).

In spite of this high shortage of educators, there has been growing unemployment and underemployment within the education departments in South Africa since the 1980s. The expansion of education seems to lead to growing unemployment amongst the educated (Dostal 1989:44). The rate of unemployment resulted in teaching becoming a stressful occupation and the quality of class performance deteriorating.
The role played by professionalism and unionism during the pre-election period and its effect on the culture of teaching and learning is discussed next.

2.5.1.6 Professionalism and unionism and the culture of teaching and learning

During the period prior to 1994, teacher professionalism and unionism became controversial. These two concepts and their impact on the culture of teaching and learning are discussed next.

2.5.1.6.1 Professionalism versus unionism

Teacher organisations have existed in South Africa for several decades with professionalism as their point of departure. Unionism was not associated with professions such as teaching but rather with manual and trade workers outside the civil service. De Witt (1981:6) defines profession as an occupation that properly involves a liberal education and mental rather than manual labour. Boshoff (2000:3) stressed that professionalism, as far as teaching is concerned, is about an educator:

- knowing a subject and how to make it easy and interesting for the learners
- accepting responsibility for the development of the nation
- accepting accountability for the behaviour and performance of learners
- having leadership and servantship skills
- persuading learners to seek and acquire knowledge
- knowing that South African learners need someone to lead them to become responsible adults.
As members of the South African Teachers' Association (SATA), educators were bound by their professional ethics, hence their resistance tended to be lenient (Joubert [S.a.]:3). Educators were reluctant about strikes that would affect the learning time of the learners.

The Harare Seminar was held from 2 to 8 April 1988, under the auspices of the World Confederation of Organisations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the ANC and other political organisations and unions. During this seminar the National Teachers Unity Forum (NTUF) was launched. NTUF’s main aim was to establish a single unitary teachers’ union (Coetzee 1996:146). The first teachers' union, namely the South African Democratic Teachers’ Union (SADTU), was launched in 1990 and it had an important effect on the culture of teaching and learning in the whole country.

The launching of SADTU moved teachers' associations from the professional to the unionism approach. This approach had an impact on the professionalism of educators. According to the unionism approach, educators had to be regarded first as workers and then as educators. Since the formation of SADTU in October 1990, all organisations which represented Black teachers in South Africa, with the notable exception of Transvaal African Teachers Association (TUATA), merged in a new non-racial teachers’ union. The whole issue of whether educators are professionals working for a salary or workers earning wages, has since been looked into.

Hartshorne (1992(b):322-324) and Murphy (1992:370) suggest that professionalism was sacrificed at the expense of militant and radical attitudes.

---

* South African Teachers' Association (SATA) was launched in 1862 and in 1970 changed to the African Teachers' Association of South Africa (ATASA).
Professionalism was further eroded by continuous unrest and the dire need of educators for popular positions and political aggrandisement. Educators seemed to have forgotten that “example is not the main thing in influencing others it is the only thing” and that a profession depends on the quality and status of its members (Sonn1986(j):212). Murphy (1992:370) is of the opinion that some educators were still anxious to maintain professionalism even though they were at times intimidated. Some were afraid of losing their posts or forfeiting their chances of promotion.

Professionalism and unionism were prevalent in the two organisations attitudes, namely NAPTOSA and SADTU when negotiating conditions of service. The two unions approached this issue differently. The National Professional Teachers' Organisation of South Africa (NAPTOSA) always put the interest of the learner first. NAPTOSA believed that if professionalism was not only supported but also treasured by all educators, the culture of teaching and learning would be restored (Boshoff 2000:3; Hindle & Simpson 1993:170). From SADTU's perspective the interest of the educator, as worker, should be given first priority.

Trade unionism ideology was a relatively new concept in public service in South Africa, particularly in teaching. COSATU had been inspirational in SADTU's policy. The formation of SADTU as a unitary national structure was therefore a political victory, because it identified many teachers with the broader interests and strategies of the national liberation struggle. SADTU's current membership consist of educators who support unionist forms of action (Hindle and Simpson 1993:155-170). SADTU's approach on dealing with salary inequality bears evidence (cf. 5.6.3).

The issue of the salaries of educators had been discussed on several occasions by the previous government and the teachers' organisations before the democratic elections took place.
2.5.1.6.2 The influence of professionalism and unionism on educators' salary negotiations

Prior to 1994, educators had on several occasions been negotiating with their employer, the Education Department, about salary scales. At the time, the problem was not only that educators' salaries were low but mainly that they were not equal for the various racial groups. Around 1963, Black educators were getting about half of what the White educators were taking home (Mphahlele 1981:172). The Cape African Teachers' Association (CATA) and Transvaal African Teachers' Association (TATA) strongly opposed this inequality (Marambana 1987:157). H H Dlamelenze, the general secretary of TUATA, in Mphahlele (1987:156) contended that TUATA would not rest until salary scales for Black and White educators were equal because all educators shared the same stresses and strains in their occupations.

Black educators had been complaining about low salaries since 1937 (Cameron 1989:21). A general salary increment was given to all educators in 1963, 1967 and 1977, but Black educators only came on a par with their white counterparts in the late 1980s (Horrel 1969:150). Van den Heever (1986: Foreword) stressed that salary disparity was fundamentally indefensible, intrinsically humiliating and exceedingly harmful to race relations. The opposition to salary disparity was not so much based on the material differences in monetary terms but the moral indignation of suffering such blatant racist discrimination. The principle of equal pay for equal qualifications was implemented in 1981. Since 1986, there has been a real improvement in salaries which enabled educators to live as professional people (Sonn 1986(k):76).

A problem which has occurred since 1964 is that of educators having to wait up to four months for their salaries. This had the effect of lowering the status of the
educators in society as they were seen begging and borrowing. It further undermined the status of the principal who was in most cases wrongly accused by the educators concerned for not forwarding the relevant documents (Sonn 1986(i):7-8).

The educators' struggle for equal salaries was at the same time addressing the problem of inequality in the country. In 1991, the two main teacher organisations namely, SADTU and NAPTOSA, formed an alliance to negotiate for equal salaries and better conditions in the teaching profession (Eastern Provincial Herald 1993:5).

While the salary issue was in the process of being addressed, the quality of education was negatively affected. In the next section the researcher briefly focussed on quality of education.

2.5.1.7 The poor quality of education for Blacks

It is generally accepted that the quality of the educators in any educational system is affected by lack of culture of teaching and learning. It is equally well-known that the African teaching corps in South Africa is, in general, demoralised, disorganised and undertrained.

Aspin, Chapman and Wilkinson (1994:42-43) stated that the quality in education is seen by many to reside in the quality of the learning experience and the extent to which teaching and learning activities are exhibited and learning is successfully attained by the learner. Some see quality education as an enrichment of capacities for a life of individual quality and capabilities to exercise skills that will contribute to the whole of society. Some parents believe that quality education is to be seen in the success of learners by achieving examination results, certification and qualifications that will guarantee them some sort of employment (Sonn 1986(g):168).
The education provided for White learners was highly rated and more privileged than the education provided for other racial groups. The Indians and the Coloureds were better off than the Blacks who were the least privileged. By virtue of their grossly inadequate schooling, they were less equipped than Whites to cope with university education (Wolpe & Barends 1993:4).

The quality of education in the homelands was criticised by Dr O Dhlomo, the then Minister of Education and Culture in the Kwa Zulu legislative Assembly. He described it as 'glorified' literary campaigns which parade as fully-fledged education systems (Le Roux & Smith 1993:36; Shindler 1984:4). Some of the factors responsible for the poor quality of education for Blacks were:

- late entry into school
- shortage of qualified educators and equipment
- lack of sufficient vocational courses for learners
- an environment not conducive to effective teaching and learning
- lawlessness in schools.

The poor quality of education had an impact on the Black community in particular, not only in public schools but also at farm schools. This issue is discussed in the next section.

2.5.1.8 Farm schools

Due to the passing of the Native Land Act 27 of 1913, South Africa was divided into White and Black areas and this led to the eviction of the African squatters from their homes. The 1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act 21, made possible the establishment of native locations. In 1936 Blacks were allowed into White rural areas only as paid labourers. Africans in South
Africa were left with 13% of the arable land. Black people were recruited as labourers at the privately owned land (Barker et al. 1988:263-264; Land Reform: Myth and reality 1991:1-7). Mehl, Browne and Ashley ([S.a.]:3-4) and Gaganakis and Crewe (1987:1) indicated that farm schools were under the auspices of mission churches. The schools were founded by the church but often subsidised by relevant provincial education departments. In some cases, the churches and the farmers on whose land the schools were situated managed the schools. The churches and farmers however had nothing to do with day to day affairs of the schools. The farmer later became the manager and owner of the school as far as authority and control were concerned, in terms of the Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953 (South Africa 1953, sec.12&15).


- Many of the school buildings were not conducive to effective teaching and learning, and as a result, effective education could not take place. Classrooms were dark, and inadequately ventilated. Available classrooms were overcrowded and some children were even turned away. Many schools had no essential facilities like desks, books and equipment. Hand in hand with these problems, there was the serious lack of facilities like playing grounds, libraries and some essential media for effective teaching.

- The lack of transport to schools has resulted in many learners dropping out of school and in some cases, children waiting until very late before they started school because of the long distances they had to travel. Although one of the requirements for establishing a farm school was that children should have a school within a 5km radius from their homes, some were walking
more than 10 km, and in the Cape even 20 to 40km to school.

- The problem of insufficient school time was experienced. Due to a shortage of classrooms, children from different standards had to be accommodated in one classroom, sometimes up to six different classes at a time. Another aspect that led to insufficient school time, was the fact that it was expected of the children to leave school to work on the farm.

- Unavailability of post-primary education was a problem on many farms. Only five secondary schools existed in the DET in 1980 in the Bulwer Circuit. Most schools only went up to Grade 7 (Std 5) which contributed to the high drop-out rate. Most learners had no secondary schools in their proximity where they could further their education.

- The negative attitudes of certain farmers had a negative impact on schooling. Some farmers did not want the children of their labourers to be educated and, as a result, they deliberately slowed down education provision. Some farmers did not want to hire educated labourers on their farms, probably because they believed that such labourers would create problems relating to management and labour practices.

- Educators in farm schools were mostly unqualified or under-qualified. At some stages there were schools with only one qualified educator responsible for many learners as well as administrative duties.

- The moral of educators at farm schools was very low. Farm owners had the power to get rid of educators whenever they felt like doing so. Educators were often made to live in deplorable conditions.

- Electricity and telephones were luxuries in farm schools while recreational and cultural activities were neglected because of the lack of facilities.
No provision has ever been made for farm school children in need of special education, especially the physically handicapped and disabled children. Farm school learners with learning problems were therefore left in the cold, with no hope of a bright future.

The ANC's (1994:102) policy framework for education and training, put the blame of conditions at farm schools on the NP government maintaining that:

... the main reason for the disadvantaged position of rural education is the fact that the state has abdicated and ceded its responsibility for the provision of education and training in rural Black communities to mostly White farmers and tribal authorities through a system of state-aided schools.

In the light of what has been revealed above about the conditions at farm schools, one is struck by the poor conditions of life and schooling some children had to bear. During the time that some learners of the same age were enjoying quality education at very affordable costs, others could hardly get to school or have a roof above their heads.

A lack of the culture of teaching and learning was common in schools. Black South Africans were appealing for affirmative action in education as a tool to boost the culture of teaching and learning which was continually being eroded by the unsatisfactory conditions in education. Affirmative action which could not be implemented before 1994 had an impact on the culture of teaching inside the classrooms, among male and female educators and people of different racial groups since they were not equally treated. This research focussed only on the effect of affirmative action among educators.
2.5.1.9 The impact of lack of affirmative action on the culture of teaching and learning

Affirmative action has been introduced in a number of countries to promote parity among previously unequal groups (Sowell 1989:21-22; Wang 1990:24-26). In South Africa, differentiation and inequality in employment characterised education prior to 1994 (Schlemmer 1973:2) due to the fact that South Africans were divided according to racial groups (Wainwright 1979:3).

During the apartheid system of governance, equality and equity were non-negotiable. An emphasis was placed on implementing affirmative action in the corporate world since by then, there were no Black managers and executives. In the public sector very little was done as far as affirmative action was concerned (Thomas 1996:28). From the early 1990s, when doors for negotiations were opened, most Blacks demanded that attention be given to affirmative action and gender equality.

The aim of affirmative action was to promote a greater degree of equality of opportunities and equality of results (Claassen 1993:149; Thomas 1996:28). Wrights (1994:3) defines **affirmative action** as measures taken to remedy the effects of past discrimination against other groups which had been under-privileged. Norris (1996:25) and Thomas (1996:6) understand **affirmative action** as a means of correcting historical injustices that resulted from discriminatory practices. It is also an attempt to work towards eventually creating level playing fields where everyone can compete, based upon equal access to education, training and other opportunities formerly restricted to the white minority population (Thomas 1996:6).

Matsepe-Casaburri (1993:20-21) stressed that affirmative action was essential in both the higher echelons of the education hierarchy and the grass roots level where the actual learning process takes place, where the experience of
administrators has to be crowned with appropriate training and upgrading. Such affirmative action needs to be accompanied by a comprehensive programme of recruitment and training, otherwise the whole exercise may end up being merely symbolic. At both tertiary and school level, the efficient administration of both the process of learning and the management of available resources are critical components of the transformation. Whites, particularly males, occupied most of the senior posts especially at higher institutions of learning.

While the struggle for affirmative action was continuing, gender equality was another issue that had an effect on the culture of teaching and learning in the country's education system.

2.5.1.10 Gender inequality in education

Traditionally there has been severe gender stereotyping which has relegated women to a secondary position in society. Moja and Siphoro (1987:12) asserted that in the pre-election era (before 1994) women had been labelled the weaker sex who were supposed to be in the kitchen, bore children and remain barefooted. As a result they were denied the opportunity to participate in professions that were reserved for men. This belief that women were weak had an influence on the culture of teaching and learning. Those who designed the curriculum, left women unchallenged. The culture of teaching was affected as women (both learners and educators) were not given opportunities to self-actualise in a world labelled 'a man's world'.

While in Britain the society is divided into economic classes, the South African society is divided according to race and sex (Wainwright 1979:3). Because of the strong emphasis on the elimination of racial discrimination, discrimination against women has not until recently received serious attention in South Africa (De Klerk 1995(b):198). Men in South Africa have been in control and have always been in the picture in politics, the economy and in education. Up to 1994, there was no woman heading a college or university, and few were principals of
high schools. Women in South Africa have been under-utilised and have not been given senior positions just because they are women.

2.6 Conclusion

The researcher, in this chapter, has focussed on issues that characterised education prior to the 1994 elections, which had an impact educationally, economically, politically, and socially on the country. The above characteristics are indicative of the crisis that prevailed in education prior to 1994. According to Murphy (1992:371) the lawlessness that prevailed was a clear indication that nobody was in charge of the inferior and illegitimate system designed by Whites and despised by Blacks.

Through this chapter the researcher emphasised that the GNU had to pay spacial attention to issues such as racial discrimination, the aim of education and inequality, the role of culture, curricula and the medium of instruction in South African education.

Sonn (1986 (h):158) summarised the consequences of the above characteristics in South Africa as absurd situations which could remain with education for many years to come unless change is brought about as a matter of urgency.

Matsepe-Casaburi (1993:18) is of the opinion that lack of competence on the part of educators might have contributed to the poor quality of education. There is a dire need to retrain educators who are working in environments not conducive to the transmission of appropriate knowledge and values in fundamental learning.

The traditional teaching methods used during the apartheid era were authoritarian; relying on coerced discipline rather than on the encouragement of learners to develop skills and critical thought. The retraining of educators
should prepare them for their new roles as facilitators.

Nevertheless, the opposition to apartheid was eventually heard by President de Klerk's government. All apartheid laws and policies were repealed on 17 June 1991. This step marked the end of the divided South Africa (Murphy 1992:367). All apartheid forces have since been made ineffective. It was not only the government that has made a move, but ordinary South Africans were also willing and anxious to integrate the remarkable and unheralded track record of ordinary South Africans to end segregation.

Having discussed essential issues that characterised education during the apartheid period, the political break-through meant that new strategies for transforming the country were essential. The following chapter will focus on strategies, perspectives and views on the transformation of education in South Africa.
CHAPTER 3

STRATEGIES, PERSPECTIVES AND VIEWS ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 Introduction

After the 1994 political break-through in South Africa, all aspects of life, which had been affected by the previous system, including education, had to undergo major and fundamental changes. Negotiations and the appointment of various task teams that looked into the possibilities of peaceful and effective change, preceded change in South Africa. Hopkins, Ainscow and West (1994:21) explain such planned change as change that seeks to interrupt the natural development of events. It is often planned to commence on a given day, in order to break the previous order and to establish a new order.

When seeking for the possible and effective strategies for education transformation, the researcher finds it necessary to investigate the theories of educational change and the views and opinions of some South Africans on effective and orderly change. Change had to be implemented at national, provincial and school level.

In the following section various possible strategies for educational change are explored.

3.2 Strategies for education transformation

Strategy is a plan or policy used to indicate means which are used both to create curricular innovations and to facilitate their use on a continuing basis.
'Means' refers primarily to general sets of policies, which underlie the specific action steps, or tactics, which one may decide to use (Meckenzie 1970:1). The Oxford English Mini-dictionary (1997 s.v. 'strategy') defines strategy as 'the planning and directing of the whole operation of a campaign ... a plan or policy'. From the above definitions, a strategy will in this study be understood to be a plan to arrive at a set destination and, in this case, the transformation of education in South Africa.

Hartshorne (1992(a):13) and Oakes, Wells, Yonezawa and Ray (1997:40) are of the opinion that effective change takes place over a period of time, therefore transformation becomes a process whereby individuals alter their way of thinking and doing things. Change should be viewed as a journey that has the present situation as a starting point aiming towards the envisaged future destination.

The following section focussed on various strategies for transformation and also how change can be implemented in order to bear fruit for the whole country and for schooling in particular.

3.2.1 The Liberalist theory of change

The theory of liberalism has a long history and it is understood in various ways. Its meaning is determined by the historical conditions of each country. During ancient times, liberal theory was understood as the culmination of a development that goes back to the Hebrew prophets and the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount. A liberation of the individual from complete subservience to the group, and a relaxation of the tight hold of custom, law and authority was stressed (Encyclopaedia Britannica 1991. s.v. 'liberalism').
Great Britain was the birthplace of modern liberalism in the early 19th century. The philosophical foundation of liberalism was laid by John Locke (Encyclopaedia Britannica 1991. s.v. 'liberalism') who placed human reason on a pedestal. He emphasised human's ability to make independent, meaningful judgement and reason responsibly (Verster, Theron and Van Zyl 1982:18).

There is no single definition of the concept of liberal theory or liberalism. (Encyclopaedia Britannica 1991. s.v. 'liberalism'). The concept of liberal refers to a political term for a person who always favours the underprivileged and has advanced ideas for changing the laws to favour them generously and freely (Alswang & Van Rensburg 1990:475). A liberal theory refers to a theory where each person has the right to determine what is good for him or her. Advocates of a liberal theory believe that each individual has the final say over what activities or pursuits are best for him or her. As a result, in making decisions, a liberal society is to remain neutral to each person's own vision of the good life. At the same time, liberalism does not mean that each person should get exactly what he or she wants. All that liberal justice requires is that each person's self-defined interests be given equal weight in making decisions that affect those interested (Bull, Frueling & Chaltergy 1992:23-24). In other words, liberalism is the belief in the greatest amount of personal freedom reconcilable with the common good characteristic of liberalism, is the downplaying of cultural differences and the emphasis upon a common humanity.

The liberal theory places great emphasis on the rights of the individual and less emphasis on being bound to the cultural community (Coutts 1992:32). The

---

9 John Locke (1632-1704) was an educationist, a philosopher and a 'prophet of rationalism who advocated liberalism' (Encyclopaedia Britannica 1991. s.v. 'Locke, John'; Mosia 1999: 17; Verster, Theron & Van Zyl 1982:18).
relevance of this statement to transformation in South Africa is that the past has inculcated a will and desire in people to change the society in which they live.

Bull et al. (1992:23) suggest that the presence of people from different cultural or linguistic backgrounds within a society can produce serious disagreement about what should happen in a nation's schools and classrooms. This suggestion does not imply that all differences and disagreement have a cultural basis – people from the same culture can also have differences of opinion. A liberal theory implies acquiring knowledge and information about themselves, the world, and the possibility for transforming the way they live (Coutts 1992:32).

The liberal ideology adopted by educationists proposes the idea that to liberate individuals from capitalist exploitation, knowledge is essential as long as it solves political, economical and social problems (Mamabolo 1996:134). For this theory to be effectively implemented, it should be kept in mind that learning couldn't take place in isolation from the social, economic and political systems. In other words, for one to be oneself, learning should be deeply imbedded in an individual's or group's historical, psychological, sociological, economic, political and even geographical experience. Such learning will also have to reflect the individual's or group's interaction with the context in which learning is taking place. Learning for liberation demands not only real involvement in the struggle for self-determination, but also a complete identification with the hopes and aspirations of those who are to be liberated educationally (Mboya 1993:47-48).

The liberal theory of transformation also refers to the liberation of the mind. Those involved need to recognise that the major purpose of schooling should be the liberation of the mind from the political bondage in order that the society may be totally transformed. With the mind set free from outside pressure affecting people's lives, the knowledge acquired will give people confidence in their abilities and capacities to have control of their own destiny through which their lives will have value and meaning (Mboya 1993:47-48).
If the liberal theory of change is implemented in South Africa, many social and political differences will be addressed. South Africa is a multicultural country and every cultural group wants to be acknowledged. There is hope that the liberal theory can bring fairness to everyone where self-defined interest is given equal weight (Bull et al. 1992:23-24).

South Africa has been described as a social microcosm of the world, with a spectrum, which according to Coutts (1990:21) ranges from survivalist, tribalist, and the power-block framework, through “right-way ideologies” to democratic and integrationist mind-sets. From the above paragraphs, it can be concluded that the liberal theory as discussed can be regarded as an alternative strategy for change. The researcher also presented the structure, emergence and goals of multicultural education as a strategy for change in the next section.

3.2.2 Multicultural education

Multicultural education has not commonly been used in South Africa in the past, although it has been in existence in countries like Britain and the USA for some time.

3.2.2.1 The emergence of multicultural education

Multicultural education emerged in the USA during 1960 (Banks 1997:67; Hernandez 1989:5) amid the growing social and political turmoil which was brought about by growing minority groups against, *inter alia* social inequalities, discrimination, domination, racism and lack of equal opportunities. It emerged in reaction to the ideology of assimilation. While assimilation is a monocultural policy, multi-culturalism recognises and accepts the rightful existence of different cultural groups and views cultural diversity as an asset and a source of social enrichment. Multiculturalism fosters a balance between social conformity on the
one hand and social diversity and change on the other (Lemmer & Squelch 1993:2-3). It is further a perspective that recognises the political, social, and economical realities that individuals experience in culturally diverse and complex human encounters (Hernandez 1989:4). Chesler (1993:330) suggests that schooling which is multicultural, has to be in a position to reconcile education for diversity with the essential basis of skills and knowledge required in a contemporary modern society.

A critical review of the emergence of multicultural education leads to the need to find more on the characteristics of multicultural education.

3.2.2.2 The characteristics of multicultural education

The following are general, identifiable features of multicultural education, which are widely accepted (Hernandez 1989:9-11; Lemmer & Squelch 1993:4-5; Squelch 1993(b): 188-189). Multicultural education:

- recognises and accepts the rightful existence of different cultural groups, it also encourages cultural preservation
- views cultural diversity as an asset rather than a handicap
- acknowledges the equal rights of all cultural groups in a society and advocates equal educational opportunities
- encompasses many dimensions of human differences
- requires the reform of the total school environment
- is an approach to education and should therefore permeate the entire teaching and learning process
- sees teaching as a cross-cultural encounter
- is education for empowerment through learning content and teaching practices that advance critical thinking and active student participation in the learning process
is understood as education for diversity
is synonymous with effective teaching.

Through these characteristics one can see the need to pursue equality and balance in the content of learning and a situation where all learners enjoy an equal opportunity and chance to maximise their potential. The implementation of multicultural education further entails the complete removal of explicit and implicit discriminatory structures that might hinder access to and progress through the system.

Multicultural education has certain essential goals, which are presented below.

3.2.2.3 The goals of multicultural education

In most countries multicultural education is preferred to other transformation approaches because it aims at (Hernandez 1989:1-12-14; Lemmer & Squelch 1993:3; Squelch 1993(b):187-188):

- developing positive attitudes towards other cultural groups
- acquiring skills in adapting teaching to meet the need of individual learners from different backgrounds and with diverse ability levels
- promoting the ability to evaluate, develop, and modify curricular materials with special attention to the treatment of socio-cultural content
- encouraging an understanding of bilingualism and its implications for the education of students with a limited English proficiency (since English is the preferred language in South Africa)
- increasing one's awareness of one's own cultural identity and cultural heritage and providing understanding and appreciating the valuable contribution made to society by other cultural groups
reducing cultural prejudice and stereotyping and developing a just
democratic society
promoting an effective relationship between home and school
developing a variety of competencies to enable one to participate
meaningfully in a culturally diverse society and helping people to
explore ways to expand their contact with other cultural groups
providing equal education opportunities and quality education and
developing cross-cultural communication skills
strengthening skills that will enable students to become effective
agents of change while being instruments for social transformation,
and
increasing intercultural competence including empathy, acceptance
and trust of those from other cultural groups and the ability to
interpret customs and non-verbal behaviour in differing cultural
styles.

Essential conditions for the effective multiculturalisation of education are
discussed below.

3.2.2.4 Essential conditions for effective multicultural education

According to Lemmer and Squelch (1993:5-6) multicultural education is more than
merely the opposite of desegregated education or a mixture of cultural groups in
one classroom. It is a multifaceted approach to education, which should be
purposeful and planned. This implies a change in attitude among educators
towards the entire school environment. A few of these conditions for effective
multicultural education are:

Educators ought to maintain equally positive expectations of all their
learners, irrespective of race and culture.
Educators should understand the cultural differences that exist in a multicultural class.

A suitable learning environment that fosters intergroup contact, which is made possible by appropriate education needs to be created.

Curricula should include programmes which are multicultural in design.

Curricula which are largely ethnocentric and western oriented need to be reformed to represent the culturally diverse nature of society and to reveal a variety of perspectives (Hernandez 1989:6-9; Lemmer & Squelch 1993:5-6; Chesler 1993:330).

As seen in the above exposition, there are conditions that are essential for effective multicultural education. In order to apply this strategy effectively theories related to a multicultural approach need to be adhered to.

3.2.2.5 Theories related to a multicultural approach to change

Multicultural approach has several theories for change. They are the theories of amalgamation, assimilation and cultural pluralism.

3.2.2.5.1 The amalgamation theory

According to Hernandez (1989:33-34) and Spinola (1991:15), the amalgamation theory posits the emergence of a unique new culture which incorporates only the best, the most desirable features from each culture. Israel Zangwill called it the 'melting pot' theory after a famous play. It aims at eliminating diversity by

---

10 Israel Zangwill (1864-1926) was a novelist, playwright and Zionist leader. His play 'The Melting pot' portrayed the image of America as a crucible wherein the European nationalities would be transformed into a new race (Encyclopaedia Britannica 1991. s.v. 'Zangwill, Israel').
developing a completely new culture (Bennett 1999:51). Chesler (1993:328) stated that the melting pot theory was applied in transforming education in the USA in the 19 and 20th centuries. It emerged from the belief that in the New World, all cultures would "melt" like metal in a crucible. The undesirable elements in each culture would be burnt away and a new and better USA culture would be created. The unavoidable consequence of this theory is that some have to loose their individual identity or else relinquish elements of their own culture while adopting those of others (Hernandez 1989:33-34).

The educational implication of this theory is that developing countries seek to create a unified sense of nationhood through the school system, using a national language of instruction and centrally prescribed textbooks and curricula. The main emphasis of this theory is on global rather than local concerns (Cross 1992:175).

Buthelezi in Sapa (1999(d): 2) is of the opinion that South Africa should rather pursue an integration of aspects of all the cultures, the 'salad bowl' effect. He stressed that the government should choose to protect and promote multiculturalism and to walk away from the temptation of acculturation and forced uniformity.

Dhlomo in Cross (1992:179) warns against the dangers of both policies because they represent two extremes in educational theories of change where the "melting-pot" emphasises mono-culturalism and the "salad bowl" emphasises ethnic and regional cultural particularism.

The amalgamation theory of transformation proposes the development of a completely new culture. Assimilation as a theory is a monocultural theory aimed at social conformity.

11Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, is a Chief. He is also the leader and founder of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). He became the Home Affairs Minister during the GNU and he was the Kwa Zulu-Natal House of traditional leaders chairperson (Encyclopaedia Britannica 1996. s.v. 'South Africa').
3.2.2.5.2 The assimilation theory

Assimilation is a monocultural theory which has prevailed in most multicultural Western societies. It emphasises the minimising of cultural differences and encourages social conformity and continuity. Andereck (1992:3) understands assimilation as the total absorption of one culture into another so that the first no longer has defining characteristics. Multicultural education evolved in reaction to the ideology of assimilation. In the USA, the assimilation theory came into existence when the minority groups were absorbed into the mainstream of the dominant culture (Lemmer & Squelch 1993:3). Assimilation is often justified as a means of achieving social equality (Cross 1992:174). Because of this characteristic of working towards social equity, assimilation is also known as dominant monism and as an Anglo-conformity ideology (Banks and Lynch 1986:197; Hernandez 1989:33-34 & Spinola 1991:15).

Banks and Lynch (1986:197) and Hernandez (1989:33-34) concur with Spinola (1991:15) that the assimilation theory envisages the acceptance of a minority group by a majority population in which the minority group takes over the values and norms of the dominant culture. The primary aim is to subjugate and absorb the minority group into the dominant group. This theory was the official social policy followed in most western societies such as the USA, the United Kingdom (UK), Canada and Australia until the late 1970s.

Chesler (1993:327) regards assimilation as a process of interpenetration and fusion. Persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons and groups through sharing their experiences and history. Such history and experiences are incorporated by them in a common cultural life. Educationists generally accept that such a policy has never totally succeeded.
Analysing the assimilation theory in the context of South African education, the majority of children were taught that they had to give up their old and existing values, beliefs, languages and behaviours and that they have to adopt a new, western culture. Schools ignored the children's home language and education and even changed learners' home names and give them European names. In South Africa the recognition, appreciation and possibilities of the multicultural nature of schooling and pluralistic realities became a practical reality only after former President F W de Klerk's speech on 2 February 1990 (Le Roux 1997:2). Since then there have been negotiations between the stakeholders towards a multicultural system of education in the whole country.

The following paragraphs are devoted to highlighting another theory related to the multicultural approach to education transformation, namely, the cultural pluralism theory.

3.2.2.5.3 The cultural pluralism theory

Horrace Kallen designed this theory in the early years of the twentieth century. He argued that a political democracy must also be a cultural democracy and that cultural groups had the right to maintain their ethnic cultures and institutions in a society. This does not imply the awareness of the diverse character of the nation and respect for the dignity of all the inhabitants of the nation. This theory is regarded as a policy of separation of cultures. Cultural pluralists also believe that the cultures of various groups enrich a nation and provide it with alternative ways to view the world and to solve complex human problems (Banks and Lynch 1986:197; Chesler 1993:333; Spinola 1991:15). According to this policy, each of the diverse groups that coexist maintains a distinct culturally identity. The three basic forms of cultural pluralism are Classical cultural pluralism, Modified cultural pluralism and Dynamic cultural pluralism (Banks and Lynch 1986:197; Chesler 1993:333; Cross 1992:176-176; Goodey 1989:479-480; Hernandez 1989:34 &
Classical cultural pluralism

Classical cultural pluralism is also referred to as insular cultural pluralism and implies that children from each cultural community are taught separately. It sees diverse groups living together as common members of a society with each maintaining its distinct cultural identity. All primary relations such as marriage, religion and schooling would be within the particular group while the secondary relations such as employment and other economic activities might extend across ethnic and cultural lines. In this classical version of pluralism, group autonomy depends upon maintenance of rigid group boundaries and the group maintains its own identity.

South Africa adopted and practised this theory before 1994. Each cultural, racial and ethnic group was taught separately. Several Acts (cf. 2.3) prohibited intercultural marriages, religion and schooling.

Modified cultural pluralism

This approach also recognises the existence of different groups yet it propagates a high degree of interaction between the various groups. It is based on the assumption that the ethnic and cultural groups have a right within a democratic multicultural nation-state to maintain their cultural group identity as long as this does not conflict with the overarching values and goals of the nation as a whole. The modified version implies that the groups continue to retain elements of their own culture as members take on aspects of the majority culture. In the South African context, there could be a Zulu-South African an Afrikaner-South African or a Pedi-South African. This theory is the most popular in the multicultural approach in the USA. The main characteristics of this form of cultural pluralism
are:

(i) It acknowledges the reality of different ethnic, cultural and religious groups and the reality that each group finds pride in cherishing its own identity and certain aspects of its culture.

(ii) It creates equal opportunities for every member of society.

(iii) Education in such a society cultivates a sense of nationalism and a sense of the importance and value of different ethnic and cultural groups.

(iv) It favours mutual interaction between the cultural groups in a nation-state in order to establish cultural enrichment.

This approach was adopted by the new South Africa in 1994. The South African Constitution, chapter 2 deals with the Bill of Rights which emphasises equality of all people, freedom of religion, culture, the right to education and language (South Africa 1996(a) sec, 9, 29 and 30).

* Dynamic cultural pluralism

Although Dynamic cultural pluralism recognises the importance of ethnic groups and their roles as interest groups and as a source of identity for individuals, it is believed that cultural pluralism is too narrow. It is nevertheless a very dynamic form of cultural pluralism whereby social interest groups are continuously formed and dissolved.

South African education should strive for education that will accommodate the needs and aims of the different cultural and ethnic groups within the country. Literature has indicated that Africans and South Africans in particular have developed their own contextual theories of educational transformation. The validity of this claim is examined in the following section.
3.3 Strategies for education transformation with an African origin

Besides the general strategies for educational change discussed above, theories of educational transformation of African origin namely Africanisation, African Renaissance and People’s Education are also addressed in subsequent sections.

3.3.1 Africanisation

In the past and in particular in the period leading up to the 1994 general elections, the word Africanist had a negative connotation. It became a swear word especially as the Africanist was rumoured to be from the dark continent. Africans were said to be inferior, with neither history nor identity, and struggle for survival. Black South Africans were also said to share the same problem. Africanisation is in reality a strategy against imperialism, colonialism, tribalism, white domination, neo-colonialism and the exploitative tendencies of a capitalist society (Seroke 1999(a):10).

The Dutch settlers founded the Western type of schools in South Africa in 1658. From 1799, the Afrikaans and English-speaking missionaries founded more western type of schools in many parts of the country (Behr and Macmillan 1971:368-369). The schools sought to mould Black communities along European lines (Eurocentrism), in the process often alienating them from their own people. These English speaking schools emphasised British values and at the time, inhibited the growth of a common South African culture. Afrikaans speaking communities promoted their language at the expense of African languages, which were ignored. Even the private and more elite government-founded schools tended to forster both class and race consciousness (Makgoba 1997:116).
Makgoba (1997:115) understands Africanisation as a process for defining, interpreting, promoting and transmitting African thoughts, philosophy, identity and culture. This process further encompasses a mindset shift from an European to an African paradigm. He stresses that through Africanisation, Blacks in SA affirm and identify themselves in the world community.

Africanisation is defined in various ways. Vorster (1995: 9) defines it as primarily, an appeal to Africans to uphold the African cultural tradition and, an appeal also to Europeans [and non-Africans] in Africa to respect and accommodate African culture. Teffo (cited by Van Heerden 1997:208) explains Africanisation as a process inseminating the African value system, concepts and moral ethics into all human activities.

Careful reflection on these definitions reveals that the majority of the South African population, which is culturally and historically rooted in this part of the world, need to have their African roots acknowledged and respected. There is a need for an African identity, the recognition of the environment in which that identity is conceptualised and for an articulation of Africa as the motherland. This ought to be done in the Africans’ endeavour to affirm their being, personhood and nationhood. The gist of Africanisation in education is that the content of teaching and learning should be relevant to the people of Africa.

On the question of whether the Whites in South Africa are also Africans, Van Heerden (1997:208) and Mbeki (quoted by Seepe 1999:2) stress that all South Africans, including Afrikaners, are regarded as Africans. In its implementation, Africanisation does not exclude other cultures, therefore, it is non-racial. Lansink (1999:9) believes that Mbeki’s inclusion of Whites as South Africans may have been inspired by a desire to relocate the political and educational discourse on the threshold of the 21\textsuperscript{st} century. He wanted to incorporate, adapt and integrate other
cultures and through African visions and interpretations to provide the dynamism, evolution and adaptation that are so essential for the survival and success of people of African origin globally (Makgoba 1997:115). There are various perspectives on determining who Africans are.

Mbere (1999:7) denies the tendency of defining an African within the context of race. In his view, identifying an African along racial lines is non-scientific and insufficient. He stresses that it is the history and culture of a group of people which determines their identity and not exclusively their biological make-up.

Cameron (1989:21) is of the opinion that if the term African is used in terms of the struggle against racism, then it refers to all non-Europeans. Lansink (1999:9) maintains that what primarily defines an African is the history, culture, attachment to African history and culture, the consciousness of identity and not skin colour.

The above statement would appear to imply that Whites are not Africans because their historical experience does not include African traditions and indigenous customs nor the experience of being marginalised by an oppressive colonial system and racist cultures. As long as Whites look to Europe for cultural and intellectual inspiration, and are not part of a shared African culture and history, they can not claim to be Africans (Lansink 1999:9).

Africanisation is often used in connection with educational transformation in the sense that African culture should be brought into formal schooling. As a tool for transforming education in the country, Africanisation calls upon South Africa to:

- regard South Africa as a basis from which to escalate and aspire
- appreciate being South African
assert its own ideas, rights, interests, and ideals
anticipate a healthy self-concept

For our institutions to become Africanised, they should discard pseudo-linguistic and pseudo-political images such as the English-speaking, liberal, Afrikaans-speaking and conservative Christian images and pursue education that recognises and embraces unity. In a democratic South Africa, the old system is not only redundant, colonial and alienating but has outlived its purpose (Makgoba 1997:117).

To Africanise the curricula and syllabi, more African history, literature and languages have to be prescribed or be chosen at relevant grades. The content of the programmes in the natural sciences and social sciences need to have an African rather than a foreign flavour (Alexander 1991:276). Hence the promotion of Afrocentrism in the place of Eurocentrism, for development taking place in South Africa should have an African flavour and be effected in the culture and languages of the masses.

Africanisation originated as a reaction against Eurocentrism and the marginalisation of Africanness, which had its roots in the colonial era. With the introduction of Western education in 1658, little attempt was made to accommodate traditional African values (Van Heerden 1997:207). Afrocentrism, or Africanism in the South African context, simply means that in an African country where 85% of the citizenry speak an African language, the culture of the majority should provide the key cultural, political and social ingredients in the construction of the socio-cultural edifice of society. This does not imply that other cultures will be suppressed but rather, that the development and empowerment of the majority of the society should be done on the premise of its cultures. That is, Afrocentrism must not be closed but rather allow cultural space for those who are culturally non-African, with open cultural borders for those who wish to cross and settle culturally
where they want (Kwesi Kwaa Prah 1997:13).

Recently, in the late 1990s, a new ideology emerged in the transformation of South Africa as a whole, education included, namely African Renaissance. It is deemed necessary to search for the origin, the meaning and the aim of African Renaissance.

3.3.2 African Renaissance

The origin of this concept is not well known but it has been called for in the past but never taken seriously. Some researchers believe that the concept originated from the efforts of well-known African leaders like Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere who ushered Africans into independence out of colonialism (Mnda 1999:10; Mosia 1999:17). Nyerere’s interest in the unity of Africa through his campaign ‘United States of Africa’ and his leadership in the abolition of White supremacy in Southern African countries (Encyclopaedia Britannica 1991. s.v. ‘Nyerere, Julius’) contributed to the coming into existence of the concept of African Renaissance. Nkrumah and Nyerere also espoused an independent, prosperous Africa where people could regain the dignity lost during centuries of colonialism (Chetty 2000:10; Mosia 1999:17). Their efforts marked the beginning of the African Renaissance.

---

12 Kwame Nkrumah became the first president of Ghana and he became the first leading political thinker who challenged colonial ideology in Africa. Although he was overthrown by the military in 1966, his political influence and the African Renaissance ideology is still widely felt (Mosia 1999:17).

13 Julius Nyerere (1922-1999), a Pan Africanist and a teacher by profession, known as Mwalimu meaning a teacher. He was the first president of the present Tanzania and remained in that office for 23 years. He became the major force behind the establishment of Organisation of African Unity (OAU). He was the chairman of the five front-line African presidents who advocated the overthrow of white supremacy in the present Zimbabwe, South Africa and the present Namibia (Encyclopaedia Britannica 1991. s.v. ‘Nyerere, Julius’; Gowling 1999: 11; Molefe 1999(c):7).
The Deputy President of the GNU, Mbeki, emphasised the importance of the African Renaissance after 1994. This time it seems he was heard and understood unlike his predecessor (Nyerere), whose call for African Renaissance was never paid any attention to (Seroke 1999(a):10). Seroke (1999(a):10) is of the opinion that Mbeki was taken seriously because he was the possible heir of Mandela, the then President of South Africa.

14 Thami Mazwai (Mosia 1999:17) sees the main aim of African Renaissance as to define African development from African perspectives in order to come up with solutions to African problems. Mazwai (People of the South 2001) indicated that African Renaissance targeted the return to African culture and roots because the colonists set the African mind in such a way that Africans do not acknowledge their culture and their Africaness. All African countries would like to see peace, democracy, the respect for human rights and freedom of expression, the provision of safety and security, economic growth and development to be achieved (Kabemba 2000:8). The resistance to settler occupation of Africa and the process of decolonisation that gained momentum in the 1960s were seen as important dimensions of the African Renaissance (Hlope 1999(c):7).

Mbeki identified democracy, peace and stability as fundamentals of the African Renaissance (Hlope 1999(c):7). Recently, in South Africa the concept of African Renaissance developed three dimensions:

- The conservative dimension advocates the return to African roots and African values and ways of living.

14 Thami Mazwai is a veteran journalist, the editor of Enterprise Magazine, chairperson of the National Editors Forum and was the chairman of the Interim Committee of the South African Renaissance Commission (Mosia 1999:17). During the liberation struggle, he was a student activist. At present he is the head of the Mafube Publishers (Makgoba 1997:cover; People of the South 2001; SABC must put Africa first 1999:11)
The second dimension embraces democracy and advocates the creation of a peaceful and stable environment for investment.

The third dimension assumes a rather positive critical position regarding the first two. It warns against evangelical advancement of the African Renaissance notion. The 'going back to the roots' will be possible only if Africans have outgrown the European culture. The economic development of Africa also needs to be critically looked into in order to evolve a product which is economically and democratically suitable for Africa (Hlophe 1999(c): 7).

Dr Mamphele Ramphele (Khan 2000:13) doubts the success of African Renaissance. She indicates that the previous attempts of Nkrumah and Nyerere failed because of parochialism (i.e. its limited scope). The concept remained a political programme with little enthusiasm from the wider intellectual community. There is, in Ramphele's opinion, a possibility that what Mbeki perpetuates may still fall in the same trap.

In an attempt to ensure that the idea is not merely confined to the domain of intellectuals and to put some ideas into practice, Mbeki's government launched the South African Chapter of the African Renaissance towards establishing the movement for change (Chetty 2000:10; Mosia 1999:17). In 1998 eleven commissions were established by the government to find ways of implementing African Renaissance in South Africa. The establishment of the eleven commissions indicated the previously disadvantaged groups the government was targeting and the neglected areas that needed to be developed. Furthermore, the establishment of these commissions were indicative of the commitment of the GNU to transform the entire country. The commissions are (Mosia 1999:17):

15 Mamphele Ramphele is a medical practitioner by profession, and she worked as community health activist for 12 years in the Northern Province. She has a doctorate in Social Anthropology. She is an intellectual who served as Vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town and has been appointed a director of the World Bank (Khan 2000:13; McKay 1995 “About the authors” in the preface).
This section is concluded with a discussion of another strategy that originated in South Africa, namely, People's Education.

3.3.3 People’s Education

After having had enough of unrest during 1984 and 1985, the Soweto Civic Association (SCA) swore to address the education crisis in the country. Parents were mandated to convey education problems to government departments. The parents, seeing that democracy may not be achieved in the near future as the learners had previously thought it would, opted for 'education for liberation' rather than 'liberation now and education later'. The conference held on 28 and 29 December 1985 led to the founding of the NECC in 1986. The NECC aimed to advance democratic change in education (Levin 1991(a):2; Tothil 1991:48-51; Van den Heever 1987:1; Van Zyl 1997:80).

The NECC believed that the school was a powerful means for social transformation. Later the demand for an alternative education system was translated into a demand for 'People's Education for people's power'. The concept
of people has been understood in various ways. Sometimes, the concept of people implied all the oppressed, including Indians and Coloureds. According to Mkhatswa (Sarinjeive 1991:49) the people refer only to African people, but Zwelakhe Sisulu, avers that people refers to a representation of all political tendencies and all sections of the South African population, including Blacks and Whites.

From 1985 onwards, the anti-apartheid campaigns strengthened the call for People’s Education. In its broadest terms, People’s Education was directed against apartheid, sexism, elitism, imperialism, colonialism, authoritarianism, oppression, exploitation and capitalism (Dostal 1989:77). People’s Education aimed at achieving democracy and freedom as opposed to oppression and exploitation that was taking place then (Hartshorne 1992(b):344). Dostal (1989:76) believes that People’s Education served a dual purpose, namely to mobilise and organise people for the revolutionary struggle and to forster the values and ideological orientation required for a socialist future.

People’s Education as an alternative education strategy requires education to:

- enable the oppressed to understand the evils of the apartheid system
- prepare ‘the people’ for participation in the transformation process
- establish a non-racial and democratic system
- eliminate the capitalist forms of competition and individualism
- encourage collective input and active participation by all
- promote critical thinking and analysing
- eliminate illiteracy, ignorance and exploitation of one person by

---

16 Zwelakhe Sisulu, was the former ANC Youth League leader and the former South African Broadcasting Company (SABC) Chief Executive.
another

- equip and train people in all sectors of education, politics and economy to enable them to participate actively in the struggle
- attain people's power in order to establish a non-racial, democratic South Africa
- allow learners, parents, educators and workers to be mobilised into appropriate organisational structures which will enable them to enhance the struggle for people's power and to participate actively in the initiation and management of People’s Education in all its forms (Dostal 1989:75-76; Facts and figures: Education in South Africa [S.a.]:29; Hams 1988:110; Hartshorne 1989:23; The struggle against apartheid education 1988:21; Tothil 1991:57-58; Van Zyl 1997:81 - 82).

The above aims of People’s Education clearly imply that there can be no neutral education. For the oppressing and the exploiting group (some Whites), education was a weapon of suppression while for the oppressed and the exploited, education was an instrument of liberation (Mboya 1993:76). Mathabathe (1987:34) posited that the basic philosophy of People’s Education was that education should develop a person in his totality and make him think in a critical manner. Concerning the ‘how’ of implementing People’s Education the conference in Durban in 1986 decided that (Hams 1988:111):

...every initiative must come from the people themselves, it must be accountable to the people and must advance the mass of students, not just a select few. This means taking over the schools, transforming them from institutions of oppression into zones of progress and people’s power.

Nevertheless, the previous government showed its opposition to People’s Education by refusing to allow its schools to be used for People’s Education.
programmes and by detaining most of the NECC members (Hams 1988:113; Van Zyl 1997:81-82). With the present democracy and a free South Africa, the aspirations of People’s Education are still relevant as the transformation process is taking place. Hartshorne (1987:5) emphasises that NECC offers a possible alternative mechanism for transforming schools and examines the form and character of a longer-term post-apartheid education system. What is relevant as a strategic approach to education after the political break-through is that education serves the people as a whole, while putting people in command of their lives. Education should prepare people for total human liberation and full participation in all social, political, and cultural spheres of society (Wolpe 1995:23).

The aim of People’s Education was to see much efforts taken in the country’s education system in terms of equality, equity, balancing standards of education and resources and changing attitudes which could adversely affect South African democracy. People’s Education also emphasises the inner change that Ramogale describes as attitudinal change (cf. 3.4.2.1). Tothil (1991:58) maintains that the inner change will prepare people to become good and empowered South African citizens.

The directives, approaches and strategies of education transformation had been discussed in the above sections. In order to formulate the criteria for effective education transformation, a few educationists’ views and perspectives are outlined below.

3.4 Perspectives of authoritative South African educationists on education transformation

Many educationists in and from outside the country have been concerned about the nature of alternative education in future democratic South Africa. It is necessary at this stage to take note of the views of various educationists and
intellectuals. This study could not accommodate all those concerned but focused on the few who seem most relevant to this study.

3.4.1 Professor Malegapuru William Makgoba

Professor Makgoba was born in Schoonoord in Sekhukhuneland in the Northern Province on 29 October 1952. His grandfather, after whom he was named, was Chief Makgoba of the Bapedi in the Lowveld in the Northern Province (old Transvaal). Chief Makgoba experienced pressure from the White government because they wanted to take his land. Professor Makgoba was the best student during his primary, secondary and university education while studying to become a medical doctor. His outstanding academic performance gained him a scholarship abroad (Makgoba 1997:36; 143) where he stayed for 15 years. One of the reasons for his extended stay was the apartheid policy in the country (Makgoba 1997:49).

After many more awards and advanced certification from both Britain and America he started as a Deputy Vice-chancellor of the Witwatersrand University on 1 October 1994. His purpose in coming back to South Africa and particularly to Wits University was “to participate in the most dramatic societal transformation in the history of mankind”. From his curriculum vitae, his writings and actions at Wits during the struggle for transformation it is evident that Makgoba is an exceptional intellectual and a powerful and fearless person (Makgoba 1997:89). He realised that South African tertiary institutions were besieged by cultural and curricular problems (Makgoba 1997:95). He was convinced that there was a need for effective transformation in order to do away with cultural alienation, and lack of transformation which were all coupled with ‘intransigent out-of-touch leadership’ (Makgoba 1997:75).

In 1997, Makgoba wrote ‘Mokoko, the Makgoba Affair’, which is a compilation of almost all his writings (Makgoba 1999). Makgoba stated his mission as ‘to make
a lasting contribution in the transformation of the whole of South Africa, and not only Wits' (Makgoba 1997:51). His conception of the South African situation and transformation is discussed first and then his strategies for education transformation.

3.4.1.1 Makgoba’s conception of education transformation

3.4.1.1.1 Alienation of Blacks and affirmative action

Makgoba (1997:75-78) addresses the problem of Blacks who were alienated from their own indigenous country. To him South Africa also belongs to Blacks and they should have a share in the affairs of the country, even at decision-making level. Prior to 1994 there had been no senior Black in the top management at Wits University. In Makgoba’s view, that was the result of apartheid policy. Makgoba posits that this practice needed to be transformed because in his view, some of the Whites, to whom he refers as ‘colonialists’, still have no sense of sharing but instead they enslave and colonise (Makgoba 1997:2).

3.4.1.1.2 Cultural revolution

Makgoba (1997:46) believes that human beings are products of their environment and their society which in its turn, moulds their character and their personality. He proposes education that will preserve the South Africans’ identity, values and cultural system (Makgoba 1997:62). In his view, the African culture was, even in the late 1990s, still excluded and denied incorporation into the existing education system (Makgoba 1997:78). A dire need exists for Black people to intervene so that Black culture and values can be included in curricula of universities (Makgoba 1997:77). He invites the universities to come forward and venture into new curricula that will have an African flavour.
Makgoba holds the opinion that it is impossible to separate education from culture throughout the civilised world. One of the fundamental principles of education is that it is closely linked to the culture of the majority of the population. All the nations of the world assimilate culture and are educated within a cultural context. South Africa should be no exception to this fundamental principle (Makgoba 1997:77-78).

3.4.1.1.3 Transformation of leadership and management and affirmative action

According to Makgoba another matter that needs to be transformed is the way in which management and leadership is approached. South Africa needs to do away with the prescriptive, top-down type of management and develop an effective bottom-up approach (Makgoba 1997:76-78). He emphasised that affirmative action should be a priority when transformation is implemented. Black people need to be promoted to top management posts and be empowered so that they can maintain high academic standards and excellence in whatever position they may occupy (Makgoba 1997:77).

3.4.1.1.4 Africanisation of institutions of learning

Another aspect that needs to be transformed is the distribution of power and freedom for people to feel that they are South African citizens. Makgoba is of the opinion that one of the greatest failures of the colonial powers in Africa has been the lack of understanding that African people have roots from which they should never be removed. They also have traditions, values and cultures that could be refined (Makgoba 1997:195). He understands the aim of colonists as causing Blacks to forget their roots and to change them to what they are not. He is concerned that Africanness should be preserved so that Africans may understand and identify themselves with their roots (Makgoba 1997:81). He argues that one cannot Africanise education in Britain for they will not allow anyone to take away
their own tradition. In South Africa, Black culture, tradition, values and identity should form part of education (Makgoba 1997:196).

3.4.1.1.5 Inequality and racism

In Makgoba’s view, although colonialism may have benefited the minority of Blacks in health care, schooling and social services, it was mainly aimed at disadvantaging and exploiting Blacks. He believes that colonialism was mainly aimed at crude, brutal, inhuman, selfish and invariably racial discrimination (Makgoba 1997:2). Inequality, one of the major consequences of racism, is strongly condemned by Makgoba.

3.4.1.1.6 Curriculum

The deliberate exclusion of Black culture in education was also experienced in curricula that were too Westernised. As a matter of urgency there is a need for the curricula to be re-oriented and re-focused on South African needs. The curricula in Makgoba’s view (Makgoba 1997:76) need to be transformed so that African values and systems can be taken seriously and included in the academic activities. The curricula should shift from serving the White minority to educating all South Africans (Makgoba 1997:82). Makgoba sees no sense in South African learners knowing all about Hitler and Bismarck while they have never heard of Kwameh Nkrumah, the founding president of Ghana or of any of the other great African leaders (Makgoba 1997:91).

3.4.1.2 Makgoba’s strategies for education transformation

Makgoba identifies the following strategies for transforming South African education:

- All stakeholders have a responsibility to participate in developing an
action plan for transformation.

- Education should be changed to be highly culture-based so that it serves the majority of the population.
- It is essential to take heed of the South African educational history in designing an action plan for the transformation process. At institutional level, transformation should be tackled in the context of the history of a particular institution. At national level, the education history should not be swept under the carpet when an education transformation policy is drawn up, but should form the basis for change so that the country does not miss out on what transformation is to target.

Whatever the situation, Makgoba warns that it is impossible to predetermine the outcome of transformation and that successful transformation will be promoted when a conciliatory rather than a confrontational strategy is followed (Makgoba 1997:67-68 & 96-97). Makgoba is optimistic that transformation in South Africa will be attained but warns that the obstacles will have to be tackled head on. He appeals for unity in order to succeed. It is hoped that Makgoba's strategy as stated above will make a difference if acknowledged in education transformation in South Africa.

In the next section the researcher gave an exposition on strategies for educational change in South Africa as proposed by another educationist, Professor Marcus Ramogale.

3.4.2 Professor Marcus Ramogale

Professor Ramogale was an associate Professor of English at the University of Venda till 1997 when he became Head of the Department of English. As a South African, he hoped that April 24, 1994 would mean that the country would usher in
African, he hoped that April 24, 1994 would mean that the country would usher in a new political style and culture. He was optimistic that by casting his vote he was also opting for the transformation of political attitudes and new ways of resolving national problems.

3.4.2.1 Ramogale's perspective on education transformation

He admits that there are problems in the South African education system the major one not being the 'scarcity of resources but the absence of inner resources' (Ramogale 1998(c):11). Having realised during the first two years of the democratic South Africa that genuine freedom had not yet been achieved, he proposed strategies for transformation. These are: attitudinal change, rectifying the lack of discipline, avoiding forever mentioning apartheid as cause of any problems in education and fulfilling in the need for effective teaching.

3.4.2.1.1 Transformation of attitudes

By attitudinal change, Ramogale implies that wrong attitudes have and are still continuing to bedevil the teaching profession and learning-outcomes, irrespective of the democratic position in the country. He fears that the Culture of Learning, Teaching and Service (COLTS) as the government's campaign to rid the country of the bane of educational mediocrity, may not succeed. He urges that such a campaign's success does not depend solely on inherent logic but also on the attitudes of the people. He refers to this problem as 'the lack of inner or natural and human resource and a lack of 'psycho-cultural orientation' (Ramogale 1997(c):11; 1998(a):12 & 1998(b):9).

In line with Makgoba, Ramogale accepts that colonialism threw Africa's values into disorder. He does not believe that Blacks are unable to rebuild their cultural values, hence, his hopes for the African Renaissance. He repeatedly warns that
it is important that a nation becomes aware that its psycho-cultural sensitivity determines its wealth. He points out that South Africa has won a political struggle and it must now forcefully engage in a new struggle, this time a moral one based on notions of decency and excellence in moral, educational, political and economic matters (Ramogale 1998(c):11; 1998(d):1-4). At the same time, he is of the opinion that the political leaders in the country seem to underestimate the importance of and the need for attitudinal change as it is not recognised as a priority.

According to Ramogale the success of the South African education system will depend on the soundness of the ideas that educators and learners bring to learning institutions. The educational transformation will depend to a large extent, on the mental fitness of those at the helm. He believes that provision of resources alone is not enough to ensure effective transformation. Ramogale (1997(c):11) warns that even if millions in public and private money could be pumped into our educational system, unless educators and learners are ready to educate and to learn respectively, such assistance will be to no avail. Ramogale is optimistic that with the intensive campaigns for moral revival, supported by the government, the post-apartheid South Africa will be a success. He is convinced that the democratic South Africa will not only depend on the availability and exploitation of natural resources but also on the possession of non-material resources which are equally decisive if not pre-eminent (Ramogale 1998(c):11; 1998(d):1-3).

3.4.2.1.2 Discipline as the major strategy for education transformation

Ramogale (1997(a):13) indicated that during the struggle against apartheid, one of the most powerful tactics used by the liberation movement in general and, the ANC in particular, was to render the country "ungovernable". This tactic generated a way of life in which ill-discipline and lawlessness became a virtue, especially among the youth. There are still learners who think that a culture of revolt is
politically legitimate. Schooling at some institutions of learning have been brought to a standstill by learners threatening to strike even for negligible reasons. It is felt that the disciplinary measures taken were too lenient.

To overcome disciplinary problems, there is a need for an effective legal system and a cultivation of values and norms. This will ensure that a culture of learning is attained.

3.4.2.1.3 Accepting full responsibility for one's failure

Ramogale suggests that shunning one's responsibility originated from the politics in South Africans' national life. For many years politics was pursued in all spheres of life in South Africa. He is very sceptical of the practice of the Black elite and intelligentsia to blame white oppression "for most, if not all of the problems in the black society" (Ramogale 1997(d):9). There has been and still is a tendency among Black South Africans to blame the legacy of White oppression even for those things they should take responsibility for themselves. Even after five years of democracy:

... when students fail matric, the lack of facilities is advanced as the reason; and when criminals run riot, apartheid-induced unemployment is blamed (Ramogale 1998(b):9).

He does not deny that there is some truth in this attitude, but what he finds problematic is the suggestion that the source of the nation's problems is external, forgetting that there is an internal foe to combat.

3.4.2.1.4 Achieving quality education through effective teaching

Addressing the question of the collapse of the teaching profession, Ramogale
(1997(c):11) admits that educators are poorly paid, in spite of the developmental importance of their profession. He is of the opinion that teaching should not be about monetary incentives but about commitment. Educators should be motivated to keep in mind the nobleness of the teaching profession which lies in its devotion to professionalism and altruism, not its monetary gains.

The new government should emphasise not only education, but also professionalism. He stresses that South Africa needs firm and decisive action failing which the country will sink slowly but surely into a harmful culture of ill-discipline and the violence it breeds (Ramogale 1998(a):12).

Ramogale (1998(a):12) suggests that although there are numerous things to be put right, not only in South Africa but in Africa as a whole, the psycho-cultural dimension that determines the ability of society to manage transformation, needs to be prioritised. Africa lacks the vision and the will that shaped the successful nations of today, socially, economically, politically and educationally. Above all, an overwhelming absence of a moral struggle for self-realisation and self-perfection is at present an essential aspect to make transformation work. Ramogale's emphasis on the inner change of the whole nation and his warning that introspection and hard work by every South African is needed to make a difference in the country, is positive and courageous. His perception is that the nation should accept the responsibility for education transformation. Dr SK Matseke seems to be sharing the same sentiments as Ramogale.

3.4.3 Doctor Solomon Kgokgophana Matseke

Doctor Solomon Kgokgophana Matseke was born in Skilpadfontain near Pretoria. His lifelong involvement in schooling and learning started when he became a student-teacher at Kilnerton Training Institution. His teaching career started at the Native Lower School in Brakpan. Later he became the principal of several schools.
He was proud of becoming the first Black circuit inspector, the first Black Director of Education and the first Black Chairman of the Provincial Education Council. He retired in 1987 after serving the department of education for forty-five years. He participates in numerous organisations nationally and internationally (Henning 2001:11-12; Matseke 2001).

Matseke never gave up during difficult times. He was aware that Bantu Education was not good and he never allowed his students to be given that education. He was focused on the aim of authentic education. In his view the aim of education should be to:

....help a student unfold and reach his or her true potential, be it in Science or the Arts. If education does not do this, then it is not true education (Henning 2001:12)

3.4.3.1 Matseke's view of the problems in education

Matseke identifies the following major problems in the education system of South Africa that need to be addressed for effective transformation: proper leadership, quality educators and retaining the good practices from the old system. His strategies towards addressing such educational problems will be given attention in the subsequent paragraphs.

3.4.3.1.1 The proper leadership roles of principals

Matseke contends that principals in South Africa, especially in the Black community, have been and are facing a crisis of credibility, legitimacy, authority and frustrated expectations. Heightened tensions, uncertainties and conflicting convictions have resulted in principals becoming victims of the changing political situation in the country. Matseke regards being a principal as a traumatic
experience where one receives instructions from anybody including one’s assistant educators. Matseke (1998(a):11) highlighted the following roles of a principal in South Africa:

- Principals are playing the role of captains in their schools, without them, schools cannot sail through the turbulent sea of ignorance.
- Principals are generals of the greatest army in the struggle for true intellectual liberation.

He considered it very important that principals do not lose direction and they should always seek advice from senior officials. As heads of institutions they should have the courage to challenge the situation head-on rather than choosing to become popular at the expense of their profession.

Matseke (Naidu 1998(b):8) blames the government for not giving the right people the right positions in educational leadership. He prefers what he calls a ‘horse for the course’ policy. Politicians and former activists, and not educationists, are given key positions in the department. He is sceptical of this practice and feels that as long as it is in place, the transformation process may be negatively affected.

3.4.3.1.2 Quality education depends on quality educators

Matseke (1998(b):10) emphasises that quality education depends on quality educators. The educator’s human qualities must be as high as possible and his professional preparation must be as thorough as possible in order to develop a high degree of teaching competency. In judging its schools, society is influenced by the character and quality of its educators. Professionalism and a culture of teaching and learning need to be well established before transformation can take place. Education transformation needs a renaissance through:
competent and willing educators, responsible enough to shoulder their responsibilities

keen and well-meaning learners who aim to become something in life and prepare for the future that is theirs, and

co-operative and dedicated parents whose duty it will be to encourage and to act positively and not to discourage those who endeavour to improve the quality of education.

3.4.3.1.3 Retaining the good from the education of the apartheid era

Matseke (1999(a):10; 1999(b):12) suggests that there are good education practices from the apartheid era which could still be retained. He is afraid that there is a tendency to throw away the baby with the bath-water by discarding all previous education practices. He encourages the country to go back to basics and identify the good policies practised during the apartheid system of governance. He discourages the situation where everything, even the good practices are thrown out in the name of democracy and transformation. Among others he feels that for transformation to succeed, the following aspects are essential:

- A good support system to combat trauma and fear. Education institutions should have school social workers to deal with the trauma of abuse and daily threats facing educators and learners.

- Effective educator-learner, educator-parent relationships. A school needs to be understood as an institution of learning and teaching where all stake-holders have to play their part.

- Professionalism that could give dignity and order to our schooling system.

Matseke's strategy towards education transformation in South Africa emphasises that the end result should be quality education, hence quality principals and
quality educators. Like the educationists above, he also believes that eventually transformation in education could be achieved.

Dr Ken Brown Hartshorne’s strategy on education transformation is discussed next.

3.4.4 Doctor Kenneth Brown Hartshorne

Doctor Ken Hartshorne has been involved in education especially the education of Black South Africans, as an educator, training college principal, developer, researcher and administrator respectively since January 1938. He had written widely on the field of education until his death in August 1998 (Hartshorne 1999; Hartshorne 1987:3; McGregor 1992:1). Hartshorne has fought for education change for more than six decades and his own perspectives on the envisaged transformation.

For many years, he fought for one ministry of education in South Africa. In his opinion as long as education was still fragmented, there was no hope for genuine education. He described the situation in South Africa as follows:

South Africa is a very peculiar kind of country with a society that is divided into two worlds but existing within the same borders. You have a situation therefore where the perceptions of people from one world are different from the perceptions of people from the other. I mean here black and white (Hartshorne 1988:14).

Hartshorne did not doubt that, in South Africa, education had been planned and used as a tool for achieving political and economical objectives (Hartshorne 1983:4). When he looked back on the activities of the NP government in Black
education, he indicated his anger:

...there have been times,...that I have been moved by anger at the arrogance and wilful blindness of authority, the selfishness of white interests, and at the way the human wasteland of black schooling has been allowed to develop (Hartshorne 1992(a):v).

He was one of the members of the 1980 De Lange Commission (Hartshorne 1982(a):57-58). On several occasions he honoured the report as having the strategical plan that South Africa needs. He was disappointed by the response from the NP government on the recommendations of the report and he warned that:

The De Lange Report is one report that will not go away. It will not be possible to sweep it under the carpet. Whatever government’s response ... it will find itself in the years ahead having to work in the spirit of the main guidelines and recommendations of the Report (Hartshorne 1982(a):57).

The paragraphs that follow below focused on Hartshorne’s perspective on transformation.

3.4.4.1 Hartshorne’s view on, and strategies for transformation

In the early 1990s, as the country started with negotiations for transiting from the old system to the new, Hartshone was still worried about finding the strategy that would really transform the country. Given the historical past of this country, the “hurts”, frustrations, anger and the discrimination in the educational welfare of the majority of the people, he doubted whether transformation would be easy and straightforward. His main concern was ‘how to reconcile the justified ideals and expectations of the new education system with what is practically possible’ (Hartshorne 1992(b):2).
Most of Hartshorne aspirations have been addressed by the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 108 of 1996. The focus in the following paragraphs explores his strategies for effective transformation.

3.4.4.1.1 Adequate provision of resources

Hartshorne (1981:18) believes that formal schooling has failed to cope with the growing numbers of children. He suggests that the two major resources in meeting the challenge of provision are educators and classrooms. Classrooms and other resources should not be allowed to stand empty or be partially utilised. He believes that the inadequate provision of resources by the NP government was morally unjust while at the same time it was also politically and economically imperative (Hartshorne 1981:25-27; 1992(b):2-14). His appeal calls for a restructuring of the formal system as a whole.

Having realised that the educators' morale is at a low ebb, he states that there is a dire need for educators who will have to carry heavy burdens in the teaching profession. Working conditions of educators need to be improved in order that they can become effective. He recommends innovative methods of finding educators without resorting to cheap and ineffective means of education as a result of which the teaching profession will collapse (Hartshorne 1981:25-31; 1992(b):2-14).

3.4.4.1.2 Achieving equality in education

Equal education opportunities which include equal standards in education are very important. It was also the first of the eleven basic principles of the De Lange Commission's Report (Hartshorne 1985:148). Hartshorne (1982(a):57; 1992(b):4-5) stresses that there is a need for redistribution of the resources that have already been allocated to education in order to achieve equality in South Africa. There should be equality in the size of classes, teacher qualifications, funding,
facilities and equipment. He strongly opposed the practice where R1 194 per capita per year was spent on a Black child while three times more per year was spent on their White counterparts. For equality to be achieved, the apartheid structures that placed the majority of South Africa in an inferior position and prevented them from having a decisive say in educational matters, need to be totally destroyed. Hartshorne (1985:148) is sceptical about the delay in equalising education as it may lead to the development of a habit of idleness.

3.4.4.1.3 Achieving quality education through quality educators

Achieving quality education was one of the terms of reference of the De Lange Commission. The commission was to come up with a 'programme for making available education of the same quality for all population groups' (Hartshorne 1982(a):56).

One of the necessities for achieving quality education was the improvement of the quality of educators. In his view (Hartshorne 1985:149; 1992(a):218) a good quality educator was characterised by: experience, moral values, qualifications, competence in the classroom, proficiency, confidence and commitment.

Hartshorne (1992(b):6-7) further believed that quality education was attained through what happened in the classroom. The commitment and competence of educators, the quality of the learning material available and the dedication of the learners combined would result in a good quality education. He was convinced that it was in the interest of South Africa that its teaching force should be nurtured and supported with effective in-service teacher development programmes and better salaries. Hartshorne (1982(b):58) stressed that quality education should produce:

- warm, compassionate and caring people who are liberated from fear and hate
thinking people, who are capable of continuing to learn and are open but critical to new ideas

- people who are prepared to listen and make independent judgements

- people who work from a spiritual base of moral and ethical standard and for whom life has consequently a deeper purpose

- skilled, competent and knowledgeable people, able to contribute to society and its general welfare.

3.4.4.1.4 The need for relevancy in schooling

Hartshorne (1981:18) believed that formal schooling had failed to cope with the developmental needs, be they economical or social. Hartshorne (1985:150; 1992(b):7-8) was of the opinion that schooling should be relevant both to the changed world in which South Africans were living then and to the new South Africa the country was heading for. The school should lay a sound foundation on which technical skills, language, mathematics, science, and the industrial and commercial world could be built.

3.4.4.1.5 Attitudinal change

The Constitution had to be changed in order for the country to achieve democracy. South Africans would have to accept the values of the new order. People had to change their attitude and be prepared to approach the new order. All people will have to transform their values, attitudes and behaviour in such a way that there was quality and relevance in the classroom (Hartshorne 1992(b):10-13).

3.4.4.1.6 Transformation as long-term process

Hartshorne (1992(b):13) admitted that it was not possible to achieve transformation overnight. It was a process which required that all stakeholders join
hands, including the community at large, organisations and the private sector.

Hartshorne’s view on the strategies for transformation indicates his knowledge and experience in the education system. His participation in the De Lange Commission had enriched his vision of education in the country. Unfortunately he did not live long enough to reap the fruits of his decades of struggle and see the transformation taking shape. Nevertheless, he was one of those people whose contributions will always be remembered as they have contributed not only to transforming the education system but also to the rest of the country being reshaped.

Like Hartshorne, Franklin Sonn also devoted his entire teaching profession since the early 1970s, to appealing for fundamental change in the education system in South Africa.

3.4.5 Franklin Abraham Sonn

Franklin Sonn displayed a remarkable and an outstanding ability to free South African education from its bondage of inequality while he was the principal of Silverstream and Spes Bona high schools in Cape Town between 1972 and 1977. He became the principal of the prestigious Peninsula Technicon in 1977 and was also the President of the CTPA from 1976 up to 1990. He resigned as President and member of the CTPA a month before the organisation joined SADTU (Van den Heever 1986:130; Vilardo 1992:37). It was during his term of office as the President of CTPA that he was seen pursuing relevancy, order and non-racist education in South Africa. It came as no suprise that he became the first South African ambassador to the United States of America after the first democratic elections in 1994. He is today a director of several companies.

Sonn (1994:4) identified four handicaps of the governance of education in South Africa namely:
In the paragraphs that follow, the researcher presented Sonn’s strategies for education transformation.

3.4.5.1 Sonn’s strategy for education transformation

Sonn identified the following strategies for education transformation: the need for competent educators, Affirmative action as a necessity, equal education for all and the transformed teaching of history. Attention is given to these strategies in the subsequent paragraphs.

3.4.5.1.1 The country needs competent educators

Sonn (1999:7) believed that educators as ‘engines for transformation’, all yearn for quality education and fairness through firm leadership. He appealed to the ministry to remember that good education can only be conducted under conditions of enthusiasm and excitement especially for educators. Educators’ remuneration had to be fair while at the same time educators had to be respected in accordance with their important role in society.

3.4.5.1.2 Affirmative action, a necessity

Sonn saw no way for transformation to take place while the country was still in the shackles of inept bureaucracy. To him education ‘is the ideal area where the institutionalised inequality of race in South Africa should be redressed’ (Vilardo 1992:130). He suggested that affirmative action should be a government priority to speed up transformation. Power and human resources needed to be balanced.
3.4.5.1.3 Equal education for all

During the apartheid era, Sonn was himself engaged in the struggle for equality in education provision amongst all people in the country. He believed that education transformation could only take place after the political change had taken place, and that it was a prerequisite for fundamental change in the country. He believed that unless true education was used as a tool to unite and not to divide, South Africa would never develop to its full potential. Even more than a decade before the major political change in 1994, he had been optimistic that transformation through socialisation would be achieved if education was realised to be the most important vehicle towards democracy and change (Sonn 1982:9-12).

3.4.5.2 History teaching and transformation

In the past, history teaching promoted separatism by adhering to an ethnically based, compartmentalised approach. It should have emphasised, together with the study of the languages and literature, the contribution of all South Africans to their past and present and acted as a vehicle for promoting understanding and unity among all members of our national community (Sonn 1986(b):218). Sonn opted for 'alternative education' in which the present history content would not form part of the syllabi but could be taught as additional material.

Sonn has proved to be a revolutionary and he has done everything in his power to see South African education transformed. He displayed great bravery as it was very difficult if not impossible during those times (due to banning orders) to express perspectives which were against the NP government's education policy. South Africa should be proud of men of his calibre who sacrificed their time and happiness to see not only education, but eventually the whole country transformed.
Kader Asmal’s contribution to transformation in the country is exposed in the following paragraphs.

3.4.6 Professor Kader Asmal

Kader Asmal is a South African by birth although he went to Britain for his higher education where he became one of the founder members of the British and Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement in the 1960s. He has written extensively on the legal aspects of apartheid and the status of the South African freedom fighters. After his return to South Africa in 1990, he was appointed Professor of Human Rights Law at the University of Western Cape. In 1991, he was elected as member of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress and the Chairman of its Constitutional Commission. He was the first Minister of Water Affairs in the democratic South Africa (Asmal 1995:26; Reddy 1993:vii). He became the Minister of Education in 1999, succeeding Professor Bengu. Since his return to South Africa in 1991, Asmal has wanted to see transformation taking its course in the country. Asmal who is regarded by Mboyane (2000(a):7) as ‘tough-talking’, openly identified the problems that face South African education.

3.4.6.1 Asmal’s thoughts on problems in education

Asmal identified the following as major features of the education system: massive inequalities in access and facilities, low teacher morale, governance and government failures and the poor quality of learners and adult literacy (Mecoamere 1999(g):3). Asmal (Rohan 2000:11) is optimistic that transformation is on its way, and the strategy towards that is through introducing a ‘back to the basics approach’ (Boshomane 2000:14). He points out that transformation cannot happen overnight, it needs time to bring back values that are good for the whole nation, that had been destroyed by the apartheid education system that was
riddled with inadequacies (Rohan 2000:11).

3.4.6.1.1 Educators to be empowered and respected

Asmal believes in a transformation policy that will provide an increased esteem to teaching and educators. Educators and managers should have good discipline and managerial skills in their everyday practice (Sonn 1999:7). Asmal emphasises the important role educators have to play in the transformation of education. Asmal has repeatedly warned that unless educators reclaim their role as professionals with a mission to provide quality education, there will be no transformed education in South Africa (Mecoamere 1999(f):7).

Competent educators, in Asmal’s view, should have initiative and compete amongst themselves for better results. Asmal believes in schools competing hence he is of the opinion that a list of all high schools in South Africa, being ranked according to their pass rate, should be published (NNP hails Asmal’s move to publish list of schools 2000:2).

3.4.6.1.2 Professionalism as an essential tool for effective change

Asmal identified strategies that schools should follow immediately in order to bring about change. The following strategies should also encourage professionalism among educators (Mecoamere 1999(i):1):

- Educators’ ethnic, racist and sexist behaviour towards their Minister and senior officials is an indication of lack of professionalism and should be discouraged.
- Practices such as the forceful removal of learners and educators from schools by some teachers’ unions during strikes need to be discontinued.
Educators should outgrow their tendency to be ever prepared to strike or be engaged in the ‘chalk downs’ even at the slightest provocation because such actions allow their professionalism to be questioned.

Asmal (Rohan 2000:11) is of the opinion that for transformation to work, professional obligations towards equality must be separated from lobby rights such as the right to picket and strike.

3.4.6.1.3 Fighting illiteracy

Adult and youth illiteracy should be wiped out so that every citizen is able to read, write and know basic numeracy before the country can claim to be transformed. According to the 1996 census, more than 4-million people in South Africa have never set foot in a classroom. Only 3.5-million people in the whole country have had some primary education. Over 7-million did not go beyond primary education (Four (4)-million have never set foot in a classroom 1998:8). Combating illiteracy is the first of Asmal’s nine strategies in the Tirisano campaign he launched in 1999 (Asmal promises to end illiteracy in SA 2000:2; Mboyane 2000(a):7; Mecoamere 1999(h):11; Sonn 1999:7).

Tirisano is a Corporate Plan of the Department of Education through which the department reflects its determination to build a responsive organisation. Through the above strategies, the government is committed to service delivery through improved performance and wishes to act in an accountable way (Department of Education 2000(b):2).

The following are the rest of Asmal’s strategies for education transformation (Asmal promises to end illiteracy in South Africa 2000; Mboyane 2000(a):7; Mecoamere 1999(h):11; Sonn 1999:7):
The second strategy is to make provincial systems work through promoting the advancement of national education.

With the third strategy, he intends to change schools into centres of community life.

The fourth strategy deals with ending the physical degradation of schools.

The fifth strategy is the development of the professional quality of the teaching force and training system.

The sixth strategy is the upgrading of Outcome-Based Education in order to correct what was done over decades by an approach to education that was authoritarian.

His seventh strategy is to equip youths and adults with skills to meet the social and economic demands of the 21st century.

The eighth strategy is the implementation of a higher education system that will grasp the intellectual and professional challenges facing South Africa in the 21st century.

The ninth strategy is the urgent and the purposeful tackling of the 'HIV/AIDS' (Human Immune-deficiency Virus- Acquired Immune-Deficiency Syndrome) through the education and training system.

3.4.6.1.4 Discipline and motivation as the cornerstones of education

According to Asmal's 'back to basics' strategy, no transformation and effective teaching can take place unless both educators and learners are disciplined. This strategy requires rigorous implementation of the following (Boshomane 2000:14):

- There should be diligence and commitment to lessons in class from day one to the last day of the school calendar.
- Learners must be encouraged, motivated and even persuaded to
observe time-tables for lessons and study time.

- Truancy must not be tolerated. Educators must monitor learners' movements during and between lessons.
- There should be incentives for learning, such as merit awards, when a learner has performed well.
- Educators need to be given motivational speeches by educational officials such as circuit managers and district managers.
- Educators should be persuaded to attend classes timeously, give classwork as required, assess feedback thoroughly and strive towards completion of the syllabi within a given time. Extra classes should be an option if learners need them.
- Management should allow schools to participate in a broad curriculum by delving into other areas such as athletics and music.
- School management should not tolerate learners who misbehave.
- Disciplinary measures should be applied and if it comes to a push, dismissal from school should be an alternative.

Asmal sees education transformation as a joint venture. He expects parents to look into the part they play in their children's education while at the same time they should be supportive if they want to see their children get a decent education. From educators, Asmal expects nothing less than that they should 'pull up their socks, stop complaining and teach'. From principals he expects good results or they could expect to be charged with 'incapacity or deficiency' and be sacked. Learners, on the other hand, should comply with the rules and regulations and learn (Rohan 2000:11).

Asmal (Sonn 1999:7) believes that through education children must find in their schools a safe haven where they are patiently led to self-confidence and will be socialised, educated and skilled to become first class citizens. His desire was also manifest when he was the Minister of Water Affairs where his good work and
contributions won him a merit award.

Many educationists in this country have been pressing for change and another educationist to be looked at is Dr Dhloilo.

3.4.7 Doctor Oscar Dumisani Dhloilo

Born in Umbumbulu in the district of Stanger, Kwa Zulu Natal, Dhloilo started teaching in 1967 specialising in history. In 1970 he became a headmaster, then a University lecturer in education and then in 1978 he moved into politics when he became the Minister of Education of the former Bantustan government of KwaZulu. He is the author and co-author of several books and articles on education and he served on the Working Group on Education Management during the De Lange Commission. He founded and chaired the Institute of Multi-party Democracy in 1991 (Dhloilo 1995; Tribute Magazine February 1993:44; Who's who of South Africa 1994:185).

3.4.7.1 Dhloilo's strategy for correcting the education system

Dhloilo (1980:142; 1983: 30; 1991:133-134), concurs with Asmal that there had been no education system for Blacks in South Africa during the apartheid era. What Black South Africans had was a 'mere literacy campaign parading as an education system'. Schools were being used as agents for the perpetration of the ideology of apartheid and as instruments to justify the separation of God's children. In the following paragraphs the researcher presented Dhloilo's strategy to correct the system of education and transform the old order in South Africa.
3.4.7.1.1 Discipline, freedom and responsibility

Black leaders have a responsible task, namely to educate their followers to grasp that in any quest for freedom, discipline becomes a vital attribute. Black leaders must persistently, loudly and clearly condemn any signs of ill-disciplined behaviour among their followers. Without discipline, true freedom can not survive. Freedom also brings responsibilities and our people’s contribution to healthy human relations can be enhanced only by the acceptance of these responsibilities (Dhlomo 1991:134). He does not doubt that the country is in a state of flux yet he fears that various societal norms, that the previous generations regarded as irrevocable truth, are being challenged and in some cases not taken heed of by the South African youth (Makharamedzha 1998:6).

3.4.7.1.2 Schools should reflect the people’s philosophy

Dhlomo is of the opinion that when society establishes schools and education institutions, it does so with the specific aim and purpose of educating its children. Those schools and institutions are nothing but reflections of the aspirations of the society they purport to serve (Dhlomo 1980:142).

3.4.7.1.3 Pursuing mutual understanding

Mutual understanding will be almost impossible to achieve unless South Africans reach agreement, that race and ethnicity shall not form the basis of any new Constitution for the country. This does not mean that racial or ethnic origin must be ignored for that will be suicidal. The barriers of mutual suspicion need to be discouraged for the sake of a common destiny namely, a free democratic state resulting in mutual trust (Dhlomo 1991:133-134).
Dlomo (Makharamedzha 1998:6) called on the GNU to restore the dignity of the teaching profession and emphasises mutual partnership between the government and educators to restore professionalism in education. He stressed that the partnership should be underpinned by a common vision of educating and training a future generation.

3.4.7.1.4 Affirmative action and manpower supply

Dlomo, as far back as the 1980s, believed that Blacks and Whites should first be trained in order to be given technical and managerial positions which were by then meant only for Whites. He suggested that Blacks need intensive training in order to fill executive and professional positions to a much greater extent. He regarded it as a tragedy if affirmative action was failing to make maximum use of the abundant manpower resources simply because of a political ideology whose criterion was a person’s skin colour and not his human capabilities (Dlomo 1980:143).

Dlomo has had education transformation in South Africa at heart throughout his career as politician. As an educationist and businessman, he never lost sight of what a democratic and authentic education in South Africa should be.

3.4.8 Randall Van den Heever

Randall Van den Heever edited Sonn’s work namely ‘A decade of struggle. The hopes and purposes of Franklin A. Sonn’s ten years as President of the Cape Teachers Professional Association (CTPA) in 1986. He was also involved in educational matters in the country. In 1982, he participated in the conference which assessed the De Lange Report and that is where he made his opinion heard as far as transformation in South Africa is concerned. Van den Heever was one of the leaders of the CTPA who was protesting against an educational system
which failed to create a strong sense of pride in children (Sonn 1987:(iii)).

3.4.8.1 Van den Heever's strategy for transformation

Van den Heever was confident that his strategy would bring about workable solutions. His strategies for change and transformation is discussed below.

3.4.8.1.1 Government commitment to uphold fundamental human rights

In Van den Heever’s opinion the educational problems in this country were not only educational but also predominantly political, because of inequality and the apartheid ideology. Only the government could uphold fundamental human rights for all South Africans by legislating the reversal of all segregating laws (Van den Heever 1982:130; 1989:33-35).

3.4.8.1.2 An open education system and a single ministry of education

Van Den Heever was convinced that education needed to be open and non-racial. To achieve transformation, there was a need for only one ministry of education. The language of instruction, differences in culture and historical heritages and differences of the first world against the third orientation needed to be treated as matters of urgency (Van den Heever 1982:130-132).

3.4.8.1.3 Eradication of historic backlogs

Education transformation needed to address the historic backlogs and the disadvantages prevalent in Black education. Programmes should be put in place to change the personal characteristics of culturally deprived or disadvantaged students (Van den Heever 1982:132-133).
3.4.8.1.4 Democratic participation of local parent communities

The De Lange report insisted on the total participation and involvement of parent communities in local educational matters. Van den Heever further saw the need for the establishment of new codes of behaviour for the youth while at the same time efforts were made for the community and the school to work together (Van den Heever 1982:130-132).

The above sections reflected on a few educationists' and intellectuals' views to elucidate the problems surrounding education transformation in South Africa. A more comprehensive conclusion on matters examined in Chapter four is presented below.

3.5 Conclusion

The focus in this chapter was on the peaceful and effective transformation in education. Dooley (1992:3) warns that whichever strategy for change is relevant and appropriate, change should be systematically planned, with human and non-human resources identified in the plan.

Africanisation and People's Education share a common goal, namely relevancy in education. Irrespective of the time frame, People's Education aims remain relevant. African Renaissance is still shaping up after being instigated in South Africa by the Deputy President of the GNU, Thabo Mbeki. Although this renaissance is still in its infancy, there is hope that, if implemented, Africa including, South Africa, will never be the same again. These three strategies namely, Africanisation, African Renaissance and People's education all originated in Africa and their common goal is to decolonise South Africa and make it relevant to Black South Africans.
The individual perspectives on transformation discussed above have been motivated by the South African educational history. The weaknesses and the strong points of education under the previous and the present governments have been exposed. With all these strategic approaches to change, the transformation process could be successful and the culture of teaching and learning would be restored in the post-election period.

In Chapter four the education transformation process during the GNU is investigated.
4.1 Introduction

The first democratic elections in South Africa, held in 1994, ushered the nation into a new non-racial and democratic era. This historical change marked the eradication of apartheid education and the beginning of transformation. The GNU had the task to create a fair and equitable society and redress the past inequalities of the pre-democratic era. Education was among the major priorities, because in the past it was used as a tool to divide the nation as well as the arena where the resistance towards that system was orchestrated. Kader Asmal confirmed the GNU's transformation plan of action, which included putting in place a legislative framework, a new budget system and substantial investment in education between 1994 and 1996 (Sapa 1999(f):2).

Among matters to be transformed were the fragmented education systems discussed in chapter two. In chapter four the transformation process during the period of the GNU rule is evaluated. The strength of the GNU was evaluated on the basis of its educational achievements. Before the researcher can engage in a detailed discussion of education transformation the section that follows focussed on some of the commissions and investigations that preceded the envisaged transformation in the country.

4.2 Commissions and investigations that preceded the transformation

After the unbanning of political organisations by President de Klerk in 1991, many commissions, task teams, workshops and individual investigations were under-
taken to look into the possibility of a transformed education system. Some investigations of this nature had also taken place long before 1994, like the De Lange Commission of 1980. Bolam (1974:17) refers to these innovative directives as change agents. Many came up with proposals for reconstruction in the form of policy documents, reports and recommendations.

4.2.1 The De Lange Commission of enquiry

As early as 1980, the HSRC conducted an investigation, under the leadership of Professor JP De Lange. Chapter 3 states that rejection of education by Blacks, the limited say the community had in education decisions, dissatisfaction of educators and the failure of the education system of the time to cope with the economic developmental needs of South Africa, resulted in the need for this commission. The first principle of the De Lange Commission is that education be equalised (Report of the Main Committee of HSRC 1980: Vol. 1:19-39, 205-209). Unfortunately, the NP government did not take heed of this report. The envisaged transformed education had to be equal for all inhabitants, flexible, and had freedom of choice, and mobility (Chesler 1993:366; Hartshorne 1982(a):57, 1982(b):6; Hlatshwayo 1991:150-151). It was only after 1994 that some of the recommendations of the De Lange Commission, like the formation of one ministry of education, were implemented.

The De Lange Commission was followed by many other investigations, the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) being one of them. In the next section the researcher focussed on the aims of NEPI in order to establish to what extent these aims promoted education transformation.

4.2.2 The National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI)

NEPI played a major role in paving the way for transformation. It is regarded as a basis for the foundation of the more legitimate and effective education system
envisioned by the GNU. The investigation was carried out, under the chairmanship of Professor J Gerwel, between December 1991 and August 1992. The main aim was to examine the policy options across a wide range of areas of educational provision after the achievement of democracy in South Africa (NEPI 1992:vi; Thurlow 1993:9).

Eventually NEPI published its findings and recommendations in twelve volumes. The twelve volumes dealt with education administration, adult basic education, adult education, curricula, early childhood education, human resources development, language, library, planning and structures, post-secondary education, support services and teacher education (Thurlow 1993:9). All the volumes emphasised a democratic and equal education that would redress education inequality, non-racism and non-sexism (Le Roux 1991:10).

NEPI played a major role in the preparations for a transformed education system. The programme of the Education Policy Unit (EPU) also had education transformation as its main goal.

4.2.3 The Education Policy Unit (EPU)

The EPU was a joint project of the University of Western Cape and the National Education Co-ordinating Committee. Like the De Lange Commission and NEPI, the EPU was committed to a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa and especially to the democratisation and transformation of the education system. The EPU researched a model for post-apartheid tertiary education, including access to tertiary education, opportunities, governance and financing (EPU 1994: foreword; 19-26).
The main objectives of the EPU were:

- to conduct basic, applied and strategic research which was to address educational issues. Science and technology was to form an essential part of the envisaged education policy
- to conduct education and training programmes
- to present and publish the results of every research undertaken while monitoring research which was still in process
- to conduct theoretically-informed policy research and analysis on post-secondary education and training, science and technology and human resource development, on the basis of a proactive identification of topics and issues and on commission and request (EPU 1994: foreword).

Another investigation with an aim of preparing for smooth transformation was the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS).

4.2.4 Education Renewal Strategy (ERS)

In May 1990 the NP government appointed a team to investigate means of renewing the education strategy in the country. It was also to institute a structured and integrated investigation in conjunction with the Minister of National Education into some strategic bottlenecks in the education (Le Roux 1991:10). The committee was further required to identify the major problem areas in education for which short and medium term management solutions were to be devised (ERS 1991:1).

Looking at the objectives of the EPU referred to above one can see its commitment to research which is a prerequisite for transformation. The ERS played a major role in shaping education transformation. Among others, the ERS
discussion document recommended the revisiting of the basis on which salary of educators are determined, the possibility of a general policy on the registration of educators and the investigation of the academic support and bridging programmes at various universities (ERS 1991:53).

The report of the ERS stressed the following (South Africa 1992:6):

- community involvement in national education
- the restructuring and financing of higher education
- basic education for illiterate adults, opportunities for life-long education and suitable education for children with special education needs
- democratic, equal education opportunity
- relevant and non-racial education.

The ERS was another attempt to pave the way for the education transformation which the nation had been eagerly awaiting. Through this investigation the NP government wanted to restructure and renew the entire education system in the country and to make education more affordable, while equal opportunities were to be created for South Africans (South Africa 1992:5). As an outcome of this investigation, the NP government adopted principles on deracialisation, national unity, freedom of association and diversity and, decentralisation and partnership (Claassen 1995:467).

As the previous NP government had ensured that apartheid succeeded by firstly legislating it, the GNU also started with the drafting of a Constitution that would make transformation workable. The GNU also released several official documents on the ground of which the country would be transformed. Besides the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, the following are relevant to this study and will be briefly discussed: South African Schools Act 84 of 1996, the White Paper on Education Notice 196 of 1995, the Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995, Basic
Conditions of Employment Act 75 of 1997, Reconstruction and Development Programme and many more that followed. They became the means to facilitate the transformation of education in the country.

4.3 The role played by the GNU in the transformation of education

4.3.1 Legislating transformation

The GNU had played an essential role by legislating the policy and the direction which the transformation should take. For the entire period of its reign, many Acts, Government Notices and numerous Reports had been issued and Commissions convened with the aim of planning the transformation of the country. This section focussed on a few of the legislations with relevance to education transformation.

4.3.1.1 The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996

The 1993 Interim Constitution and 1996 Constitution ushered in a new era, the era of Constitutionalism in South Africa. Constitutionalism replaced Parliamentary sovereignty. Before the 1993 Interim Constitution, Parliament could adopt any legislation, no matter how unjust, as long as the correct procedures were followed. This legislation then became the legal alpha and omega and the courts had no power to question the fairness, morality or content of the legislation. In 1993 South Africa became a constitutional state with the result that Parliament has to exercise its legislative authority subject to the Constitution. It is the task of the courts to test the laws to ensure that they are consistent with the Constitution and to declare them invalid if they are not consistent with the Constitution (Stoop 1997:36-37).

The Interim Constitution was the product of the multiparty negotiations in 1993 prior to the first democratic elections (cf. 1.5.1.12). The 1993 Interim Constitution provided for a national Department of Education as well as nine provincial
education departments, each headed by a minister. The nine provinces were Northern Province, Mpumalanga, Gauteng, Free State, Eastern Cape, Western Cape, Northern Cape, North West and Kwa-Zulu Natal. In respect of administration and control of education, the criteria were not determined by racial differentiation but by geographical differentiation, eliminating some of the past administrative duplication (Claassen 1995:470; Donn 1995:1).

The Interim Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 200 of 1993 came into effect on 27 April 1994. The final and adopted Constitution was passed in 1996 as Act 108 of 1996 and it became operational in February 1997. The Constitution relates to many aspects of the governance of South Africa and it also provides the basis on which the national and provincial governments can act in the field of education. The government made it clear however that the Constitution would address all the grievances of the past and provide democracy in South Africa for all. The preamble of the Interim Constitution 200 of 1993 (South Africa 1993(a), postamble) states that:

This constitution provides a historic bridge between the past of a deeply divided society characterised by strife, conflict, untold suffering and injustices, and a future founded on the recognition of human rights, democracy and peaceful co-existence and development opportunities for all South Africans, irrespective of colour, race, class, belief and sex.

The preamble to the 1993 Constitution further states that:

...there is a need to create a new order in which all South Africans will be entitled to a common South African citizenship in a sovereign and democratic constitutional state in which there is equality between men and women and people of all races so that all citizens shall be able to enjoy and exercise their fundamental rights and freedoms.
The above quotes indicate the commitment of the GNU to transform the country. The GNU's main target was to see that all South Africans were equal in all respect.

Chapter 2 of the 1996 Constitution of South Africa contains the Bill of Rights. It consists of a list of fundamental human rights which all South Africans have. Fundamental human rights recognise that every person is born with human dignity and it is this human dignity that gives a person a claim to human rights. Human rights are the natural rights of every human being (Stoop 1997:45). Fundamental human rights are also regarded as the cornerstone of democracy (South Africa 1993(a):6; Know your Constitution 1997:24-25). The provision of education to the citizens of South Africa is clearly set out in section 29(1) to section 29(4) of the Constitution of South Africa (South Africa 1996(a), sec. 29) which stipulates that:

1. Every one has the right -
   (a) to a basic education, including adult basic education; and
   (b) to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible.

2. Every one has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their own choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable. In order to ensure the effective access to, and implementation of, this right, the state must consider all reasonable educational alternatives, including single medium institutions, taking into account -
   (a) equity;
   (b) practicability; and
   (c) the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws and practices.

According to the White Paper on Education and Training (South Africa 1995(b):40), the right to basic education implies that it is the right of all persons,
all children, all youths and all adults.

Section 29(2) of Act 108 of 1996 (South Africa 1996(a), sec. 29) is the direct reversal of the apartheid laws referred to in 2.3 above. The emphasis on language, culture and the right of choice in public institutions was a major milestone of fundamental transformation in the country. Unlike it was practised in the past, all South Africans have access to any school where education is provided (Report of the Committee to review the Organisation, Governance and Funding of schools (Hunters Commission) 1995:31-33). The White Paper on Education and Training (South Africa 1995(b):40) indicated that the intention of that provision was to establish a condition of equality and non-discrimination with respect to educational institutions. That provision should be understood in conjunction with section 9 of the Constitution (South Africa 1996(a), sec. 9) which referred to the right to equality, and stressed that everyone is equal before the law. Equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of rights and freedom. In this section the Constitution explicitly condemns all forms of discrimination, directly or indirectly.

The first president of the democratic South Africa, Nelson Mandela, in his inaugural speech, outlined his vision for South Africa and especially the equality that the South Africans have achieved:

We enter into a covenant that we shall build the society in which all South Africans, both Black and White, will be able to walk tall without any fear in their hearts, assured by their inalienable right to human dignity - a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world (Stonier 1998:211).

The Constitution has categorically dealt with manifestations of racial discrimination including inequality, educational aims that are politically-motivated, gender inequality, promotion and domination of one culture and affirmative action. The
GNU had a duty to execute and implement language policies, to revive the culture of teaching and learning and to implement effective measures for affirmative action in order to achieve equality. The South African White Paper on Education of 1995, the South African Schools Act 84 of 1996, and the provincial Schools Acts, were all based on the content of the Constitution which was geared towards transforming South Africa as a whole.

4.3.1.2 The South African Schools Act 84 of 1996

On 31 August 1995, Professor AP Hunter handed over the report of the commission whose task was to review the organisation, governance and funding of schools in the country to Prof Bengu, the then Minister of National Education. Ordinary and special schools throughout the nine provinces were consulted during the investigations. The recommendations of the Hunter Commission were adopted and passed into legislation as the South African Schools Act 84 of 1996 which was implemented in January 1997.

The Commission reported on the governance, organisation, funding and financing of schools and the report contains recommendations of twenty-two principals from both public and independent schools (Report of the Committee to review the Organisation, Governance and Funding of schools (Hunter Commission) 1995:(ii)-(xiii); Sayed & Carrim 1997:92). The Schools Act was the result of research into education policy, and of extensive negotiations with individuals and organisations with an interest in education (Sowetan Supplement 1997:1). This Act aims to provide for a uniform system for the organisation, governance and funding of schools, to amend the Educator’s Employment Act (Proclamation 138 of 1994) and to repeal certain sections of the Coloured Persons Education Act 47 of 1963, the Indian Education 61 of 1995, the Education and Training Act 90 of 1979, the Private Schools Act 104 of 1986 and the Education Affairs Act 70 of 1988 (Bray 1996:39-42; South Africa 1996(c):2-38).
The central objectives of the Schools Act are:

- transiting from the old to the new education system
- creating a single national system with two categories of schools namely the public and independent schools
- laying a foundation for improving quality in education
- creating an equitable system of funding
- instilling an awareness that educators in public schools are employed and paid by the state
- establishing representative school governing bodies and Learner Representative Councils
- restoring school discipline
- making schooling compulsory for young people between six and fifteen years
- ensuring access of learners to all public schools (Potgieter, Visser, Van der Bank, Mothata & Squelch 1997:1-65; Sowetan Supplement 1997:1).

After the publication of the Schools Act, the departments of education in all provinces assured that every school was provided with a copy so that everybody concerned was informed. The White Paper on Education was also distributed to all schools to ensure that education transformation will proceed in 1995.

4.3.1.3 The White Paper on Education and Training

In his message in the White Paper (South Africa 1995(b):5), the then Minister of Education, Professor S Bengu, indicated that the White Paper was the first document on education and training issued by the GNU. It was a policy document which described the process of transforming education and training which aimed at bringing a system serving all people. It was also to serve democracy and the
Reconstruction and Development Programme.

The White Paper on Education (South Africa 1995(b):11) identified the following main areas destined for restructuring the school system:

- education and training programmes
- the constitutional and organisational basis of the new system
- the funding of the education system, and
- reconstruction and development.

The White Paper on Education and Training makes a commitment to shift from the traditional approach in education where the evaluation and examination were aimed at determining to what extent the learning content had been mastered, to an integrated approach to education and training based on a system of credits for learning outcomes achieved. An outcome represents a culminating demonstration which is the result of meaningful learning in context outcome (Pretorius 1998:3). Besides the Schools Act and The White Paper on Education and Training, the following Acts are of importance to school education (Bray 1996:39):

- Education Labour Relations Act 146 of 1993. The GNU inherited this Act together with the Interim Constitution for their urgency was needed for the stabilisation of the working relationships. It promotes labour peace in schools, provides mechanisms for the resolution of labour disputes and regulates collective bargaining (South Africa 1993(b)).
- Educators’ Employment Act Proclamation 138 of 1994. It deals with rationalising the employment and conditions of service of school educators (South Africa 1994(a)).
- South African Authority Act 58 of 1995. This Act is also a national law empowering the authority to draft a qualification framework for
Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995. This Act repeals the Education Labour Relations Act 146 of 1993, except for certain sections, such as, for example, section 7 which deals with the Education Labour Relations Council. The purpose of this Act is to promote economic development, social justice, labour peace and the democratisation of the workplace (South Africa 1995(a); Unisa 1999:53).

National Education Policy Act 27 of 1996. It is a national law which empowers the Minister of education to determine and implement overall national school policy (South Africa 1996(d). The Act establishes the Council of Education Ministers (CEM) and Heads of Education Departments Committee (HEDCO). It has already been amended by Education Laws Amendment Acts 100 of 1997, 48 of 1999 and 53 of 2000 (Boshoff and Morkel 1999:1.1-1.9).

Basic Conditions of Employment Act 75 of 1997 (South Africa 1997:2) which gives effect to the fair labour practices, referred to in section 23(1) of the Constitution, by establishing and making provision for the regulation of basic conditions of employment and thereby complying with the obligations of the country as a member state of the International Labour Organisation for matters connected therewith.

Employment of Educators Act 76 of 1998. This Act came into effect on 2 October 1998, replacing the Educators’ Employment Act Proclamation 138 of 1994. This Act provides for the employment of educators by the State, for the regulation of the conditions of service, discipline, retirement and discharge of educators and for matters connected therewith (South Africa 1998:3A-3). It applies to public schools, further education and training institutions, departmental offices and Adult Basic Education (Boshoff and Morkel 1999:3A-3-5; Unisa 1999:58).
South African Council for Educators (SACE) Act 31 of 2000. It was established as a result of a collective agreement reached in the Education Labour Relation Council (ELRC), in terms of the Employment Education Act 76 of 1998. Its existence is confirmed in the South African Council for Educators Act 31 of 2000. It deals with the Constitution, the code of conduct for educators and disciplinary powers and procedures of South African Council or Educators (SACE) (Boshoff & Morkel 1999:4-i).

Provincial Education Laws from each province.

To speed up the transformation a Reconstruction and Development Programme was developed.

4.3.1.4 The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

The GNU realised that the political liberation attained was not sufficient to promote and ensure transformation. The GNU responded to the apartheid legacy by adopting the RDP. The RDP can be defined as an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework which seeks to mobilise South Africans and the country's resources in the final eradication of apartheid and the building of South Africa's future (RDP 1994(a):1). The Minister without Portfolio in the President's office, Jay Naidoo was responsible for implementing RDP activities. In 1994, the GNU proclaimed its strategy for fundamental change to all its personnel and all South Africans through the RDP White Paper.

The RDP is a product of an ANC-led alliance in consultation with other key mass organisations, including a wide range of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs'). The key support areas for the human resources initiatives lie in the education system, in industry and in the home. The GNU's aim with the implementation of the RDP was to bring these institutions together in the most

Five basic principles of the RDP according to the 1994 document were (RDP 1994(a):1):

- an integrated and sustainable programme
- a human-centred process
- peace and security for all
- nation building
- linking construction and development
- democratisation of South Africa.

The areas weakened by the struggle for a democratic South Africa were targeted and five key programmes of RDP were identified namely (South Africa 1994(b):9-10):

- the development of human resources. This programme, among others, provided for the restructuring of education and training. It is therefore understandable why the programme for the development of human resources placed emphasis on women and girls, preschooling, adult basic education and a new education system (Coetzee 1995:4). To avoid the pitfalls of the past, the RDP was based on non-racism, non-sexism, equity and redress (RDP 1994(b):28).
- the satisfaction of basic needs. The RDP aimed at improving education as one of the basic needs. There was a backlog of classrooms and this shortage had an impact on teaching and
effective learning. The RDP catered for the physical improvement of school buildings as well as the quality of learning by targeting improvement of school guidance and rehabilitation of schools damaged in the past and construction of new schools (South Africa 1994(b):9-10). In the Northern Province alone, R13m was budgeted for building classrooms and a further R82m was made available from the RDP funds, for completing half-built community schools. RDP funds were to be used to electrify rural schools and to improve the training of educator and school governance (Reconstruction and Development Programme 1996:24-27). The RDP was also responsible for reorganising divided education departments into a single national department and nine provincial departments and establishing the CEM (South Africa 1994(b): annexe).

- rebuilding the economy
- democratising the state and society
- establishing efficient and appropriate structures to implement the RDP (Beckmann et al 1995:18; Human Resource Development in the RDP 1995:10).

In June 1995, Minister Naidoo reported to parliament on RDP attitudes. As far as education is concerned, he focussed on the importance of the development of adult basic education, Science and Technology education and the revival of the culture of teaching and learning (Human Resource Development in the RDP 1995:iii, Naidoo 1995:32-33). The RDP aimed at improving the quality of education by enhancing primary school learners learning capacity, school attendance and punctuality and contributing towards general health development by alleviating hunger. Areas targeted were rural areas and peri-urban, informal settlements. The initial budget was R472m for the 1994/1995 financial year and R500m for the 1995/1996 financial year. Extensive funds were allocated to school nutrition as some schools were still providing this service even in 1999 (South Africa...
Mismanagement and fraud bedevilled the school nutrition scheme. In Gauteng Province, two educators from Protea-South Primary School were charged for the alleged theft of the money intended for the nutrition scheme at the school (Seripe 1997:6). Many learners from lower socio-economic families have been greatly helped by the nutritional scheme.

The White Paper on Reconstruction and Development (South Africa 1994(b), sec 1.4.4) states that in developing human resources, the people must be involved in the decision-making process and the implementation of the RDP programme. People could only become involved in decision making if they were properly educated and trained.

The above legislation (cf. 4.3.1) aimed at the betterment of education in the country. The section which follows focused on issues that shaped the transformation process.

4.4 Issues that shaped transformation under the GNU

In chapter 2 the researcher discussed issues that characterised the previous system of education. The GNU prioritised these issues. In the next section the level of racism is evaluated and it is indicated how the GNU addressed this issue. The eradication of racial discrimination in education was identified as the GNU's top priority.

4.4.1 Putting an end to racism

The first priority of the GNU was to put an end to racial discrimination in education. In 1994, South Africa merged the eighteen Departments of Education into one
Ministry of Education. Politically, the fragmented homelands, independent states and the 'White areas' were amalgamated into nine provinces, each with a Member of Executive Council (MEC) for education. This time the division was not done according to race but according to geographical configuration.

At the end of the first five years of democracy in South Africa, and despite all the attempts, especially those of the new Constitution, to combat racism, Barney Pitjana, the Chairman of the Human Rights Commission (HRC) indicated (Mdhlela 1999:12) that there was still evidence of pervasive, racism affecting Blacks as it had done during the apartheid period. To combat this problem the GNU, through commissions such as South African Human Rights Commission had been holding conferences and workshops on racism.

In spite of the strong condemnation of racial discrimination in the Interim Constitution and the new Constitution Act, there were still reports of racism in schooling and education throughout the country between 1994 and 1999 of which two instances were:

- At the University of Natal a graduation ceremony had been boycotted in 1996 because of racism (Sowetan 1996(b)(ii)). There had been allegations by Blacks students that they had been assaulted by White students and university security personnel and that they have sustained injuries, after refusing to lower the volume of their music and to go to sleep.

- At high schools there had been reports of White and Black learners who have been physically abusing one another while the management perpetuated racism (Mamaila 1997(c):11; Sefara 1999:4).
The GNU managed to do away with various apartheid measures that had remained after apartheid was scrapped in 1994. What was needed was for the people of South Africa to accommodate one another and to change their attitudes towards each other. The GNU had another task, namely to equalise education in South Africa.

4.4.2 Achieving equality in education

The Constitution addresses the inequality that characterised the previous system of education. Section 9 stresses that everyone is equal before the law. It further indicates that no one is to be subjected to being unfairly discriminated against directly or indirectly. South Africans should not be discriminated against, on the grounds of race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language or birth (South Africa 1996(a), sec. 9 (1) to (5)). This section of the Constitution confirms the GNU’s commitment to equality in education provision and attendance.

Irrespective of the new order, education during the period of the GNU continued to be characterised by massive inequalities in access and facilities. Immediately after assuming his duty as the second Minister of Education in the ANC government, Kader Asmal ascertained that the most troubling feature of the system which the ANC government inherited was inequality (Mecoamere 1999(g):3).

In the following paragraphs, the researcher focussed on compulsory education, the educator-learner ratio, matric results, the role played by the private sector and redeployment and rationalisation.
4.4.2.1 Compulsory education

According to the White Paper on Education and Training (South Africa 1995(b):76), compulsory education comprises two elements, namely compulsory provision and compulsory attendance. Compulsory attendance is solely the responsibility of the parents as it is the parents' obligation to see to it that their children attend school. The state, through the MEC, is required to ensure that educational opportunities of acceptable quality are available to every child. In other words, it is the responsibility of the state to see to it that every child has access to a school in his or her proximity (South Africa 1996(a), sec. 3(3)-(4)).

Child labour has been and still is a problem that has a negative impact on compulsory education. Despite an appeal against child labour by the International Conference on Child Labour held in Norway in mid October 1997, and provisions to this regard in the Constitution of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Pitjana confirmed that in 1997 there were still about 200 000 children employed in South Africa (Kelly 1997:27).

The GNU made it possible for all children in South Africa to have basic education through provision of compulsory education. To actualise this and to overcome the backlog that existed in the past, many new classrooms were built.

As the government was putting compulsory education in place, the educator-learner ratio also needed urgent attention. This issue is evaluated in the following paragraph.

4.4.2.2 The educator-learner ratio

Through the Schools Act, the GNU tried to equalise the educator-learner ratio in all schools in the country. The envisioned ratio for primary schools, was 1:40 and
1:35 for secondary schools. The GNU further addressed inequality through the rationalisation and redeployment strategy which had been in progress since 1996 up to the end of the GNU's term (cf. 4.4.2.5). Due to the serious problem of insufficient classrooms, many learners still have to be accommodated in one classroom. This may be one of the matters that have had an impact on the matric results. In the next section the matric results during the period of the GNU is considered.

4.4.2.3 Matric results

Since 1994, the matric examination results have been fluctuating in almost all of the provinces. The overall average for the country deteriorated from 63.5% in 1995 to 48.9% in 1999. It was only towards the end of the term of office of the GNU that the results in some provinces started to improve. The following tables of matric results from 1995 to 1999 indicate slight improvement in some provinces and deterioration in others (Alfreds 1997:4; Department of Education 2000(a); Dlamini 1998(a):7; Mamaila 1997(a):2; Mecoamere 1999(b):2; Naidu & Mkhwanazi 1997:1):
Table 4.1  Matric results for nine provinces from 1995 to 1999.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROVINCE</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>PASS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Cape</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>47.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>48.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>48.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>45.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>40.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free State</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>49.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>51.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>42.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>43.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauteng</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>58.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>58.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>51.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>67.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwa-Zulu Natal</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>69.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>81.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>53.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>50.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>50.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpumalanga</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>47.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>46.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>52.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>48.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Cape</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>74.55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>74.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>63.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>65.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>64.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Province</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>37.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>38.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>31.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>35.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>66.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>69.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>54.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>52.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Western Cape 1995 82.7%
1996 80.2%
1997 76.2%
1998 79.0%
1999 78.8%
TOTAL 1995 63.5%
1996 54.4%
1997 47.4%
1998 49.3%
1999 48.9%

Source: Department of Education in South Africa (2000(a))

It is likely that there are various reasons for the deteriorating results in the affected provinces. On the other hand, there are contributing factors for improved results as shown in the above table. Northern Province was declared an educational disaster area. Bengu acknowledged that although the results in some provinces looked better, ‘... the Whiter the province, the better the results’. The Northern Province being 99% Black, had the lowest pass rate for the entire period of the GNU. The Western Cape with a higher percentage of Whites had the highest pass rate during the same period (Anstey, Shota, Kortjaas, Duggan & Doonan 1997:4). No one accepted responsibility for the poor results. The GNU, learners, educators and parents were all blaming each other.

Among the factors that contributed toward poor results and the snail-pace improvement in Grade 12 ( Std 10) results are:

- the lack of professionalism and commitment by some educators and some Department officials (The Good Shepherd 2000:1). There are still educators who absent themselves from school, leaving learners to do as they wish (Dhlamini 1998(a):7; Mlambo 1998:7)
poor criteria for selecting Headmasters and District Officials. It is very important that they are suitably qualified for the post they occupy (The Good Shepherd 2000:1)

poor management and quality control of the professional work of educators (The Good Shepherd 2000:1)

superficial involvement of parents in educational matters. Efforts by educators and government are futile without the co-operation of parents (Mlambo 1998:7; The Good Shepherd 2000:1)

the teachers' unions, particularly SADTU, who encourage their members to leave classes and protest at the slightest provocation while educators who are members of SADTU enrol their own children at private schools where matric results are in most cases not poor (Dhlamini 1998(a):7; Mlambo 1998:7)

ill-disciplined educators and learners (Fouche 1998:3; Smit 1998:3).

inadequate and late supply of books. In some provinces books and stationery orders were submitted to book suppliers between January and March when schools had already opened. In some schools, learners had to write examinations at the end of the year without having received any stationery from the government (Khumalo 1997:4; Mamaila 1997(a):2; Mamaila 1997(g):4; Masedi 1995:5). This problem became so serious that it was discussed in a national cabinet meeting after which parents were requested to buy stationery and text books for their children because the GNU had no money (Hlope 1999(a):1; Lekota 1998:2; Mamaila 1999:1; Naidu 1999(a):4; Naidu & Me/coamere 1998:1; Naidu & Seripe 1998:1).

Tjol Lategan, an NNP parliamentarian in the Northern Province stressed that the government is equally responsible for the poor results in Grade 12. The Departments allowed experienced staff to take severance packages and made appointments which were not based on merit and competency but on political
consideration (Smit 1998:3; Fouche 1998:3). SADTU accused the government of failing to manage the process of retrenchment properly and allowing experienced and qualified educators to leave the profession (Bengu 1997:6; Meocoamere 1997(d):2)

After initial attempts by the GNU to improve the standard of education, matric results are still not showing a significant improvement even though the GNU involved the private sector in its endeavour to equalise education opportunities. In the next paragraphs the researcher focussed on the role the private sector played in this regard.

4.4.2.4 The role played by the private sector

The private sector played an important role towards education transformation. The GNU should be praised for its ability to attract the private sector both nationally and internationally. Besides the RDP (cf. 4.3.1.4) the private sector, in conjunction with the GNU provided the community with infrastructure and other resources during the entire sovereignty of the GNU. Among others, the following were achieved:

- Transnet erected ten classrooms, a library, a laboratory and an administration block at Mahwiditsane School in the Northern Province (Sowetan 1996(b):ii).
- Edgars donated R50 000,00 towards the building of schools in Swelitsha in the Eastern Cape (Ngwenya 1995:iv).
- The National Economic Forum (NEF), the Development Bank of South Africa and the RDP donated a fully resourced Kedishi School in the Northern Province (Times 1996).
- The Sowetan and Engen donated 30 000 science textbooks to matric students at Tiisetsong High School in Gauteng Province (Fuphe
1999:3). The GNU was able to obtain financial and material support from the private sector in the country to assist in dealing directly with the shortage of resources, particularly in Black schools. With such support the educator-learner ratio, matric results and compulsory education are all in a position to be improved.

4.4.2.5 Redeployment and rationalisation as a means to achieve equality

Chesler (1993:360) indicated that there would be no hope of rebuilding a peaceful and just society for as long as inequalities are not meaningfully addressed. The GNU's strategy to equalise education was through redeployment and rationalisation. Some institutions were more resourced than others. Some were under-staffed while others were over-staffed. The GNU, in negotiation with the teacher unions, proposed the redeployment and rationalisation of educators with effect from 1 April 1995. This process was to be phased in over a period of five years (Lemmer 1999:37).

The redeployment and rationalisation was to proceed in two stages:

- A limited period voluntary severance packages would be offered to reduce the oversupply of educators. Such educators, if given severance packages, would never be allowed to work for the department again
- Redeployment of excess educators (which was to be compulsory if necessary) (Lemmer 1999:37-38).

Retrenchment of temporary educators was a further attempt at equalising human resources. The Provincial Departments announced in November 1997 that 60 000 temporary and substitute educators were to be laid off nation-wide (Lemmer
At the end of 1999 this process was still continuing and temporary educators were losing their work. This process had affected the teaching profession and teaching negatively.

The retrenchment of senior staff and early retirements have eroded the resource base in schools. Firstly, many skilled educators and heads of institutions of the already beleaguered education system, left the profession. Secondly, posts occupied by educators accepting voluntary severance packages were frozen. Such posts had not been refilled nor were educators transferred to short-staffed schools (Lemmer 1999:38). Due to these negative aspects redeployment has not been successful.

Redeployment and rationalisation was established as a means to achieve equality. Another issue that was addressed by the GNU was cultural diversity and it is briefly discussed in the following section.

4.4.3 Acknowledging cultural diversity and ethnicity

Sections 30 and 31 of Chapter 2 of the Constitution (South Africa 1996(a), sec. 30 & 31) stated the rights of South Africans as far as their culture (which cannot be separated from language and religion) is concerned. All citizens have the right to enjoy and maintain their culture and to participate in the cultural life of their choice. The Bill of Rights implies that cultural diversity in education needs to be acknowledged and every culture needs to be respected.

Goodey (1989:478) regards education as one of the most important social processes for transmitting culture from one generation to another. During the reign of the GNU culture was regarded as an instrument for social transformation and a means of welding different ethnic and linguistic groups together. Now that South African schools have been multiracialised, there is hope that multiculturalisation
will also take place. The researcher however wishes to make it clear that the presence of people of colour in learning institutions does not mean that education is multicultural (cf. 3.2.2).

The GNU successfully addressed the cultural alienation resulting from the previous system of education. It emphasised that no one should be discriminated against because of his/her cultural identity. The curriculum (cf. 4.4.5) and the aim of education (cf. 4.4.4) have been designed in such a way that diverse cultures are all catered for, with none being discriminated against. Educators should be aware of cultural diversity. There is a dire need to respect, teach, research cultural diversity and to transfer the knowledge gleaned to the learners.

Having discussed the issue of cultural diversity and ethnicity, the aim of education is focussed on next.

4.4.4 The authentic aim of education

Hartshorne (1982(b):7-8) stressed that the main priority of the aim of education should be to put an end to the discriminatory education of the past. He was of the opinion that education should aim at correcting the wrongs of the past, restore fairness and justice, create opportunities for the previously disadvantaged and provide education that is relevant. Through the curriculum contents, individuals had to be treated as equals while the cultural diversity had to be incorporated in the curriculum (South Africa 1996(a) sec. 9, 29, 30 & 31). All other Acts related to education are based on the Constitution.

The Constitution does not explicitly prescribe the aim of education per se. However, several sections of the Constitution indirectly shaped the aim of education. The curriculum directly addressed the question of the aim of education which is:
Having examined the aim of education, the next issue to be addressed is the curriculum.

4.4.5 A relevant curriculum

The curriculum, like the aim of education is not directly addressed by the Constitution of South Africa. The GNU prioritised the curricula issue and treated it as a matter of urgency. The content of learning, languages taken as subjects, history, religious education and other aspects in the South African schools had become part of the reform perspective towards the end of the previous system of education. The GNU had responded to some of these aspects during its five years of reign and Curriculum 2005 was the outcome.

4.4.5.1 Curriculum 2005

South Africans have been looking forward to the new curriculum that has to fulfil the peoples’ needs and through which the imbalances of the past would be redressed. Since July 1996 until the first half of 1997, the GNU has been workshopping educators on OBE (Janish 1997:6). Curriculum 2005 had been researched extensively. In March 1997, the then Minister of Education, Prof. Bengu, announced Curriculum 2005 which was to be implemented in Grade 1 in 1998 and to be phased in until the curricula of all the Grades in the school had been changed (Pretorius 1998:9). The government’s plan of action was to introduce OBE while at the same time phasing out the old content-based system.
of learning (Curriculum 2005 1997:8). This plan of action was to be implemented according to the following schedule:

Table 4.2: Levels of Phasing in Curriculum 2005 in schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Year of implementation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 and 7</td>
<td>1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 and 8</td>
<td>1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 and 9</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 and 10</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 and 11</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 and 12</td>
<td>2003</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The curriculum emphasises learner-centredness. The aim of OBE is that the learner be recognised as a unique person with his or her own capabilities and background. Educators must be aware that all learners can succeed with the correct guidance and support given by their educators. Learners will have to be assisted to move forward at their own individual pace (Unisa 2000:22).
learner-centred approach of Curriculum 2005 implies that the emphasis should be on what the learner wants to achieve. This approach requires that:

- learners not only gain knowledge but have to understand what they learned and be able to develop appropriate skills, attitudes and values during the learning process
- learners become active participants in the learning process and take more responsibility for their own learning
- learners be given the opportunity to work at their own pace and in different ways according to their individual abilities and levels of development (Unisa 2000:22).

Curriculum 2005 aims at the following (Curriculum 2005 1997: Foreword; Unisa 2000:3):

- integrating education and training
- promoting lifelong learning for all South Africans
- outcomes rather than content
- equipping all learners with knowledge, competencies and orientations
- developing a culture of human rights, multi-lingualism, multiculturalism and a sensitivity to the values of reconciliation and nation building
- producing thinking and competent future citizens.

OBE was introduced in Grade 7 (Std 5) only in 2000. Subjects as we know them, like History and Biology, will no longer be taught and learnt in the general education and training phase. Instead, the CEM identified eight learning areas which are groups of related knowledge, skills, values and attitudes:

- Communication, Literacy and Language Learning
Each learning area has learning programmes and specific learning outcomes. The specific learning outcomes refer to the knowledge, understanding, values and attitudes which should be demonstrated by learners in the context of each of the learning areas. Learning programmes consist of courses or units of learning materials combined with methodology by which learners can achieve learning outcomes (Unisa 2000:22).

With Curriculum 2005, the role of the educator has been reduced to that of facilitator of the learning process. Instead of just implementing centrally designed and prescribed curricula, educators will have the freedom to develop their own learning programmes, based on guidelines provided by the Department of Education. It will be expected of educators to nurture and support and to be able to work in a supportive team (Unisa 2000:22). Despite its obvious merit, Curriculum 2005 has been criticised.

4.4.5.2 Criticism against Curriculum 2005

Tleane (2000:11) stated that after the introduction of OBE in 1998, a number of evaluation studies were carried out to assess the strengths and weaknesses of OBE. Some of these studies were commissioned independently by universities and individual scholars and some by the Minister of Education. Doctor Pela (1997:8), President of the Foundation for Research Development, is
sceptical about the introduction of the new curriculum in this country. In his view South Africa has the tendency of transplanting theories developed by other countries and imposing them on the public. Tleane (2000:11) suggests two main weaknesses of OBE:

- There is no precise and definite answer as to what is to be achieved. It deals with assumptions as to what education should achieve. OBE aims at achieving the technicist and instrumentalist side of education. Instead of breaking with the tradition of shaping education to serve the needs of commerce and industry, and to extend the public service, the OBE approach has fallen right into that trap. Learners should acquire skills for the workplace but more important they should understand their responsibility to society in general and the imperatives of development.

- It side-steps the importance of the acquisition of social values that are much needed in the country. Among others, anti-racism should have been incorporated into the new curriculum.

Prof. Asmal is also sceptical hence he, immediately after assuming duty as the Minister of National Education, commissioned a Curriculum Review Committee, headed by Professor Linda Chisholm, to review Curriculum 2005. The committee was to look into the level of educators’ understanding of the curriculum, the effectiveness of OBE training and other matters related to it. The Minister wanted to ascertain whether the curriculum he was inheriting was completely comprehensible to learners, educators and parents (Khangale 2000:3).

The Curriculum Review Committee found that the educators, officials and managers interviewed, were confused and did not know what was expected from them, nor from the learners. Some of the factors that complicated Curriculum 2005 are that it has too many design features, lack specifications, contains complex
and difficult terminology, has too many learning areas and lacks effective implementation of the techniques. The failure of the GNU to provide resources such as stationery and textbooks, the insufficient and inadequate in-service training for educators led to their proposal that this venture should be aborted. The Committee, supported by SADTU and NAPTOSA recommended that Curriculum 2005 be phased out in the post-GNU period and be replaced by a revised and streamlined Curriculum 21 (Hlokwa-la-tsela ntshebele 2000(b); Mboyane 2000(b):2). Asmal confirmed the phasing out of Curriculum 2005 and the phasing in of Curriculum 21 in 2002 (Hlokwa-la-tsela ntshebele 2000(c)).

It was hoped that the GNU had succeeded in bringing forth a relevant curriculum which would transform the education system, but unfortunately it has flaws. Another aspect of the curriculum, the interim syllabi, is highlighted in the next section.

4.4.5.3 The interim syllabi

The GNU acted very swiftly on the implementation of the new syllabi. As early as 27 January 1995 the Minister of Education, Prof. Bengu, announced the publication of the new interim syllabi. These syllabi covered all existing subjects and amended and up-graded subjects according to the demands of the Interim Constitution and the draft White Paper on Education and Training (Donn 1995:15). In 1995 the interim syllabi helped in bridging the gap from the old to the new while Curriculum 2005 was being processed. Some controversial subjects such as history received a new-found popularity.

4.4.5.4 History as a controversial subject

Prior to 1994, there had been campaigns (such as the History Workshop) for the revision of the content of South African History (Bonner 1994:977-984). There had been a call during that period for intellectuals, academics and South Africans to
support efforts to reclaim African History in its correct perspective (Pela & Dube 1998:5). An unknown but angry archaeologist stated that children have been receiving incorrect information and he asserted that in the democratic South Africa, they should be encouraged to find the truth for themselves by taking part in excavations (City Press 1996:6). According to Vakalisa (1996:12) the tone of History writing had improved remarkably. Gone were the days when the only time Black people entered the scene in History books was when they waged war against the White settlers or acted as their faithful servants.

Gilian (1997:19) was optimistic that in the democratic South Africa, school History would take a new direction. Since 1994 historians have been rewriting the history of South Africa. Among others, the Anglo Boer War has been researched and re-evaluated.

4.4.5.4.1 Anglo Boer War week

There have been centenary commemorations and restorations of the events of the Anglo Boer War in which British, Boers and Africans participated. This war had historically been documented as being a confrontation between the British and the Boers only. New disclosures and findings by the historians Thami Plaatjies of Vista University in Sebokeng, Professor Keto Tsholoane of Vista in Pretoria and Dr Peter Warwick, have indicated that Blacks were actively involved, fighting on both sides of the war (Lekota 1999(a):8). 17 Jacob Zuma, (SABC TV News 1999, 10 October) during the Anglo Boer War week at Mafikeng, challenged all academics to undertake research in order to interpret the information of South Africa’s past and present history accurately. Black participation in the war was neglected as it had never been recorded in South African history.

---

17 Jacob Zuma, the Deputy President of the ANC government in South Africa. He assumed this position in 1999 after the second democratic elections.
4.4.5.4.2 The Legacy Project launched

In 1998, the Minister of Arts, Culture and Technology launched the Legacy Project. The aims of this project are:

- to acknowledge the contribution of all South Africans to the country's heritage and to acknowledge the previously neglected, marginalised and distorted South African heritage
- to interpret historical events in a way that does not imply the supremacy of one race
- to pay tribute to the first South African Nobel Price winner, Chief Albert Luthuli whose memorial was unveiled towards the end of 1998 (Lekolo 1998: 2).

4.4.5.4.3 New history publications

During the period of the GNU there were several publications of new history books with a completely new approach. The Oxford University Press launched a new history textbook 'In search of History'. Maskew and Miller Longman released two series for primary schools, namely 'The broken string' and 'Looking into the past'. The authors of these series attempted to transform the history of South Africa by changing the tone and approach of writing about the past. For example, Jan Van Riebeck is mentioned in 'The broken String' under the section entitled: 'The struggle over land: Khoikhoi meet the Dutch' (Gillian 1997:19; Reber 1998:11).

The GNU has managed to change History content to indicate that all South Africans are equal and that cultural diversity is not disadvantageous. The new history text books improved the quality of South African history.
4.4.5.5 Freedom of religious practices and observances

Prior to 1994, religious education was a compulsory subject at schools. But since 1994, the inclusion of religious instruction is no longer compulsory. The Schools Act (1996(c) sec 7) states that observance and attendance of religious activities at public schools by learners must be voluntary and free. Parents have the right to decide which religion should be taught to their children.

Chapter 2, of the South African Constitution (South Africa 1996(a) sec. 15 (1) and (2)) states that:

(1) Every one has the right to freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief and opinion.
(2) Religious observances may be conducted at state or state-aided institutions, provided that-
(a) those observances follow rules made by appropriate public authorities;
(b) they are conducted on an equitable basis;
(c) attendance at them is free and voluntary.

Swann (1985:10) identifies three possible, yet competing, approaches to religious education:

- "The confessional" - which is the traditional notion of religious instruction into a popular faith to the exclusion of other faiths
- "The anti-dogmatic" - which refers to the comparative and objective study of world religions, usually within an historic or social science framework
- "The phenomenological" - which is the understanding of religious faith and experience. It does not promote any particular faith; nor aim to go beyond mere description but aims at engaging the subjective elements of religion.
Swann (1985:10) favours the phenomenological approach as he sees it as the only approach that accords with the fundamental principles of cultural pluralism and a philosophy of education for all. The GNU seems to have opted for the phenomenological approach. There is no longer any single religion which is emphasised at the expense of another (South Africa 1996(a), sec. 9). The country has also opted for giving parents the choice with regard to religious education. The curriculum and the syllabi have been changed during the past five years including the policy on the medium of instruction. The question of the choice of medium of instruction is discussed below.

4.4.6 Choice of the medium of instruction

Language is a tool used to express one’s thoughts and one’s most treasured ideas while at the same time it is a major component of the cultural identity. The medium of instruction is therefore a contentious issue in any multicultural society. It is essential that one’s own language forms part of the medium of instruction.

In South Africa, the medium of instruction was one of the controversial issues during the previous regime’s system of education. In the early 1980s, the De Lange Commission reported that learners learn best when they are taught in the language with which they are most familiar (Van den Berg 1991:9). The Swann (1985:8-9) Committee indicated a degree of ambiguity in the term ‘mother-tongue’. It also identified three different types of activities and categories of provision for which the concept may be used, namely:

- Bilingual education where a mother-tongue is the medium of instruction together with or alongside English.
- Mother-tongue maintenance which refers to the development of learners’ mother-tongue fluency as an integral part of the primary school curriculum.
Mother-tongue teaching as the teaching of communicating languages as part of the secondary school modern language curriculum.

In South Africa, the GNU opted for bilingual education. The GNU decided upon a language policy that does not promote any specific language. According to this policy, South African children are expected to become proficient in an African language of their own choice. South African learners should be in a position to communicate in two languages of which one should be their mother-tongue. Schools were encouraged to teach at least two languages from Grade 1 (Sub-standard A). A choice from the official languages has been emphasised by the Schools Act (Luckett 1997: 74; Van Zyl 1997:71-72).

The Constitution (South Africa 1996(a), sec. 30) and the Northern Province Schools Act 9 of 1995, section 16 and 17 (South Africa 1995(d), sec. 16 & 17) and the Schools Act (South Africa 1996(c) sec. 6) make provision for other languages. The introduction of the eleven official languages as shown below, provided for multilingualism. The table below indicates the proportion of the total population that uses each language, according to the 1994/1995 race relations survey (Stonier 1998:215):
Table 4.3: The proportion of the total population in South Africa using eleven official languages according to 1994/1995 race relation survey.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zulu</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td>18.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Sotho</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswana</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Sotho</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsonga</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siswati</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other languages (not recognised as official languages)</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Both the interim Constitution (South Africa 1993(a), sec. 3(1)) and the 1996 Constitution (South Africa 1996(a), sec. 6 (1)) stipulate that none of the eleven official languages should be discriminated against in any way. The GNU had to create conditions for the development and the promotion of the eleven languages for equal use and enjoyment. The Constitution emphasises that (Heugh 1997:44; South Africa 1996(a), sec. 29) no language should be used for the purpose of domination or discrimination, either directly or indirectly and that multi-lingualism must be promoted.

South Africa's new language policy has moved away from the politically influenced language policy where the language was used as an instrument for
Schools are encouraged to offer at least two languages of instruction, one of which has to be the home-language. There is no rigid, undemocratic prescription concerning the choice of the language, rather the concerned school governing bodies have the power to decide on a language policy for their schools (South Africa 1996(a) sec.6(2)). The Constitution emphasises that the learners have the right to be taught in the language of their choice (Sowetan Correspondence 1997(a):5; Van Zyl 1997:71). This right has limitation like all other rights. The main aim is to change the education system to eventually become a trilingual system (Momberg 2000:1).

For the first time Black South African languages have been regarded as the official languages. Practically it may not be possible to offer education in all nine official languages. The main reason being that indigenous African languages were not developed into 'scientific' languages. The rest of the nine African languages mentioned above, will remain unpopular outside South African borders (Ramphele 1997:86). Marivate (1991:54) is optimistic that whatever the choice, the curriculum and the syllabus of an education system are used as a supportive means to realise the philosophy of life of that society. If the final product of any education system is that learners become meaningful members of South African society, education will have truly achieved its rightful purpose.

The GNU has succeeded in its legislation of the medium of instruction. This issue has been very controversial but now South Africans are given a choice, although the practical part of it is limited as African languages have not been developed to be recognised internationally.

4.5 Conclusion

The researcher has in this chapter discussed circumstances and issues that shaped the transformation of education in South Africa during the period of the
GNU. Prior to the 1994 elections, the De Lange Commission of Enquiry, the National Education Policy Investigation, Education Policy Unit and Education Renewal Strategy all made intensive preparations for education transformation in the country. The NP government deserves to be thanked for the role it played in paving the way for education transformation.

The GNU after its assumption of duty proclaimed several Acts and Proclamations which aimed at education transformation. The Constitution adopted in 1996 was a break-through in the elimination of discriminatory policies that had been legislated in the past. The Constitution put an end to racial discrimination, inequality, mono-cultural education, an irrelevant curriculum and the problematic issue related to the medium of instruction.

This chapter has indicated the essential role the GNU played in the transformation of education in this country. Their efforts have moved the country successfully from eighteen fragmented departments of education to nine. The efforts of the GNU will be recognised for many years to come for the foundation they laid for a democratic system of education governance in South Africa.

In Chapter five, the researcher surveyed the culture of teaching and learning during the period under investigation. The position prior to 1994 discussed in chapter two above, needed to be addressed by the GNU.
5.1 Introduction

The GNU inherited various cultures that had existed prior to 1994 and that remained in existence for the entire term of the reign of the GNU. These were cultures of violence, crime, ill-discipline and the culture of emphasising rights only in absolute terms and negating duties and responsibilities. These cultures had a negative impact on the transformation process and on the attempts to establish a proper culture of teaching and learning. Since 1994 South Africa has emerged from the years of struggle against a discriminatory system, which affected all citizens (see chapter two and three). The GNU was now faced with the challenges of transforming the society weakened and corrupted by misrule, mismanagement and exploitation and was optimistic of achieving a vibrant and successful democracy. Tambo (Mboya 1993:76) was convinced that transformation required a more dynamic discourse insisting on capacity and potential on originality and creative existence and that stimulated a will to overcome history and time.

In Chapter 2 the researcher has indicated the level of the culture of teaching and learning in learning institutions before the democratic elections. After the 1994 elections, the new government commenced with the challenging task of legislating new educational laws that would transform the country. COLTS campaigns were held in all nine provinces after President Mandela had launched the campaign on 20 February 1997 (Mkhatshwa 1997:2). The first MEC for education in the Northern Province, Dr A Motswaledi, further promoted the COLTS campaign when he presented his ‘twelve points plan’ by means of which the culture of teaching and learning was to be restored. Among others these points included punctuality,
observance of full school hours, curbing absenteeism, afternoon studies and compulsory attendance by both educators and learners (Mecoamere 1998(b):1). While the campaigns were in progress, there were events in some institutions that were indicative of problems in the institutions, which might obstruct transformation. This chapter will focus on the culture of teaching and learning as evaluated against the transformation process during the reign of the GNU.

5.2 The lack of a culture of learning

Chapter 2 of the 1996 Constitution contains the Bill of Rights in which the State recognises and proposes protection for the basic rights of all individuals in the country, including the rights of children. Section 29 1(a) of the Constitution makes provision for the right to a basic education (South Africa 1996(a) sec. 29). Irrespective of these rights, there have always been problems there and they still continue.

There have been several launchings of COLTS campaigns at both national and provincial level. Professor Bengu, in May 1997, launched a campaign at national level against crime and violence in schools. The provinces also followed the same procedure (Rohan 1997(a):6) yet there are still problems at schools and the culture of teaching and learning is not yet fully restored.

Ramogale (1997(b):9) suggests that the problems that are facing the youth in South Africa, have been severely intensified by the dominant role that many had played in the liberation struggle that had been going on for the past twenty four years. They come to school burdened by both the internal and the external factors that influenced schooling. The researcher agrees with Claassen (1998:120) that the classroom is not an island, because outside influences affect what is taught and how it is taught. The struggle to free South Africa has affected many youths.
The global, the national, the regional, the community and the immediate school environmental influences did not leave the youth untouched. The rest of this chapter will focus on external factors such as, criminal, political, psycho-cultural and socio-economic factors that have had an impact on transformation and the degeneration of the culture of teaching and learning from 1994 to 1999.

5.2.1 External factors that impede transformation

External influences can have an impact on the internal matters of the school (Claassen 1998:120). Some of the external incidents that have influenced the culture of teaching and learning and transformation are, inter alia:

- In 1997 learning was disrupted for more than five months at a secondary school in the Northern Province because learners were made part of the community dispute over electricity. During this time learners were prevented from going to school. The crisis resulted in the death of one youth and learners not being prepared for the matric examination (Mamaila 1997(h):4; Mamaila 1997(i):4; Mamaila 1997(j):3; Mulaudzi 1997(b):7).

- At Bushbuckridge, in the Northern Province, schooling was severely affected because part of the community wanted to be incorporated into Mpumalanga (Molebeledi 1997:13). This political misunderstanding had a serious impact on schooling as schools came to a standstill.

- The belief in witchcraft has been disrupting schools in the country especially in the Northern Province. In most cases learners are the ones taking the lead when those alleged to be witches are humiliated and attacked. The belief in witchcraft has prevented effective teaching from taking place at Khumbula Secondary School where six students died and it was believed that they had been
bewitched. This brought about the fear that the school was also bewitched (Mulaudzi 1997(a):9; Sowetan 1997:8). Fear and the community believing in witchcraft also delayed schooling at Tlhahalang Secondary School where seven pupils lost their lives (Mogale 1998:4).

Water was cut off at a school in Mpumalanga and the school was closed due to health hazardous conditions. Learners strengthened the protest for the reconnection of the water supply (Bengu 1998 (b):1).

In view of the above discussion on the external factors that had an impact on education transformation, there is need to provide information on another obstacle towards transformation, namely criminal elements in education. These elements are discussed below.

5.2.2 Criminal elements in education

Nationally, South Africa had been bedevilled by crime and this has had an impact on the culture of teaching and learning. Criminal elements have been rife in educational institutions in the country since 1994, which aggravated the degradation of the culture of teaching and learning. The following are some of the criminal activities that occurred during the reign of the GNU:

Learners from a school for the Blind in the Northern Province had severely beaten five of their educators when these educators displayed solidarity with their principal who had been evicted (Mamaila 1997(e):3). It is surprising that blind learners were capable of such an attack.

Learners had been raped by their school mates at gunpoint (Rohan 1997(b):6). Two Technical College students were charged with
raping a fellow student (Chuenyane 1998:5).

- A university in the Northern Province is said to be a haven for criminals who are responsible for various criminal offences, such as liquor trading. The university has also been turned into a refuge for wanted criminals. Numerous rape cases have been reported and two students were killed in 1996 (Mamaila 1997(b):4).

- A Technikon had to be closed down because of vandalism, looting and a failed kidnap attempt in which eighteen students were involved (Shiba 1998:2).

- An eighteen year old schoolboy gunned down an educator in the presence of the class after being expelled from the school (Sapa 1999(a):11).

- Eleven learners were arrested for burning down their school. Management had refused permission for the learners to go on a trip. Learner Representatives ignored management's decision and they undertook the trip. Upon their return, the leaners were arrested for ignoring the school's decision (Charle 1997:2).

Other crimes were not taking place in the school premises but had an impact on learners and educators because they were involved. The tragic death of Mamokgethi Malebana, a seven year old learner shocked the country. She was raped, killed and buried in a shallow grave by a twenty nine year old man (Bengu & Mkhwanazi 1997:1). Such incidents which took place between home and school did not leave the school environment untouched. Both learners, educators and the community were deeply affected and the culture of teaching and learning was further eroded.
Three former principals of schools who took part in the 1976 Soweto uprising, Fanyana Mazibuko, Lekgau Mathabathe, and Thamsanqa Khambule all agree that the crises in schools today started in 1976. Since then, power has shifted into the hands of the children, who due to their age, do not yet have direction. They stress that the unfortunate part of this is that children were never brought back on track by those who had led them astray or used them (Molefe 1997:2; Felicia Mabusa-Suttle Talk Show 1999).

Mabaso (1999:22) warned that South African youth should be aware that the culture of destroying schools is outdated as it was used as a tool to fight discrimination in the country. Mandela suggested that church institutions should intervene for they have the capacity to instil a culture of moral responsibility in the youth (Molefe 1997:2). With learning institutions turned into battle-fields, there is little hope that the transformation process will succeed. In the above paragraphs, the researcher explored on criminal elements that ruined the transformation process. To elaborate more on the level of crime, the media exposed some of the mishaps in the schools. These are not exaggerations, there is much evidence to believe that the controversial drama series ‘Yizo Yizo’ portrayed reality. To elaborate more on the level of crime in schools, this television drama series is reviewed next.

5.2.3 ‘Yizo Yizo’, a reality in Black schools or an exaggeration?

At the beginning of 1999, the SABC, Laud Film Factory and Shooting Party, researched schools and found many practices that were not relevant to the

---

18 Fanyana Mazibuko, the ex-principal of Orlando High School during the late 1970 when school unrest was rife.

19 Lekgau Mathabathe, the principal of Morris Isaacson High School in Soweto during the struggle for the liberation in South Africa.

20 Thamsanqa Khambule, former principal of Orlando High School and Director of Ithuteng Trust and a ‘modern day doyen of black educationists’ (Noganta 1999(a):7; Felicia Mabusa-Suttle talk show:1999).
researched schools and found many practices that were not relevant to the process of transformation. It was found that the culture of teaching and learning had been totally eroded in some schools, particularly in the former Blacks only schools (Tsumele 1999:19). The following common problems were identified:

- corrupt and incompetent educators
- drug abuse
- raping at schools
- gang violence
- educators recommending unbanning of corporal punishment.

Their research resulted in the series "Yizo Yizo" which means 'this is it' which depicted what was really taking place at some Black schools (Tsumele 1999:19). The whole country was shocked by the revelations made in this series and it resulted in divergent feelings and opinions. Mabaso (1999:22) indicated that people were disappointed but that the drama was a true reflection of what was nevertheless happening in Black schools. It showed that transformation was really not going to be easy which provided some parents with justification for moving their children to private and white schools in cities (cf. 5.9).

Black educators in the television series are depicted as being inclined to bunk classes and as being incompetent. In some cases learners were more knowledgeable than their educators. The frustrations caused by the low salaries educators received, was also revealed. If the purpose of the author, Tebogo Mahlatsi, was to show that Black township schools were hopeless and dangerous, then in Mabaso's view (1999:22) he succeeded. Noganta (1999(b):13) sees another aim of the author as being to inform the nation that these are the issues that need to be addressed and transformed.
The author, when responding to the allegations of exaggeration, admitted that the series shocked the country, for the viewers were not yet ready for the reality confronting them on television. South African viewers are only ready when the reality is American and they can easily cope with it because it is removed from their immediate reality. Mahlatsi indicated that South African television had always shied away from confronting the real issues of Black life (Noganta 1999(b):13; Noganta 1999(c):13).

Mabaso (1999:22) is saying that the schools have turned out to be the most dangerous environment for learners and teaching a dangerous vocation for educators. The series has generated fear, disappointment and shock in both learners and parents. Nevertheless, it has been an eye-opener for the community (Pokwana 1999:13; Shiba 1999(b):3).

Another aspect that had an impact on the transformation of education was teenage pregnancy and more particularly when learners have given birth on the school premises. In the next section attention is paid to this issue.

5.2.4 Learners giving birth on the school premises

Teenage pregnancy has been a serious problem in South Africa for some time. Lebepe (1999) indicated that an intensive world-wide investigation has indicated that Northern Province has the highest number of teenage pregnancy in the world. On several occasions it has happened that expectant female learners gave birth at school while in their school uniforms. At Ngwanalaka High School in the Northern Province a Grade 10 (Std 8) pupil gave birth to a baby boy while sitting for her final examinations (Mamaila 1996(k):11). Motsoaledi (Sowetan 1996(b):ii) is of the opinion that pregnant learners should not be expelled from school since that practice itself is counter-productive. The disastrous part of it is that the whole country will be left with illiterate mothers and many children in need of welfare
The GNU has not clarified the policy on the position of pregnant learners. All learners have the right to education according to the Constitution (1996(a), sec. 29 (1-4)). A problem arose when the schools had to use their own discretion to avoid the situation of classrooms and administration offices being turned into labour wards. This lack of directives resulted for example, in a row between a principal at Tshiitwa Secondary School and the local community after a pregnant girl had been expelled (Mamaila 1996(i):4).

Teenage pregnancy threatens transformation in educational institutions in South Africa as a whole. Another practice that impeded transformation was cheating during final examinations.

5.2.5 Cheating at school level during the Grade 12 (Std 10) final examination

Cheating had ruined the vision and mission of the GNU. Examination papers had been leaked prior to the date on which they were to be written in several provinces and learners were circulating these papers. In other cases educators who had been given the responsibility of invigilating and monitoring examinations were bribed to allow learners to enter examination rooms with 'unauthorised' documents or to write the examinations at a time convenient to them (Baloyi 1998:3; Mecoamere 1997(c):1; Mecoamere 1997(e):6). If the country's examinations are going to be run so inadequately the standard of education will be lowered and will not be on a par with standards world-wide. It was a further embarrassment to discover that cheating was also perpetuated by government officials at provincial level.

During the GNU, the culture of teaching and learning was further deeply affected by the irregularities in the Mpumalanga Grade 12 (Std10) examination results in 1998.
5.3 Provincial and national events that affected the culture of teaching and learning and transformation

In this section, the researcher focussed on events that had an effect on transformation. Two events that were given attention are the 1998 examination irregularities in Mpumalanga and the protests at national tertiary institutions against the new government funding system.

5.3.1 Irregularities during the 1998 examination in Mpumalanga Province

The culture of faking, fraud and cheating does not only exist in the classroom nor in the immediate school environment. Irregularities in examinations was also the responsibility of senior officials at the provincial level of the department of education. Mpumalanga 1998 examination results bear evidence to that effect. The Mpumalanga 1998 matric results indicated a tremendous improvement from the 1997's 47 percent to a pass-rate of 72.5 percent.

The then MEC for Education in Mpumalanga, Mr David Mabusa proudly confirmed on 7 January 1999 that the results represented the highest overall pass-mark in the province after a steady improvement over the past four years. In his view the results bore testimony to the ability of his department to organise, conduct and finalise examinations effectively (Mecoamere 1999(a):9).

Of the 40 069 learners who had written examinations, 30 664 passed, while 21 530 obtained the School Leaving Certificate, 7 081, (which is 18%), obtained University Exemption virtually doubling the 9.3% of 1997. 2 144 achieved distinctions (South Africa 1999:19; Mecoamere 1999(a):9). This extraordinary improvement came after a history of poor pass rates (Department of Education 2000(a)).
Table 5.1: The Grade 12 (Std 10) pass-rates for Mpumalanga Province over a four year period: 1995-1998.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>47.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>46.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>72.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Mabusa was not aware that the perception created would turn out to be scandalous. On 23 February 1999, almost two months after the release of Mpumalanga’s exceptional results, the South African Certification Council (SAFCERT) reported to the National Ministry that there had been misconduct by high ranking provincial education department officials and public servants in the 1998 Senior Certificate Examination in Mpumalanga Province (Ray & Mecoamere 1999:2; South Africa 1999:29). The preliminary findings of SAFCERT, based on three randomly selected samples of over 1 200 examination papers, revealed that:

... there was *prima facie* evidence that irregularities had occurred in the computation of the marks of individual candidates, and that this must have led to the remarkable improvement in the overall results of the Mpumalanga department of education ... (Ray & Mecoamere 1999:2).

As a result of the SAFCERT report, the then Minister of Education Dr Bengu, acting with the consent of the Honourable Judge President of the Transvaal,
Justice B M Ngoepe and the Minister of Justice Dr Dullar Ormar, appointed Acting Judge Eberhard Bertelsmann of the Pretoria High Court, to enquire into irregularities in the 1998 examinations. Bertelsmann was to report on (South Africa 1999:1 & 23):

- the extent of the irregularities
- parties affected by the irregularities
- parties responsible for the irregularities
- the consequences of such irregularities
- steps to be taken to ensure that the integrity of the system is not jeopardised
- how the candidates rights are to be protected
- steps to be taken to avoid a recurrence in future.

The investigation had to take place immediately in order to restore the integrity of the education system and to ensure that the right of individual candidates were protected.

The nation felt so belittled that opposition parties such as the Freedom Front (FF) and the New National Party (NNP) called for the resignation of Mr David Mabusa, MEC for education (City Press 1999:10; Gama 1999(b):4; Ray & Mecoamere 1999:2). Acting Judge Bertelsmann submitted his report to Minister Bengu on 29 April 1999. The report stated that (South Africa 1999:26-37):

- the revised pass rate was 52.6%. 21 901 candidates passed which is an improvement of 6.6% over the 1997 results.
- Mpumalanga learners who wrote the Senior Certificate examinations were entirely innocent of any irregularities and therefore they were, as a result, entitled to proper protection. In Motala & Another versus University of Natal 1995(3) BCLR 374 (D), it was argued that
students have the right to be admitted to an institution of higher education as they were innocent of any wrong-doing. They were given an opportunity to register.

moderators in the province inflated marks by 20% in a number of subjects. The internal moderator for Biology recommended that marks be credited across the board.

a senior official of the Mpumalanga education department and possibly other employees in positions of trust, were responsible for the irregularities. Their identities could not be disclosed at that stage because the police investigation was still underway.

certain examiners, during marking practised racism. Firstly, some examiners had apparently purposefully awarded high marks to learners from schools which were predominantly White in comparison to schools which were attended predominantly by Black learners. Secondly, SAFCERT was allegedly seen by the education department to be racist in that, unlike in the past where examination scripts were selected according to marks achieved, in the 1998 results, examination scripts were requested with reference to the centre where the examination had been written. Furthermore, examination scripts of 'minor' subjects were not requested from 'minor' subjects but, only the scripts from those subjects which are popular and consequently had a predominance of Black learners. Technical drawing where an increase in marks across the board occurred was not requested in order to advantage the White learners as their schools were mostly the ones with facilities for such subjects. Bertelsmann reported that statements uttered by Mr Talbot indicating that he was amazed that not even one Black learner in the examination had received a "0" for History was regarded as racist. Although Talbot himself assured Bertelsmann that it was motivated by the statistician's concern it was alleged to be racially motivated.
The entire South African education, the examinations as well as standardisation and quality control procedure were directly affected. The entire nation, the schools, employers and parents were all affected. Learners and institutions of higher learning suffered as a result of the publication of the incorrect results. Bertelsmann (South Africa 1999:29) indicated that:

Every matriculant who wrote the 1998 Mpumalanga senior certificate examination will in fact be adversely affected in some way or another, as being one of the Mpumalanga class of 1998 tainted by the false examination results. Obviously, everybody supporting a learner or student, such as parents, family, friends and others, as well as the schools at which the learners studied, are affected directly or indirectly.

Judge Bertelsmann recommended that affected students who had already been admitted to various tertiary institutions be given a special opportunity to continue with their studies because parents had already been involved financially (Mojapelo 1999:9). This recommendation became controversial concerning steps to be taken by institutions in connection with students who had failed. The aftermath of the Mpumalanga scandal was keenly felt by the students, parents and institutions involved.

Tertiary institutions were divided on the ways of dealing with the issue namely, either expelling those students affected or giving them a chance. The University of the North West, Pretoria Technicon and Technicon South Africa were adamant that all students who had failed should be expelled. However, the University of South Africa (Unisa), the University of Pretoria and Vista University decided to offer them bridging courses. Unisa student Councillor and Career Development Acting Head, Dr At van Schoor, indicated that one should expect anger, helplessness and disappointment. He warned that if students were dumped by the institutions, their reaction may become suicidal (Sowetan Reporter 1999:1).
After an intensive investigation into the matter, it was discovered that Faith Sithole, Head of the Department in the Mpumalanga Department of Education was to be held accountable as she was alleged to have been 'instrumental in the doctoring of the 1998 matric results where the learners overall pass-rate was inflated by 20 percent'. She was accused of being negligent for allowing the results to be announced before they had been modified. She was held accountable although the investigation indicated that she had warned the Education Department at an early stage and offered to correct what ever went wrong. If she had been given a hearing, the province would have avoided the embarrassment (Gama 2000:4; Hlokwa-la-tsela ntshebele. 2000(a); South Africa 1999:19-20).

Sithole suggested that the examination moderation process be started immediately before the results were announced. She was prepared to withhold the publication of the results until 7 January 1999, which was the due date for the provinces to publish their senior certificate examination results. Unfortunately Dr Calitz indicated that the time left was inadequate but promised to start the moderation procedure immediately after the publication of the results.

It appeared that Sithole had not been directly responsible for the irregularities. She was emphatic that she had not known of the true state of affairs and was not informed until the matter was revealed during the top management meeting with Bertelsmann on the 24 March 1999. She was suspended in July 1999 and dismissed at the beginning of the year 2000 for having allegedly broken one of the ethical expectations demanded of her by the nation (Gama 2000:4; Hlokwa-la-tsela ntshebele 2000(a); South Africa 1999:19-20).

It is unfortunate that while the government administrators were expected to promote COLTS and to speed up the transformation process, they were, instead, lowering the standard of education and wasting the tax-payers' money (Gama

Tertiary institutions in the country were protesting against a subsidy cut by the government. These protest actions are discussed and evaluated with regard to their influence on the culture of learning during the GNU.

5.3.2 National tertiary institutions protest

The era of the GNU was characterised by unrest and protests at universities and technicons during which it was demanded that the government revisit the policy on tertiary education funding. Education Minister Bengu explained the situation saying that free education at tertiary level was not, and was never intended to be the policy of the government. He stated that the GNU was committed to assist as many students as it practically could, but that students were nevertheless expected to pay for the education services they utilised (Ceruti 1995:11).

This decision by the government to cut tertiary funding affected many institutions. It also sparked protests from students all over the country. There have been protests at Universities in Kwa-Zulu Natal, Durban Westville, Zululand, Mangosutu Technicon and ML Sultan College. Fort Hare University, Venda University, the University of the North, University of Free State, University of Port Elisabeth and Stellenboch University were also deeply affected by that decision (Ceruti 1995:11; Hlongwa & Seepe 1997:2; Mamaila 1997(d):1; Mamaila 1997(f):4; Meocoamere 1997(a):2; Mamaila & Sapa 1998:2; Ndebele 1997:10).

During the protests the most common demands were (Cottle 1998:14):

- the GNU must underwrite the student debt for stabilisation of
universities

- a higher state subsidy. The decline in subsidies forced the Universities to privatise services, limit and retrench academic staff, limit research, increase student fees and limit access to tertiary institutions
- a national bursary scheme for all needy students
- a national community service where professionals work for the upliftment of the community.

Since the cutback in funding most tertiary institutions in the country have suffered serious financial deficits. Debt for the second half of 1997 in some universities is indicated below (Hlongwa & Seepe 1997:2; Mecoamere 1997(a):2; Ndebele 1997:10):

Table 5.2  Debt at universities for the second half of 1997

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Debt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>R150m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zululand</td>
<td>R66,8m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>R54m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vista</td>
<td>R36,3m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wits</td>
<td>R30m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>R22,3m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stellenboch</td>
<td>R10m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free State</td>
<td>R7m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Elisabeth</td>
<td>R2,3m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Hlongawa and Seepe (1997:2), Mecoamere (1997(a):2) and Ndebele (1997:10)

Other universities also owed around R20m each.
Most of the universities threatened not to readmit students whose tuition fees were still outstanding. Ceruti (1995:11) describes this practice as unconstitutional because it discriminates against the lower class.

Ceruti’s view is not very objective and probably unsound. When a student registers at a university, she/he enters into a legal contract with the university. That means that they come to an agreement and that certain obligations are created. The university has the obligation to provide material, guidance, etc. to the student so that the student can study and the student has the obligation to pay for these services.

The principle of Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) which originated with the ANC, was blamed by students for the government’s policy not to spend more on education, health and other public services. It was averred that the micro-economic strategy of the GNU had resulted in education privatisation (Cottle 1998:14; Hlokwa-la-tsela ntshebele 1999(d); Johnson 1998:10). GEAR’s other disadvantages according to Johnson (1998:10) were its exploitation of cheap Black labour, an increase in joblessness and protection of the wealth of the rich and fuelling a crisis in education institutions.

There have been problems in schools and tertiary institutions in the country for the past five years. The country is looking forward to transformation taking its course. This appears not to be the responsibility of learners only, but also of educators who had the responsibility to promote a culture of teaching. How educators reacted to this responsibility accorded to them, was inter alia influenced by their conditions of service.

5.4 The conditions of service for educators and the culture of teaching

From 1994 educators’ conditions of services were affected, mainly by the ELRC, the South African Council of Educators (SACE) and various teachers’ unions such
as NAPTOSA, SADTU and the Suid Afrikaanse Onderwysersunie (SAOU) or the English version the South African Teachers Union (SATU)).

5.4.1 Legislating educators' representation

5.4.1.1 The Education Labour Relations Act 146 of 1993 (ELRA)

In 1992 a working group, comprising of eight members, one from SADTU, the Teachers' Federal Council (TFC), the United Teachers' Association of South Africa (UTASA), and the NAPTOSA and four representatives from the DNE was set up to compile a draft Education Labour Relations Bill. The bill was passed in parliament in October 1993 as the Education Labour Relations Act 146 of 1993. This Act included provision for the formation of an ELRC which was established on 1 March 1994. In 1992 the DNE, together with other stakeholders in education, started negotiations on employer-employee relations in education (Coetzee 1996:147; Mtshelwane 1995:40-41).

The parties acknowledged that collective bargaining was the most prevalent and commonly used method of negotiating in labour relations. Striking was one of the mechanisms accepted for collective bargaining. A strike is described as the concerted refusal to work till some grievances are remedied. It does not matter whether or not the refusal is partial or complete, or the retardation or obstruction of work by persons who are or have been employed by the same employer or by different employers. The strike is embarked upon for the purpose of remedying a grievance or resolving a dispute in respect of any matter of mutual interest between employer and employee. Every reference to the concept of 'work' includes overtime work, whether or not it is voluntary or compulsory (South Africa

21 The first NAPTOSA was launched in 1991 and the new one was launched in 1994.
To regulate strikes, provision was made for punitive action through lock-outs by the employer. A lock-out is described as the exclusion by an employer of its employees from the work place, irrespective of whether or not in the course of or for the purpose of such exclusion the employer breaches the contracts of employment of its employees. The lock-out is aimed at compelling the employees to accept a demand in respect of any matter of mutual interest between employer and employee (Coetzee 1996:147; South Africa 1995(a) sec, 64-68).

The government employees, including educators, have the right to strike except those holding positions in the management echelons (Coetzee 1996:147: Mothata 1998:100-102). The new, democratically elected government conducted negotiations with the stakeholders in the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC). After intense negotiations, parliament passed the Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995. For the first time in South Africa the labour movement and a democratically elected government jointly, as partners, negotiated a new labour Act and paved the way for further negotiations on matters related to all workers and their conditions of service (educators included). The ELRC cleared the way for the rationalisation of the education and training system along provincial lines with the aim of achieving equity in the provision of education (Govender 1996:76; Mothata 1998:102; Van Wyk 1998:26). The new Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995 makes provision for the establishment of a bargaining council which may be established by one or more employer party and one or more employee party (Coetzee 1996:148; Govender 1996:76-77; Mothata 1998:103-104). The Act promotes the right to:

- fair labour practice
- form and join a union or an employees organisation
- organise and bargain freely
- strike and lock-out (South Africa 1995(a):8).
The ELRC's Constitution (South Africa 1993(b):1-2) states its objectives as striving to:

- maintain and promote labour peace in education
- prevent and resolve labour disputes in education
- perform dispute resolution functions
- promote collective bargaining and enforce collective agreements
- develop proposals for submission to the Public Service Co-ordinating Bargaining Council (PSCBC) and NEDLAC or any appropriate forum on labour policy and legislation
- conduct research, analyse and survey education both nationally and internationally, and
- promote training and build capacity in educational matters.

Until 1999 SADTU, NAPTOSA and SAOU were the main registered, national teachers' representative associations in education that represented the employees' side in the ELRC. To resolve disputes quickly and cheaply, the LRA (South Africa 1995(a):66-71) also established the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA). Conciliation and mediation became a way to avoid expensive litigation in the courts of law (Coetzee 1996:148; Mothata 1998:104; Shapiro 1998:16). If the ELRC failed or did not have the capacity to handle disputes in good time, the case could be referred to an outside and independent agency like the CCMA for mediation and arbitration.

Apart from the founding of the ELRC, the period of the reign of the GNU brought major changes in the teaching profession. The ELRC established the SACE which aimed at regulating and improving the quality of educators.
5.4.1.2 The South African Council of Educators (SACE)

For the first time in the history of South Africa, educators were able to register as educators with SACE which had been founded in September 1995. SACE was established as a result of a series of deliberations in the ELRC since October 1994 (Oosthuizen 1998:93; South Africa 2000(a):1). The SACE is the national body for the professional registration of educators. Its mission is to:

...enhance the status of the teaching profession, and to promote the development of educators and the professional conduct (SACE Code of conduct, registration procedures and disciplinary mechanisms [S.a.]:1).

The National SACE Bill notice 211 of 3 March 2000 (South Africa 2000(a):3) which was later legislated as South African Council of Educators Act 31 of 2000 stated that the main aim for establishing the SACE and the legislation of this Bill in particular, was to repeal chapter six of the Employment of Educators Act 76 of 1998. The SACE would also provide for the composition of that Council; to enhance the quality of the profession; to provide for the compulsory registration of educators and the development and maintenance of a code of professional ethics and the enforcement thereof (The SACE code of conduct registration; procedures and disciplinary mechanism [S.a.]:1; Oosthuizen 1998:94-98). The Bill would apply to all educators appointed in terms of the Employment of Educators Act 76 of 1998, the Further Education and Training Act 98 of 1998 and the South African Schools Act 84 of 1996. It would further be applied at all independent schools, private adult learning centres and at private further education and training institutions (South Africa 2000(a):4; 2000(c):3).

In terms of the SACE code of conduct, educators may not:

- physically or psychologically abuse a learner in any way
The SACE has a significant role to play in teacher education, particularly in professional matters such as admission criteria. The SACE also has to focus as a matter of urgency on modifying the present policy on teacher education (National Policy on teacher supply, utilisation and development 1996:6-7). SACE has the task of reviving the culture of teaching. Its duty will not be an easy one as some educators' morale and discipline, especially in township schools are very low (Lemmer 1998:109; Mothata 1998:106). Since the early 1990's practices which are not in accordance with the SACE's code of conduct have increased.

With regard to professional ethics, the SACE (South Africa 2000(a):5) has the power to caution, reprimand and impose a fine not exceeding one months' salary on an educator who transgresses. In serious cases the SACE is empowered to remove from the council's register an educator found guilty of a breach of the code of professional ethics or to suspend such an educator.

Contrary to the SACE's code of conduct, criminal behaviour, the faking of certificates and the unprofessional conduct of some educators had an impact on the transformation process. The following section is devoted to indicating how the unprofessional practices affected education transformation.
5.5 The influence of unprofessional practices on transformation

There have been many unprofessional practices perpetrated by educators during the reign of the GNU. Some educators have been guilty of committing criminal offences, and others neglected their duties or were guilty of misconduct as they, *inter alia*, faked their teaching qualifications and helped learners to cheat during examinations.

5.5.1 The criminal behaviour of some educators

There was lawlessness in South African schools during the period when the GNU was in power. Reports such as the following have appeared regularly in the media:

- An educator was sentenced to twenty years improvement for raping an eleven year old learner (Gama 1999(a):7).
- A college student was raped by his lecturer and thrown out of a first floor window (Mamaila 1998(c):4).
- A principal of a primary school was shot and killed by a teacher in front of the learners because the teacher did not want to take instructions related to work from the principal (Mamaila 1996(l):2).
- A teacher impregnated three school girls (Mamaila & Sapa 1997:4).
- A teacher allowed bribery which led to the learners cheating in the final matric (Grade 12) examination (Baloyi 1998:3).

Educators had also been victimised by criminals and as a result, schools were no longer safe places for learning.

Several prominent educators have been murdered on the school premises in front of their colleagues and learners. Among them was Mrs G Jele, a principal at Thabisang Primary school in Soweto and Mr A Werth, an educator at Townview.
Moela (1999:1) and Pilane (1999:14) suggest that redeployment of educators who were considered to be 'in excess' and rationalisation of educators could have sparked a wave of violence across South Africa. Many educators were demoralised as they had never experienced the trauma of rightsizing and redeployment. Many educators had also been threatened by the possible loss of jobs while those remaining had to teach many subjects and for more periods than they could cope with. Some educators resorted to corporal punishment, which had by implication been forbidden by the Schools Act and the Constitution.

Some practices may not constitute criminal behaviour but they can still be classified as illegal and as unprofessional. The prestige and pride of teaching that had existed in the past was fast waning and the whole profession was becoming unattractive. This unsatisfactory state of affairs frustrated most South Africans who had struggled for democracy and who were looking forward to a transformed South Africa. The unprofessional conduct of educators formed the topic of the section to follow.

5.5.2 The unprofessional conduct of educators

Motswaledi alleges that the situation of educators in the Northern Province and in the country as a whole was shocking (Motale 1997:5). Looking closely at the conduct of educators, particularly educators in traditionally Black only schools, Hofmeyr (1989:25) and Makola (1996:4) identified the following examples of unprofessional conduct:

- educators coming to school late and leaving early
- educators coming to school only once or twice a week
- educators being under the influence of liquor while at school
educators staying in the staff room for the whole day and only going to classes to give learners homework
educators not marking learners’ scripts
girls are promoted to higher classes in return for sexual favours
educators who are still studying are more committed to their studies than their school work
school managers stay in their offices or are out on ‘school matters’ most of the time.

Fullan (1991:117) believes that educational change depends on what educators do and think. Dhlomo (Makharamedzha 1998:6) called on the government to restore the dignity of the teaching profession and emphasised that educators and government are in a professional partnership which is underpinned by a common vision of educating and training future generations. A democratic South Africa needs educators who are committed to professional conduct. From what has been said above, it appears that this era was characterised by a lack of commitment to promote teaching and learning especially in the former Black only schools on the part of educators.

5.5.3 The culture of faking certificates

The GNU strived to improve the standard of education to be on par with the rest of the world. Other unprofessional practices such as the faking of certificates lowered the standard and credibility of education. There have been serious fraud charges against educators who faked certificates and lecturers and administrators who were promoting such unprofessional actions. These are instances of unethical behaviour which have come to light:

A senior lecturer at a university was charged with fraud for being in possession of allegedly fraudulent qualifications including an
alleged Master's degree in Social Sciences (Hlongwa 1997(a):1). Following this discovery the university had to be investigated by Public Protector, Selby Baqwa, who discovered that some of those in possession of tertiary qualifications (diplomas and degrees) never sat for an examination (Hlongwa 1997(b):4).

An educator was exposed after ten years for having used his twin brother's certificate, and had been paid over R270 000,00 (Manama 1997(a):1) He continued to get the salary a year after his imprisonment while his replacement was also being paid. This is due to negligence on the part of administration clerks responsible for payments (Manama 1997(b): 4).

The type of behaviour discussed above led to the quality of teaching being very low in many schools. After the discussion of the unprofessional behaviour of educators it becomes necessary to focus on educators' professionalism and their understanding of unionism.

5.6 Professionalism and unionism in the organised teaching profession

5.6.1 Professionalism versus unionism

The GNU had a clear Code of Conduct for educators compiled by the SACE. The relationship between professionalism and unionism for the teaching corps was debated, especially when teachers' unions started to emerge. Matseke (1999(b):12) argues that no clear reconciliation has been reached between professionalism and unionism.

Nkoto (1999:12) and Mona (1999:13) indicated that, prior to 1994, educators wielded little power and influence in the society, except that which they wielded in their classrooms. Teaching was considered a quiet and docile occupation and
educators were politically inactive. Others understand this silence as professional behaviour of traditional and some current teachers' associations.

The researcher disagrees that the silence of educators was a symbol that they were politically inactive. Perhaps the silence is better explained by what NAPTOSA maintains namely that the interest of the child must be protected at all costs and that industrial actions should not interfere with the daily school activities or education programmes of the learner (Govender 1996:90).

**Professionalism** refers to a professional character, spirit or method of doing things and the standing, practice or methods of a professional as distinguished from those of an amateur (Chambers' Twentieth Century Dictionary 1995, s.v 'professionalism'; Matseke (1999(b):12). A professional is an individual engaged in an occupation or activity requiring specialist knowledge which can be gained through academic preparation (The Graduate 1998:2). **Professionalism** relates to behaviour which is expected from professionally trained people. A large section of the organised teaching profession, favours unionism and radical strategies (Thurlow 1992:37-40). The union-oriented organisations may however, reject the emphasis on educator professionalism because of the following reasons:

- Professionalism is seen as an excuse for not resolving grievances, particularly grievances of Black educators.
- Professionalism is understood as a desperate bid for status.
- Professionalism with its emphasis on altruism and community service is seen by some, as an instrument used by the government to manipulate educators. Professional educators are regarded as apolitical people who obey the law and accept that they have only responsibilities /obligations and no rights.
- Professionalism has been used by educators as a pretext to distance themselves from layman and even to exclude parents from the
educational practice.

- Educators use professionalism for self defence against those who attempt to interfere with or threaten their work or the nature of their occupation (Coetzee 1996:147-148).

SADTU further argues that an integral part of teacher professionalism is securing acceptable conditions of service, without which educators would not be able to work effectively. SADTU believes that although it sometimes becomes necessary to protect the interest of the learner, the interest of the educators ought to be addressed first (Govender 1996:89).

Contrary to the norms of professionalism, unionism can be seen as acting as a group or the members of a union upholding the rules or behaviour of that particular group or union. Two main South African 'professional' teachers' associations, and the associations recognised by the government, NAPTOSA and SAOU, are very sceptical about teachers organisations being unions. Below are some of the criticisms against unionism (Coetzee 1996:148; Govender 1996:89):

- Unionism frames educational issues in economic and political rather than educational terms.
- Unionism is held responsible for the increased bureaucratisation of teacher-administrator relations.
- Unionism leads to the simplification of concepts. Terms and concepts related to industrial models of labour relations are directly transferred and made applicable to the teaching profession. As a result, teaching is no longer approached as a profession.
- Strategies used by unions such as strikes, are seen as unprofessional and harmful to good educational practice while they also waste a lot of time for learners.
- Unionism regards learners like tools in a factory and it cares less
about the interest of the learners which ought to be protected.

The issue of professionalism had also been raised in the early 1990's, when teacher unions emerged. Other organisations like the Professional Educators Union (PEU) (the then TUATA), Transvaal Teachers' Association's and Cape Teachers' Professional Association's main objections to joining SADTU were SADTU's alignment with the ANC; a preference on the part of a recognised teachers' union for professionalism over SADTU's option for unionism and its workerist attitude; an objection to the workerist spirit of the new teacher body and other teachers' associations demanded that SADTU be a federal rather than a unitary structure (Govender 1996:40; Mothata 1998:99-101; Vilardo 1992:1).

Referring to NAPTOSA's viewpoint, Hendry Hendricks, the Executive Director of NAPTOSA, emphasised that professionalism was their motto. Educators needed to be driven by a professional ethos in their teaching (Mona 1999:13).

These arguments of SADTU and NAPTOSA, resulted in two stands on teacher professionalism which had an impact on the culture of teaching and learning, namely, radical professionalism and conservative professionalism. The radical professionalism is politically active and pursues immediate change while the conservative professionalism is passive.

Having originally joined NAPTOSA, the Afrikaans-speaking sector withdrew and formed SAOU which upheld:

- the promotion of education that was based on biblical values and a non-discriminatory system
- the empowerment of educators with regard to professional responsibility
- the establishment of a service which would improve and protect
members' interests and rights

- the assurance that the interest of learners are not adversely effected by the action of educators
- a link to the wider labour movement in the interest of members (Mothata 1998:102).

Vilardo (1992:1) warned that ironically the launching of SADTU in 1991, marked the end rather than the beginning of teacher unity.

An insight into the origins of these organisations is essential in order to understand their role in the transformation process. Sanger, (Govender 1996:38) refers to NAPTOSA and SAOU as the more conservative teachers' associations which were of the opinion that the trade union approach would relegate the professional interest of educators to a secondary status. SADTU remained the only progressive and more militant union which favoured a trade union approach. There is no doubt that unionism has become an integral part of the organised teaching profession since its inclusion in the labour relations framework of South Africa. Educators are now regarded as workers and are included in general industrial legislation such as the Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995 (LRA).

Having examined the status of both professionalism and unionism it now becomes appropriate to give attention to the issue of strike action in education.

5.6.2 Educators' militancy

Govender (1996:1) defines the educators' militancy as:

... all forms of public action in which two or more teachers are involved when registering protest against one or more issues.
Forms of educators' militancy which were used up to 1994 and 1999 were chalk-downs, sit-ins, marches, rallies and picketing. Education militancy continued even after 1994, but under very different social and political circumstances. The more militant teachers' union, SADTU, adopted a more considered approach to teachers' strike action because of the perceived deteriorating effect. SADTU still regarded mass action as the most suitable way to pursue towards achieving its demands.

Although many of the grievances and underlying reasons behind teacher militancy in education have been addressed by the establishment of the single, non-racial democratic South African education system, there are still issues that have not been addressed by the GNU. Govender (1996:93-94) listed some of the factors that may have contributed towards impeding transformation and most likely prompted educators to taking militant actions:

- failure of the government to deliver basic educational resources such as books, school buildings and sufficient educators
- lack of job security as a result of rationalisation and retrenchment of, and unemployment among educators
- gender discrimination
- discriminatory practices and political intolerance of educators by different teacher organisations
- educators' dissatisfaction with their salaries
- unequal government funding in the provinces
- labour relations disputes and especially the inability of the key role players to reach consensus in the ELRC case involving collective bargaining.

These problems, either singular or together brought education in South Africa to a standstill and resulted in a major teachers' strike at the end of the reign of the
5.6.3 Educators strike over salaries from 1994-1999

The right to strike is provided for in section 23(2) of the 1996 Constitution and in the LRA Act 66 of 1995 (South Africa 1995(a), sec 23). The professionally inclined organisations argued that the industrial relations framework should take into account the particular and fragile circumstances which apply to the education sector. In the education sector, the people most seriously affected by strikes may not be the employer nor the employee, but innocent learners who have no role to play in the origin or the resolution of the disputes (Coetzee 1996:147).

Chisholm and Vally (1996:32-35) in their report on the culture of teaching and learning, stated that all educators who took part in the investigations confirmed their dissatisfaction and disappointment with the salaries they were getting hence they resorted to striking.

From 1994 there have been threats from some teachers’ unions to strike over salary increases. The GNU, together with all registered unions, came up with a new salary proposal that transformed the whole salary system and at the same time resulted in the biggest strike in the public service after the attainment of the new South Africa.

1995 saw the first salary negotiations since the new government had taken over in 1994 (CCV TV News Line 1995; Mtshelwane 1995:39-40). SADTU which is regarded by Govender (1996:25, 79) as the only militant teachers’ union in the country, was the first to back down from negotiations. What surprised other teachers’ unions was that SADTU decided to accept the offer and that it felt free to declare that the increase was unilaterally accepted. Other unions felt betrayed ‘...because SADTU which traditionally posed the most serious threat to labour
unrest in education, had accepted the government’s offer’ (Govender 1996:79). On 4 May 1996 the state tabled a proposal based on a revised salary grading system, that planned to reduce grading levels in the public service to sixteen. The grading system was referred to as salary broad-banding, meaning the grouping together of a number of grades into bands (Nxesi 1997:35).

To transform education, the government came up with an enticing offer that was accepted by the educators’ organisations. Government Gazette No. 5711, volume 371, of 31 May 1996, released by the Labour Relation Council (LRC), presented Resolution No. 3 of 1996, which is the agreement reached between the teacher organisations and the government (South Africa 1996(b):1) on:

- the right-sizing of the public service
- voluntary severance packages
- the filling of educator vacancies
- redeployment of educators who were in excess, and
- remuneration adjustment and new salary grading system.

The acceptance of the conditions of the new salary grading system also necessitated the sacrifice of annual salary progression or increments, and being moved from one category to another when the educator had satisfied the requirements for a degree and/or diploma relevant to education (Mabusela, Padachee, Mxesi & Pasquallies 1997:12).

Resolution 3 of 1996 in the ELRC notice (South Africa 1996(b):7-12), which was to be implemented with effect from 1 July 1996 and every July thereafter, included the state’s offer of a three year conditions of service adjustment package for the public service as a whole, for the financial years 1996/1997 to 1998/1999, in which educators would eventually have pocketed 40% more on their salaries (Mabusela et al 1997:12; The Free State Teacher 1996:5-6; South Africa 1996(b):2 &11). The following was pre-budgeted for this purpose and disclosed
to the unions:

5.3 Prebudget by the Department of Education for the purpose of salary adjustment for educators in 1996.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R2, 625 billion</td>
<td>R6.5 billion + R11.3 billion from savings from the right-sizing</td>
<td>R6.5 billion + R11.3 billion from savings from the right-sizing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Mabusela, Padachee, Mxes and Pasquallies (1997:12), The Free State Teacher (1996:5-6), and South Africa (1996(b):2&11)

The agreement could not be implemented during the 1997/1998 and 1998/1999 financial years because of unforeseen financial constraints on the part of the GNU. This resulted in serious salary negotiations in 1997 which almost resulted in a mass protest. All the educators' unions which had been part of the agreement accused the government of “not negotiating in good faith” as it (the government) failed to disclose how much had been saved on rationalisation in the 1996/1997 financial year to facilitate the annual general increment (Mabusela et al 1997:12; Mecoamere 1997(b):5). Disappointed, Taunyane stated (in Mecoamere (1997(b):5) that:

...it is totally unacceptable that the state as employer can sign a three year conditions of service improvement package only to announce a year later that it cannot deliver.

NAPTOSA in its media statement of 5 June 1997 (Taunyane 1997:1-3), rejected

22 Leepile Taunyane, the first and present president of NAPTOSA (Mothata 1998:101; Noganta 1999(a):7).
the government’s offer because of the reasons stated below:

- The amount was totally inadequate to phase in a new salary grading system because originally the intention of salary broad-banding was to provide educators with a more market-related salary structure. On the other hand, educators were required to sacrifice a number of well established practices and procedures which they had enjoyed over many years.

- The non-delivery or the non-materialisation of the expectations the employer deliberately created; NAPTOSA could not accept that the employer could take a decision and fail to deliver the following year.

- If the employer was offering 7.3% for phase 2, that is, (1997/1998) for the financial year it would it be impossible to add the remaining 17.7% to the following year’s (1998/1999) 25%.

In 1998 unions at the bargaining table followed the same procedure as the previous years on salary increments. Irrespective of the no-work no-pay threats by the government (which was never applied in the five years of the GNU), SADTU was adamant that if its demands were not met, it would opt for a strike. Eventually agreement was reached between the employer and the unions, including NAPTOSA and SAOU, and the strike was averted (City Press 1998:2; Lekota, Molefe & Hlophe 1998:2; Molakeng & Hlophe 1998:2; Raboroko & Sapa 1998:3; Sowetan 1998(c):6).

Early in 1999 salary negotiations resumed. Unions hoped to see the out-going government fulfilling its three year old agreement of eventually adding 40% to educators’ salaries by 1 July 1999. As in the past, when the agreement was not met, NAPTOSA and SADTU and other unions walked out of the salary talks in March 1999 (Mecoamere 1999(e):5).

It appeared that the salary issue had moved from the actual wage matter to a fight
about bargaining in bad faith between the GNU and the unions. The government's inability to deliver 'as agreed' in 1996, led to the first display of post-apartheid labour protest. The professional teachers' unions, SADTU, NAPTOSA and SAOU, joined hands in a mass protest. The militant SADTU started with a full-blown strike. On 24 August 1999, the deadlock in wage negotiations culminated in a joint protest that involved 150 000 teachers and other public servants from 12 public service trade unions country wide. A few days later on 29 July 2000, the whole of the South African education system was brought to a halt when all registered teachers' unions, including NAPTOSA and SAOU, for the first time in their history, went on a day's strike in demand of a living wage. The government was offering a 6.3% increase while the unions were demanding 7.3% (African Research Bulletin 1999:1424-1425; Hlangani & Labour Reporter 1999(a):1; Hlangani & Labour Reporter 1999(b):1; Nkosi 2000:8).

Since 1994, stakeholders in education felt that justice was not done to the education of South African children. Asmal challenged educators to debate on matters related to bargaining while making a distinction between matters for "unionism" and matters for "professionalism" and indicated that the two should be separated (Sapa 1999(e):3).

The two concepts, professionalism and unionism recently aroused interest among parents and educationists surrounding the right of educators to strike. As a result, the community attacked educators at large.

5.7 Educators' unprofessional behaviour under scrutiny

There cannot be transformation in education without the full support of educators therefore unprofessional conduct impedes transformation. Kader Asmal (Hlokwa-la-tsela 1999(b)) regards educators as the 'engine for the liberation' and they are 'the force for change'. On several occasions educators have been criticised specifically for leaving the learners and joining educators' strikes.
The professional behaviour of educators has been under attack by parents, intellectuals, the government, learners and leaders of unions country-wide. The teachers' union which was repeatedly attacked was the militant and progressive SADTU which was 'lambasted for having undisciplined teachers' (Shiba 1999(a): 6).

5.7.1 Criticism from the South African Government of National Unity

Nelson Mandela called for the return of the culture of teaching and learning right from the moment he was released from prison and throughout his career as the first president of the democratic South Africa. During his Rivonia Treason trial in July 1964, and almost three decades thereafter when he was released from prison, Mandela remained firm in his mission of seeing the country freed as a totality. He stated this ideal almost three decades ago, during his trial before he was imprisoned saying:

I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all people live together in harmony and with equal opportunities and it is an ideal which I hope to live for and see realised, but my lord if it needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die (Sonn 1991:118).

Since his release from jail, Mandela has not left a stone unturned in his efforts to see his ideal realised. During his office as President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela launched a campaign for the return to the culture of teaching and learning. He called for firm action against learners and educators whose conduct undermined the efforts of the dedicated and committed majority of South Africans. He contended:

We can no longer afford to sit by while some schools are turned into havens of drug abuse, violence or
vandalising of valuable property. We can no longer sit and watch while this country's children are held back in a mire of ignorance and lack of skills which apartheid decreed should be their lot (Sapa 1997:4).

When SADTU threatened to strike for better salaries in 1997, a disappointed Mandela indicated that:

I would have expected them to appreciate the problems of the Government ... But its just unfortunate that a section of teachers believe they can just press for demands without appreciating what the Government is doing (Molebeledi & Sapa 1997:1).

Mandela, on several occasions, warned educators that the responsibility of transformation is on their shoulders:

On your shoulders lie an enormous national responsibility especially for teachers in historical black schools. All our students should be able to compete with their counterparts, not only in South Africa, but in the rest of the world. If you fail our children, you fail our nation (Sapa 1997:4).

At provincial level SADTU was also attacked for merely paying lip-service to the culture of teaching and learning. In 1998, Rapule Matsana, attacked SADTU for disrupting normal schooling by having their teachers' forums during school hours. Matsana condemned SADTU's actions and their disregard for the children's constitutional rights. He stated that disruption of academic programmes by anybody is unacceptable and intolerable (Mamaila 1998(b):4).

\[23\] Rapule Bernard Matsana was the spokesperson for the Northern Province Government, Department of Education.
5.7.2 SADTU criticised by its political allies

SADTU was attacked by its political allies. The second democratic President of South Africa and the president of the ANC, Thabo Mbeki, and the general secretary of the South African Communist Party (SACP) Dr Blade Nzimande, and the general secretary of the COSATU Mr Zwelindima Vali, all disapproved of SADTU's undisciplined members who were incompetent, unruly and even drunk during school hours. In their view, SADTU was a 'toyi-toying' teachers union that cared only about salaries". They blamed the union for protecting unacceptable behaviour (Khumalo 1999:3; Mecoamere 1999(c):9) and on many occasions threatening to strike at the drop of a hat.

5.7.3 Disapproval voiced by SADTU's executive

The president of SADTU, Willie Madisha, criticised ill-disciplined educators of his union who were sexually molesting learners and those who came to school drunk. He angrily condemned such actions saying (Mecoamere 1999(i):1):

This is a new enemy in Sadtu. It affects the profession, damages the image of Sadtu, and is bound to leave us without pupils to teach, leading eventually to retrenchment.

In the Northern Province SADTU's Provincial secretary, Walter Segooa, criticised educators who were on strike, paying solidarity to a colleague who had raped a ten year old girl and been expelled. Segooa stressed that educators should be guardians who protect children (Mamaila 1996(j):4).

5.7.4 Disapproval from educationists and intellectuals

Many individuals raised their concern towards the unprofessional behaviour of educators. The researcher concentrated on those of Professor Kader Asmal,
Logan Govender, Dr Oscar Dlomo and Advocate Dikgang Moseneke because of the role they played during the GNU.

5.7.4.1 Professor Kader Asmal

Asmal in Mecoamere (1999(i):1) confirmed the existence of a crisis in education. He indicated that large parts of the education system were seriously dysfunctional. In Asmal’s view, it would not be an exaggeration to say that there was a crisis at each level of the system.

Asmal as a Minister in the newly elected government, which inherited the ‘crisis’ and in particular the deadlock on salary negotiations, attacked ill-disciplined SADTU members. At the SADTU Provincial Conference in Kwa-Zulu Natal in September 1999 at which he was invited to address the conference, he contended that they (the educators) were not worth the salaries the government was paying them (Mecoamere (1999(i):1; Mona 1999:13).

Minister Asmal, at that conference, further criticised SADTU for:

- their theme of the conference *Defending public education* was contradictory to their behaviour. He argued that in townships and rural areas educators were not seen by parents as defenders of public education
- a lack of professionalism and their negative unionistic attitude (and lack of understanding between the two namely professionalism and unionism)
- not being concerned with service delivery but rather utilising their energy in chalk-downs at the slightest provocation
- not placing their own children in the schools they were disrupting, but in private and/or originally Whites only schools where education
was not interfered with,

forcefully removing learners and their educators from schools during their public strikes.

5.7.4.2 Logan Govender

Govender, (1996:25) was dissatisfied with the fact that the original SADTU leadership, the then president and the general secretary, had been elected ANC members of Parliament in the GNU. Govender would rather have demanded that SADTU employed its militancy to favour the rebuilding of a new democratic South Africa and a culture of learning and teaching. Govender also speculated that SADTU's leadership might be a passport to national or parliamentary seats as some leaders had been offered high parliamentary positions by the government. It appeared that promotion by the tripartite alliance, was the rewards for militant leaders in the union.

Govender saw no effective transformation taking place as long as SADTU did not do away with its 'tactics and policies' and co-operate with other stakeholders in education, especially parents, learners and the government.

5.7.4.3 Doctor Oscar Dhlomo and Advocate Dikgang Moseneke

Kader Asmal (cf. 3.4.6), Dr Oscar Dhlomo (cf. 3.4.7), and Advocate Dikgang Moseneke had, between 1998 and 1999 on different occasions, and under different educational circumstances called for the return of the culture of learning and teaching. They all pleaded that whatever happened, it was important that

---

24 Logan Govender, is a researcher at the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) in South Africa.
educators teach, and learners learn and managers manage (Makhramedzha 1998:6; Meccoamere 1999(g):3; Hlokwa-la-tsela ntshebele 1999(c)).

Dhlomo in Makharamezdha (1998:6) revealed his displeasure at the state of education in the country. In his view there are serious problems in education that the GNU should address. Problems such as incompetent educators, educators demonstrating during school hours, learners molesting and intimidating others and educators whose conduct is unprofessional, need an urgent intervention. He called for the return to a culture of teaching and learning in schools.

Moseneke in Hlokwa-la-tsela (1999(c)), warned that South Africa should never allow itself to lower the standard of education as this would impede its competition with the rest of the world and also the student exchange programme. He also pleaded with educators to teach professionally.

In the above section, a survey on the views and perspectives of some individuals who hold key positions in the community were discussed. The behaviour and attitudes of some educators revealed above had an impact on the schooling and the entire education, including the farm schools. The culture of teaching and learning at farm schools is evaluated in the following section.

5.8 Farm schools

Education in the farm schools has been affected by White resistance to change as these schools are owned by White farmers who manage them together with the Department of Education. Ngwenya (1988:18) stated that farm schools were not the responsibility of the department and it could therefore not be held responsible for the conditions prevailing in these schools. Hence facilities such as water, toilets and sports fields had to be provided by the farm owners. The following had been taking place and been reported during the term of the GNU:
More than 500 learners and their educators at three farm schools in the Northern Province and Gauteng were without schools as the farmers had closed their schools. Mphemeetse and Seapara Schools in the Vaalwater area in the Northern Province and the Rusoord Intermediate School at Blesbokspruit farm in the Vaal Triangle were closed. The department had to treat this as a matter of urgency (Molefe 1998:1).

A farmer in Gauteng Province decided to close a school after having given the department notice to find an alternative school for the 280 learners. He tear-gassed the children and set dogs on the learners to force them off his land, and out of the school. The attempt of the department to intervene at these schools appear to have failed (Radebe 1999:5).

The above-mentioned closure of farm schools should not have come as a surprise because this practice had been there for some time but had never been challenged. Farmers were allowed to establish schools or to shut down schools on their farms as they deemed fit (Department of Education and Training 1986:8-10). Looking at the establishment of some schools, it is possible that some farmers were no longer in need of farm workers. While some were establishing schools for a good cause, some were establishing schools for their own economic purposes. A farmer could utilise a school as an instrument for stabilising his labour force. At times the existence of a school on a farm ensured the farmer of a steady supply of labour from the learners (Ngwenya 1988:35-38).

Most farm schools existed under conditions which were not conducive to effective learning. The Rural School Upgrading in Gauteng was allocated R1 367 000 to improve seven schools. Metcalfe, MEC of Education in Gauteng visited farm schools like Riadira in Randfontein to view the progress of upgrading and
refinishing of the institutions (Sepotokela 1997:6).

Schools in Orange Farm are experiencing serious problems. There are no adequate resources, proper buildings, textbooks, and furniture. The learners feel that if they had to choose they would have preferred to go to better schools (Naidu 1998(c):17).

Other communities went all out to see to it that transformation was implemented and speeded up. The Coloured committee in Buysdorp near Vivo in the Northern Province set out to destroy the Mara Farm School near-by as a way of forcing the learners from Mara to attend their well-equipped school. The farm school was burnt to ashes. Black parents were not willing to send their children to the coloured school due to the problem of language because the medium of instruction was Afrikaans (Mamaila 1998(a):4). The two schools (accommodated in the same buildings) eventually became one with dual medium of instruction in August 2001 (SABC TV News 2001).

In the North West Province, the department of Sports targeted farm schools as they had been neglected but the problem was that farm schools had such a small number of children that they could hardly form a team. They started in Lichtenburg with soccer and cricket clinics, conducted by experts from Australia (Mohohoa 1997:38.)

There had been no agreement between the GNU and the farmers on the implications of farm school ownership in 1994. Asmal inherited problems in farm schools and he was certain that his predecessor during the GNU, could not possibly have resolved all the problems in the poor urban and rural communities, including farm schools (Vally & Tleane 1999:9).

Problems such as those at farm schools and those at community schools were noticed by parents and many decided to remove their children from the historically
Black-only schools in the townships and rural areas and to place them in private and previously White-only schools. To acquaint the reader with the severity of the erosion of the culture of teaching and learning, an elaborated overview of the views and perspectives regarding influx to private and historically White only schools is subsequently given.

5.9 The influx into private and historically White-only schools since 1994

The inauguration of the new democratic president in 1994, empowered every peace loving person in the country to exercise their democratic rights. One of these rights was the right to access to those schools to which Blacks had not had access in the past. Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa (Pela 1998:2), stated that influx to white schools could be misinterpreted and at times, send a message to the nation that Black managers are incompetent.

Influx to private and historically white-only schools became another form of discrimination in the country, but this time not on grounds of colour or creed but on socio-economic grounds. According to Maseko (Memela 1998(a):11), in 1997 alone, 23% of African learners moved to White schools, 47% to Indian schools and 32% to former Coloured schools. The poor are forced by economic constraints to keep their children in township schools. This has eventually perpetuated a greater division between the rich and the poor. There was, therefore, an urgent need to address this problem as it impeded transformation.

The following reasons for this great influx of learners into White and other schools can be identified (Letsoko 1999:12; Mamaila 1997(k):1; Memela 1998(a):11) Memela 1998(b):4; Molakeng 1999:11; Mulaudzi 1997(c):12; Times 1997:6):

- There is no culture of teaching and learning in former Black schools and this erodes the confidence and faith in the ability of the Black community
The competency of educators is questioned by many parents. The White schools and private schools are better resourced. There is no discipline in Black schools. Learners are too involved in the administration of schools, in other words, they are the ones running schools and not the school's management. Retrenchment and redeployment of educators have over the years generated a lot of tension, distrust and alienation between all the parties. Lack of respect for authority is a problem on the increase. The loosening up of the tight apartheid laws of segregation especially after President De Klerk's announcement of the dismantling of all apartheid laws like the Influx Control laws. The official neglect and the politicisation of education in the African townships. Most children are from middle-class homes and they no longer have confidence in the abilities of African educators in the township and rural schools. Since the schools are now legitimately multicultural, parents want to exercise their right of choice of schools by invading areas which were not previously accessible to them. Most parents see doors opening for their children if they are fluent in English because it is the international language. Some parents send their children to White schools for the sake of prestige and status rather than for educational need.

Maseko (Memela 1998(a):11) and Molakeng (1999:11) argue that learners in White schools may appear to be performing well, but, in reality, they are losing their indigenous touch. The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation identified the following consequences of Black learners in culturally-alienated institutions of learning:
Township learners feel they have been betrayed and abandoned by friends and siblings. African children studying at schools outside an African environment have become strangers in their own community. They are likely to lose their cultural identity. Learners are not in a position to speak their own language through which their culture is to be transmitted. They are vulnerable to socio-cultural and political conquest and they become easy prey for the vandalism of white supremacy. Learners in such an atmosphere and culture at such schools lack a sense of the African experience. The amount of traveling compromises their capacity to reach maximum potential because they are being ferried long distances to schools by taxis and busses.

Mboya (1993:61) perceives the move to White schools as an indirect admission by Blacks to the White community that their own community is inferior. He is sceptical about the whole idea as it reflects the inability of Blacks in the absence of Whites in that:

Black children become "academic squatters" with no real sense of belong [sic]... the decisions are made by white parents, and the whole concept espouses the rationale that the academic performance of Black children will only improve in schools when they are in the presence of white teachers and white children.

The essential need by most Black parents is to see their children at private and well resourced schools, both with regard to infrastructure and human resources.

The presence of both Black and White together in a school situation, created the impression that affirmative action is a necessity in order to redress the imbalances and the backlog of the past education system. The focus on the following section
is on the attention the GNU has given to affirmative action in order to boost the culture of teaching and learning.

5.10 Affirmative action

Since 1994, affirmative action has been highly prioritised in South Africa. There are changes in the country which are regarded as a quantum leap from the past (Pons 1994: Preface). The changes challenged and involved each and every South African. The Constitution explicitly addresses the right to equality in section 9. The Constitution even went further by providing for affirmative action to ensure that past inequality are positively addressed (South Africa 1996(a), sec. 9(2)). The equality clause also makes provision for the passing of legislation by the year 2000 which will ensure that discrimination is outlawed. The White Paper on Education and Training (South Africa 1995(b):10) defines it as the provision of special encouragement and support for those who experienced discrimination in the past (Nzimande 1999:14). The Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995 also shares these sentiments.

The country has socially been slow in following the implications of a progressive Constitution. Nevertheless, Kgotseng (1994(b):8) affirms that one crucial way in which transformation can be achieved is by bringing into academic action and leadership those Black people who have been excluded as a result of apartheid policies. Ramphele (1995:320) suggests the following strategies for affirmative action programmes where women and Blacks in South Africa are given first preference:

- Energising recruitment, selection and appointment procedures particularly of Blacks and women.
- Creating staff development programmes to ensure the realisation of the full potential of all those employed.
- Providing equitable and just remuneration and promotion policies.
Instituting innovative programmes to accommodate the needs of women and Blacks.

For effective transformation, Mahmood (Suteliffe 1993:8) suggested that reform had to operate on three levels namely:

- Affirmative action within institutions, designed to bring in more Black and female persons in the teaching and research staff, the administration and in the government councils
- Affirmative action needs to involve a redress between institutions so that the resource disparity between historically White and Black universities will not end up being reproduced
- Affirmative action should redress the disadvantaged majority of the Black communities.

Having looked into affirmative action, gender equality is focussed on in the next section.

5.11 Gender inequality

For decades the women in South Africa have kept the home fires burning brought up their children, while the men went out to perform their 'manly' tasks. This is an indication of the quality leadership skills our South African women posses (Shope 1999:1). The adoption of the country's new Constitution in 1996 consolidated the new democracy for women in particular. Although the Constitution laid the foundation for the legal recognition of gender equality, Business Correspondence (1999:21) indicated that men were still six times more often than women appointed to high positions and in most cases, including in education, there was no clear policy on gender equality. Naidu (1999(b):6) emphasised that gender equality needs more attention.
The Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) has been established at government level to (Seroke 1999(b):9):

- address the imbalances of power and the representation of the voice of men and women in the process of decision-making
- satisfy the needs of most marginalised sections of the society which are presented at the provincial and national levels.

The discrimination against women has been addressed by the Constitution (South Africa 1996(a), sec. 9 (3)). The Constitution states that the state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.

Besides the Constitution, gender inequality was also addressed in the Employment Equity Act 55 which was asserted on 12 October 1998. Its main aim was to promote equal opportunities in the work place for previously disadvantaged people including women, under all circumstances and even in the public service. Through this law, the previously disadvantaged groups including Blacks, the disabled and women had to be adequately represented throughout the work force on the basis of the demographic profile of the relevant region and the country as a whole (African Research Bulletin 1998:13577-13578).

Since 1994 gender equality has been improved by the appointment of several women into top management posts in education. In 1995, of all the women teachers, only 13% were in senior positions in SA education (Mda 1997:21). This includes the appointment of female members to the Executive Council for education in Gauteng, the Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape and
North West (Lemmer 1998:115). The appointment of Dr Mamphele Ramphele as Vice Chancellor at the University of Cape Town, particularly after being chosen above two male applicants, indicated the effort the GNU was putting into gender equality (Sowetan 1995:6). In four years she turned the University of Cape Town from a 'quasi-colonial institution' which was by then in deficit, into a modern 'cash-flush university that prides itself on excellence' (Khan 2000:13).

Most heads of institutions in 1999 were still men. There is still much to be done to improve the inferior position of women. Business Correspondence (1999: 21) and Lemmer (1998:116) regard the following as reasons behind the under-representation of women in education management and in the public service:

- Women are unable to occupy positions requiring night travel as it becomes a serious problem to many women due to crime and lack of security.
- Economic down-scaling due to the downswing in economy which impacts negatively on the number of people recruited had an impact on women representation.
- The social pressure arising from the complex role of homemaker, partner, mother and professional prohibits women from taking leadership roles. The marital demands and lack of spousal support, dual-commitment at work and at home inhibit women from working overtime and studying further or abroad.
- The present traditional practice and belief that some organisational work, managerial and environment jobs are not conducive for recruiting or promoting women has an impact on women representation.
- Many women are disqualified from competing for management positions because their professional preparation is inadequate.
- Women have a tendency of not applying for promotion posts as they...
are hesitant to venture into the areas of school management.

- Cultural views of separating the role of men and women where there are skills meant for ‘women only’. Girls are discouraged from boasting and taking risks or taking the initiative. Male educators are often regarded as a better long term investment (perhaps due to women becoming pregnant) and are appointed above women with comparable qualifications.

- The structure of staffing provides women with few role models of feminine leadership and this results in the stereotype that women nurture learners but men run schools.

- Many women have a low esteem which may handicap task performance and interpersonal relations at work and at home. Black women in particular suffer from this drawback as, their traditional status subordinates them to men, regardless of age, education or marital status and thus further exacerbates their chances of improvement.

- Many women lack political power and skills and are as a result excluded from the political network in their organisations, often because they are different or in the minority.

- Perfectionism combined with guilt feelings, undermines working women. They try their best to be super women, perfect as a mother, worker, housekeeper and responsible community member. Eventually they suffer debilitating guilt feeling and stress.

Up to the end of the reign of the GNU, women were still discriminated against for the mere fact that they were women. Nzimande (1999:14) is of the opinion that justice will only be done towards women when the women of South Africa enjoy the freedom and security they deserve. One possible solution for promoting gender equality is to follow Christ’s guidelines on the position of women. Christ never indicated that men were superior or had to be in authority (Greyvenstein
1996:79). Nevertheless, women still need to be encouraged to change their attitudes towards themselves and to develop as far as they possibly can and to experience the stimulation and the anguish, anxiety and pain the process entails (Ryan 1997:14-15).

5.12 Conclusion

The above critical evaluation of the quality of educators in South Africa is evidence enough for believing that something needs to be done within the teaching corps before transformation can take place in the classrooms and all places of learning. Matseke (1999(b):12) indicated that South Africa needs competent and willing educators who are responsive enough to shoulder their responsibility. At times the apartheid system of education and the influence of politics in education have had negative results and intolerable aftermaths (Ramogale 1997(c):11). During the struggle educators were discredited for lack of punctuality, preparations for lessons, innovation and initiative (Change managers to manage change in education 1996:18).

Ramogale's (1997(c):11) opinion is that the greatest impediments to transformation in this country is the attitude found in the improper frame of mind that educators and learners take with them to school. Ramogale is optimistic that the COLTS campaign can work but strong emphasis should be placed on the transformation of the inner person while not ignoring the provision of resources. Irrespective of the political breakthrough in 1994, there is still a belief that politics is the only worthwhile pursuit in life.

Even in 1999, effective schooling still did not appear to be up to standard in many schools in the country, hence the many references to the collapse of the culture of teaching and learning mostly in secondary and some tertiary institutions.
transforming the whole South Africa and the education system. The most essential achievement was the new Constitution of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996. Many other Acts and Bills have been legislated. The transformation at institutional level has not been very significant if one looks at the Grade 12 (Std 10) results for the past five years. Motswaledi admitted to have underestimated the depth of the South African education crisis. He indicated that (Motale 1997:5):

> When we took power in April 1994 and I was appointed minister, I thought that in the first five years of our government I would be able to do away with at least the most grotesque scars of Bantu education. Two years down the line I have gone only as far as to begin to understand the depth of the problems of education in my province. It is an intricately woven bequest of oppression.

There are new demands made by the new Constitution on education, on the nation as a hole and all stakeholders in education. More demands are being made from educators for the execution of the new curriculum, new forms of learner assessment and an improved performance of educators in their classrooms.

Not all South Africans were supportive of the new order. There had been resistance at some institutions of learning during the five years of the reign of the GNU. In the next chapter the resistance at institutional level is discussed. The pretext for resistance is looked into. The emphasis is primarily on the two initially Afrikaans medium schools namely Potgietersrus Laerskool and Vryburg Hoërskool.
CHAPTER 6

RESISTANCE TO EDUCATION TRANSFORMATION FROM 1994 TO 1999

6.1 Introduction

Education transformation resistance is defined by McKay (1995:41) as the way in which learners can counter the attitudes which the educational system transmits to them. This definition specifically referred to resistance by learners. In this chapter resistance is understood as a situation where a particular cluster of the community defy an order from the highest authority. Such resistance manifests itself in various forms, ranging from racial conflict at school level to refusal of admission of Black learners. Both learners and parents are involved in transformation resistance.

Although the GNU brought about changes and emphasised the need to shift from a culture of resistance to a culture of reconstruction and development, resistance from a few Whites in South Africa in particular, from the Afrikaans speaking community did oppose the Constitution. Two schools which were deeply affected were Laerskool Potgietersrus and Vryburg Hoërskool. The transformation resistance at these two institutions is discussed in this chapter.

During the resistance of Black education, parents were willing to make considerable sacrifices, even to the extent of establishing their own schools. South Africa again experienced the same problems when the minority group had to face transformation in 1994. This time the resistance was against the implementation of democratic and equal education policies following the ANC political victory. Very few originally White only schools resisted education transformation. Some educators, parents, and school governing boards stood firm on their decision not to accept integration of all racial groups in their schools (Mda 1997:20).
In this chapter the researcher will focus on institutions that had a record of racial conflict in South Africa from 1994 to 1999. Prior to focusing on those institutions and the racially motivated incidents that occurred in them, the researcher looked at pretexts for resistance during the transformation period.

6.2 Pretexts for resistance

In the previous chapters in this thesis, there were indications of various reactions to transformation since 1994. In most cases the resistance was from some conservative individuals and groups from the white minority. Among others, the following are regarded as reasons for resisting transformation, namely closure of farm schools, defying redeployment and rationalisation, the specific medium of instruction and racial discrimination at schools.

6.2.1 Closure of farm schools

Since 1994, many farmers threatened to close the schools on their premises (see 5.10). Although the reasons may appear to be personal as the schools were erected on private land, the reason for closing schools were basically influenced by economical and racist attitudes (Ngwenya 1988:35-38; Radebe 1999:5).

6.2.2 Defying redeployment and rationalisation

Transformation was at times challenged by some South Africans. Some institutions found it difficult to implement some of the Acts and departmental resolutions. Grove Primary School in the Western Cape Province had to take the GNU to court to seek settlement on labour issues. The South African Schools Act 84 of 1996 (South Africa 1996(c):14-23) gave the power to recommend the appointment of educators to the school governing body. At the same time, in the Government Gazette No 5711, Vol 371 of 1996, (which was an extension of the Education
Labour Relation Act 146 of 1993). Resolution No 3 (South Africa 1996(b):3-7) it is stated that educators declared in excess would be redeployable from one institution to another where there was a need for their services. The Grove Primary School wanted to employ educators of their own choice and not from those declared in excess. They argued that not every educator on a redeployable list was necessarily a good educator. These differences between the school and the Minister of Education ended up in a court of law where the school subsequently won the case and the redeployment policy of the National Ministry was declared null and void by the court (EduSource Data News 1998:13; Skinner 1997:63-64).

6.2.3 Language as a pretext for not accepting other racial groups

Language, especially the medium of instruction, has been used as a pretext for resisting transformation in the schooling system. Black parents in Kwa-Zulu Natal did not allow language to stop their learners the right to education. In the past the reason for denying their children admission had been that they were Black (Makhanye 1997:4). The reason for not admitting these children shifted to their not being Afrikaans speaking.

Under these pretexts, education transformation was resisted. Racist attitudes and racial conflicts at institutions of learning were indicative of racial resistance in existence and this matter is discussed below.

6.3 Resistance from some White communities

6.3.1 Racist attitudes in education

Resistance to change was rife in the country for the whole term of the GNU. In South Africa, there had been the sentiment that education problems would be resolved if a political settlement in the country could be reached. Several
Afrikaans medium schools had a problem with admitting children from all racial groups on the grounds that they could not speak the language of instruction. It is a fact that racism, in some formerly White schools even now, plays a major role despite the political changes that have taken place in the country.

Towards the end of the reign of the GNU, the Afrikaner Boerderbond challenged the government insisting that they ‘wanted to be themselves’. They wanted:

- Afrikaans to remain the scientific and teaching language at traditionally Afrikaans universities and other tertiary institutions
- the assurance that a high quality mother-tongue education would be preserved at all levels
- the maintenance of Afrikaans as a judiciary language in the country's justice system (Seepe 1999:2).

At the end of the rule of the GNU, Afrikaans enjoyed recognition as one of the eleven official languages and was on the same level as English and the Black languages. It was still the dominating language in the judiciary system.

During the period 1994 to 1999 numerous racial conflicts occurred in learning institutions.

6.3.2 Racial conflict and incidents in institutions of learning

Unfortunately, the term of office of the GNU was bedeviled by racial conflict between learners. Playing grounds and toilets in mixed schools were turned into battlefields as a result of clashes between Black and White learners. According to the report of the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), released in March 1999, 60% of the 1729 learners included in the survey indicated that there had been racially related incidents in their schools (Dlamini 1999(b):4;
Komane 1999(b):5). The following high schools have been plagued by racial intolerance: Vorentoe in Johannesburg, Schweizer-Reneke and Vryburg in the North West, Ben Viljoen, Tomsburg and Richmond in the Northern Cape, Linpark in Pietermaritzburg and Voortrekker in Cape Town (Komane 1999(b):5).

Ben Viljoen High School in Mpumalanga Province admitted Black learners at the beginning of 1996. Black learners were admitted after a serious protest and threats by Afrikaner parents that the school was for White learners only (Mamaila & Sapa 1996:1).

The situation at Laerskool Potgietersrus warrants a detailed discussion in this research as it bears evidence of serious resistance to transformation.

6.4 Resistance at Laerskool Potgietersrus

Potgietersrus is a small town, situated about 59km south-west of Pietersburg in the Northern Province. It was in this small town that the colour of children’s skins determined their admission to a local primary school.

6.4.1 White parents prevent Black children from entering a formerly White-only school

Black parents had applied for admission for their children to Laerskool Potgietersrus (for two years 1995 and 1996) but all their applications were turned down. As a result, in 1996 eighteen Black parents residing around Potgietersrus in the Northern Province, whose application had been refused, formed a group named The Concerned Parents (De Groof & Bray 1996:363; Mamaila 1996(a):13).

The problem at the school originated when Mr Alson Matukane, a Director in the Department of Water Affairs, secured admission for his three children at Laerskool
Potgietersrus on 22 January 1996. On the first day when accompanying his three children, who were already in school uniforms to school, he was shocked to find the school entrance blocked by more than one hundred Afrikaner adults. The following day, White parents who were members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) intimidated and scared-off Black parents by again blocking the school entrance. The next day, the clash continued with reinforced numbers of Whites preventing Black parents from gaining access to the school premises. The entrance was turned into a battlefield when a group of Black parents forced their way onto the school premises. The group of White parents was very aggressive and they confiscated an SABC journalist’s camera. They caused damage to the value of R45 000,00 to this camera before they handed it over at the Potgietersrus Police station. This whole incident bore evidence that the reason for preventing Matukane and the children from entering the school was purely racial (Mamaila 1996(a):13; Mamaila 1996(f):1; Mamaila 1998(a):4; Tsedu 1996: 6).

The reasons given by Afrikaner parents for blocking the school entrance to Black parents and learners were the following:

- One parent indicated that there was no way in which Blacks and Whites could live together because God created different people and Matukane should understand and accept the reality that people should live separately (Mamaila 1996(a):13). Other parents further stated that he (Matukane) was Black and they were Afrikaners and Laerskool Potgietersrus is a school for Afrikaners only (Mamaila 1996(f):1).

- The Afrikaners wanted to preserve their own culture, ethnicity, religion and language. Some were prepared to defend these with their lives (Charle 1996:3; Mamaila 1996(b):1).
Afrikaners had an anxiety, uncertainty and a fear of the future political set up (Minogue 1996:13).

They were afraid that the standard would drop (Mamaila 1996(e):1).

The Northern Province Department of Education’s attempt to talk to the principal and the school governing body did not bear any positive results. Matukane and some of these parents together with Motswaledi, the MEC for Education, were eventually left with no choice, but to take the matter to the supreme Court of South Africa.

6.4.2 Laerskool Potgietersrus matter taken to court

Eighteen Black parents and Motswaledi launched an urgent court interdict and applied for a legal settlement by the South African supreme court. Their legal counsel was Wim Trengove. Motswaledi joined the parents in his official capacity to represent the public interest and also the interests of parents who would like to send their children to the school. Laerskool Potgietersrus, as the respondent, was represented by Daniel Bischoff (De Groof & Bray 1996:363; Mamaila & Charle 1996:1).

Mr Bischoff, on behalf of the respondent, responded to these allegations in the following manner:

- The school was predominantly Afrikaans medium and there was no chance of admitting more learners to the English medium classes to exceed the then existing number of 669 learners (in the whole school).
- The school had an exclusively Christian Afrikaans culture and ethos which would be detrimentally affected or destroyed by admitting learners from a different cultural background.
The school was already overcrowded to the extent that the pre-primary classes were housed in the school's hostel (Charle 1996:3; De Groof & Bray 1996:366-369).

Mr Trengove, for the applicants, dismissed these arguments in that:

- the school was purely practising racism as was evident from the school's admission policy. The school governing body did not ignore the clause in the school's admission policy that read 'Since the school provides a service to the White community, the aforementioned learners must be white'. He further argued that the school governing body never bothered to remove that racist clause from their admission policy for they really meant it (Charle 1996:3).
- the purported refusal on cultural grounds is a poor disguise for a policy that is patently racist (De Groof & Bray 1996:368).

On 16 February 1996, Justice TT Spoelstra, passed judgment against Laerskool Potgietersrus. He indicated that he was satisfied that it had been proven prima facie that racial discrimination was the reason behind the refusal to admit Black children because (De Groof & Bray 1996:363-368; Mamaila & Charle 1996:1):

- In 1995 and 1996 there had been not a single admission of a Black child.
- Each classroom in the English medium was housing 22 learners while the Afrikaans medium classrooms were accommodating 28. That was an indication that more learners could still be accommodated in the English classes. In his view the school was not yet overcrowded.
On the issue of the preservation of culture, he indicated that if the Black children on the respondent's list were admitted, the ratio of Whites to Blacks would be 6:1. It is unlikely and inconceivable that such a small group from various cultural groups could change the school's character and ethos.

The school's waiting list contained only names of Afrikaans-speaking children and not even a single name of English-speaking or Black children. One could infer that the Black children's names had been deliberately omitted because they had not been seriously considered for admission.

The Laerskool Potgietersrus action violated sections 8, 10, 24, and 32 of the Interim Constitution (South Africa 1993(a), sec. 8, 10, 24, 32) and sections 8, 26, 95 of The Northern Province School Education Act 9 of 1995 (South Africa 1995(d), sec. 8, 26, 95). Passing judgment, Justice Spoelstra highlighted the following:

- The respondent may not on the ground of race, ethnic or social origin, culture or language, refuse to admit any child and not permit any child admitted to participate fully in the activities of the school.
- The respondent was interdicted and restrained from refusing unfairly on the grounds of race, colour, ethnic or social origin, culture or language, to allow any child from actively participating in any school activity.
- The respondent was directed to admit the children of all the applicants in that case, and to allow them to participate in all school activities. The respondent had to take all reasonable steps to protect them, particularly against any intimidation, threats or wrongful interference with their access to and participation in the activities of the school.
The respondent was directed to pay the applicants’ costs of suit, and such costs are to include the costs of two counsels (De Groof & Bray 1996:363; Mamaila & Charle 1996:1).

The legal war between the Northern Province Department of Education and Laerskool Potgietersrus on the technicality of the legal system and the implications of the court interdict forced Ramathlodi to lead the Black children to school before the appeal was heard. On 21 February 1996 a delegation, consisting of the Premier, Ngoako Ramathlodi himself and other senior government officials, escorted by strong security, led Black parents into the school to register their children. The delegation monitored the registration of the first Black learners at Laerskool Potgietersrus while a group of Afrikaners demonstrated at the school’s entrance (Mamaila 1996(c):2; 1996 (d):1; 1996(b)1). Ramathlodi was determined to see the school admitting Black learners for in his view the government had a duty to:

... protect the right of our children to learn, play and to be dirty regardless of their skin colour (Mamaila 1996(h):3).

After losing the case in the Supreme court, about 150 Afrikaner parents and the schools governing body under the Chairmanship of Mr K Nel, applied for the case to be referred to the Constitutional Court. Judge Spoelstra rejected the submission on the grounds that in his view, the Constitutional Court would expect him to give judgment (Charle 1996:3). The respondent were at first adamant and convinced that they would win the case because in their view, the court had to protect their basic human rights as a minority group. They were also optimistic that the GNU was obliged to subsidise their education even though the school’s policy was discriminating (Far Right will take on Constitutional Court 1996:2).
It was learnt later that the school governing body had withdrawn their decision to take the case to the Constitutional Court. Motswaledi (Mamaila 1996(g):2) indicated that the respondent had decided to withdraw their plan to approach the Constitutional Court because eventually, they realised that they would never win the case. The forum of political parties failed to resolve the matter in favour of the respondent. Perhaps the respondent had withdrawn their plan to approach the Constitutional Court in the hope that the forum would come to their rescue. The rightwing leaders General Constand Viljoen and Dr F Hartzenberg formed part of that forum. Eventually hundreds of Afrikaner parents started to withdraw their children from schools and preferring that they be taught elsewhere rather than sharing a class with Black learners (Mamaila 1996(g):2; Mamaila & Sapa 1996: 1). By that time the respondent had become aware that their last resort would be to apply for a 'Volk skool' which would be an 'Afrikaners-only private school'.

After loosing the court case and unsuccessful attempts to get the case referred to the Constitutional Court, the parents and the governing body applied for permission to establish a so-called 'Volk skool'.

6.4.3 The Afrikaans 'Volk' school

While still negotiating with the Northern Province to register their new school, the respondent sought refuge in the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk and the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk situated in Potgietersrus (Mamaila 1996(g):2). That did not come as a surprise because even during the Bantu education period, the same family of churches were the only churches that gave their approval to the policy of apartheid education while the rest of the churches in the country opposed it (SABRA 1955:38-39). Although they openly claimed to admit that apartheid was wrong and that they were pursuing a united South Africa (Nurnberger 1990:115; Cochrane 1990:81) they still continued to support racist practices by accommodating a school that discriminated against Black learners. Since the
1990s the same family of churches has been working with leaders of Black churches to reach unity and also working on the project of educating Blacks (Pretoria News 1992:2), yet they still seem to be perpetuating discriminatory policies.

The school’s application was eventually accepted after having been turned down several times. It has been registered as a private school under the name Volkskool (Mamaila 1998(a):4) and is situated about three kilometres south of Potgietersrus.

The Laerskool Potgietersrus saga is an indication that the South African government is committed to the Constitution of the country and the South Africa Schools Act 84 of 1996, which stated that no child will be denied admission on the grounds of race or the colour of his or her skin.

There has also been resistance at Vryburg Hoërskool to the admission of Black learners to this predominantly Afrikaans establishment.

6.5 Resistance at Vryburg Hoërskool

The small town of Vryburg is situated in the rural part of the North West Province. The residents of this town exhibits a problem namely, political intolerance between the different racial groups. Blacks stay in Huhudi, a small township on the outskirts of Vryburg while Whites live in suburbs near the town centre. The inequality with regard to amenities that still exists may also be a contributing factor to the racial tensions at Vryburg Hoërskool (Vryburg High School).

Vryburg Hoërskool is 107 years old. The school was originally an Afrikaans medium school serving the rural conservative White Afrikaner farming community which is spreading up to about 300 to 350km radius around Vryburg (Odhav, Semuli & Ndandini 1999:44). K Odhav and M Ndandini both lecturers at the
University of the North West and M Semuli, a research associate at the Institute of Education of the North West Province, undertook a survey concerning what took place in Vryburg at the beginning of 1999. Their findings were that there had been notorious conflict, violence and confrontation, not only at Vryburg Hoërskool but also in the whole community of Vryburg. The task team on violence, namely the Absolute Constancy, found racism particularly prevalent at the school (Odhav et al. 1999:48-49; Sowetan Comments 1999:10).

The situation at Vryburg Hoërskool School has a history that needs to be exposed in order to understand the fragmented managerial and administrative activities at the school. The genesis of the resistance that led to the flare-up of racial violence at the school is investigated.

6.5.1 The genesis of resistance at Vryburg Hoërskool

At the beginning of 1995 the schools in Huhudi experienced accommodation problems. A temporary agreement was entered into between Huhudi parents, stakeholders and the Vryburg Hoërskool governing body that Black learners would temporarily be accommodated at the Vryburg Hoërskool in separate classrooms as they were to be taught in English. At the end of 1995, the governing body amended its original agreement so that Black learners could be integrated into the school and be taught in Afrikaans as the medium of instruction. After the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) had registered their disagreement on this decision, the school opted for parallel mediums of instruction, namely English and Afrikaans. The school governing body stated that the school would not be responsible for the supply of English medium educators and that a separate school governing body should be responsible for that section of the school (Odhav et al. 1999:45).
These decisions by the school governing body resulted in the initial tensions that arose. For some months Black learners were without tuition while their White counterparts received education. Indeed the school was not coping with providing tuition with the number of educators already at the school. Nine educators had been given severance packages and two had resigned. Due to the moratorium on the employment of educators those educators were not replaced. The only alternative the school had was to increase school fees from R800,00 to R1250,00 so that three educators could be employed privately (Odhav et al. 1999:46-47).

At the beginning of 1998, five learners were suspended from the school for 'bad behaviour'. Public conflict affected the whole Vryburg community. The main cause of the conflict were the slow process of transformation and the increase in fees which was understood to be a strategy to eliminate Black learners from the school as most black parents indicated that they were not able to pay the increased fees. After a mass protest, the suspension of the five learners was withdrawn and this triggered reaction among the White parents who responded by forcibly entering the school and whipping Black learners (Odhav et al. 1999:47).

White parents protested at the rescinding of the suspension of the five learners by sjambokking Black learners and an educator was also implicated in these actions (Odhav et al. 1999:47). It is alleged that the sjambokking took place in the presence of the police and the police captain but this allegation was never confirmed (Dlamini 1998(c)14; Sowetan 1998(a):2).

Both external and internal influences and the attitudes of some children from Afrikaans homes, aggravated the disruption of the learning process (Bengu 1998(a):4). Referring to the unrest situation of Vryburg Hoërskool, Sowetan (1998(b):2) stated that racism had been rife at the school since 1994 and had been portrayed in the form of boycotts and protests. The entire community of Vryburg had also been deeply affected by racial unrest.
6.5.2 Racial unrest at Vryburg Hoërskool

From 1998, on several occasions, the Vryburg Hoërskool was in the media (Mecoamere 1999(d):9). Several racist incidents were reported at Vryburg Hoërskool and members of the community have been in and out of court for about two years. Among the incidents are the following:

- Black learners holding members of the school governing body hostage at the offices of the local education department, demanding reinstatement of six other learners who had been suspended for disciplinary reasons.
- Sjambokking of Black learners by White parents at the school.
- In February 1998, about fifty learners from Vryburg Hoërskool unlawfully occupied the offices of the department of education in the North West Province. They stated that they were:

  ...afraid to attend classes at Vryburg as they feared for their lives... because the education department had failed to resolve the problems... (Mohale & Sapa 1998:2).

These incidents affirmed that the problems in the school were also affecting the entire community of Vryburg. The fifty learners who were supposed to have been arrested walked away from the police station while the Black and White policemen were arguing as to who should charge them (Mohale 1998:8; Mohale & Sapa 1998:2).

After these fifty had walked away free, a group of about 1500 youths from the nearby Black residential area, Huhudi, marched to Vryburg Hoërskool the following day to submit a memorandum. Tension arose when the police tried to stop them. The youths armed with sticks and stones approached the police blockade. Police fired teargas and rubber bullets while angry learners retaliated...
by throwing stones. For four hours no one moved in or out of Huhudi. The situation was reminiscent of the June 16, 1976 Soweto riots (Dlamini 1998 (b):14).

The decision of the North West Province MEC for education, Pitso Dolo to close the school was met by different reactions from the two different racial perspectives. According to the school governing body, Chairperson Dominee J D Venter and Deputy-chairperson Mr de Bruin, the White parents were against the closure of the school and their argument was that (Dlamini 1998 (b):14):

- only 20% of the learners were Black, therefore it was not necessary to close the school because a fifth of the school population was troublesome
- the reasons for closing the school had nothing to do with the school since the youths involved were from Huhudi and not from the school
- only the English medium section should be closed because all Black learners belonged to that section

Contrary to the White parents' argument not to close the school, the Black parents were in favour of the decision to close the school. Black parents wanted the school to be temporarily closed because closing the school would have enable all the stakeholders to negotiate on equal terms with regard to (Dlamini 1998 (b):14):

- the problems of educators in the English section of the school that was regarded as a Black-only problem, and not the problem of the school per se.
- the issue of the raising of school fees from R800, 00 to R1250, 00.
- the allegation that the Computer Science classroom had been paid for by White learners and that only they should have access to it.
From the above discussion one may deduce that the Black parents wanted to use the closure of the school to iron out some administrative and racial tensions in the school. The argument of White parents on the other hand was purely racist.

The North West Province government was aware that the appeal temporarily suspended the court order which meant that the Black learners would remain out of school. It is either closure or suspension of learners after they are being charged. Black learners also indicated their disappointment. One learner stated that there is:

nothing [sic] black student can do that is worthy of praise here. The school authorities are hellbent on demoralising us (Mohale 1998:8).

According to Odhav et al.(1999:47) there have been several investigations aiming at finding an effective way to transform Vryburg Hoërskool. The Premiers' Transformation Task Team was declared ineffective by the Department of Education. SAHRC, SAPS and the Absolute Consultancy Task Team investigated the education crisis at Vryburg Hoërskool in an attempt to find a solution to the ongoing problems.

6.5.3 The Absolute Consultancy Task Team’s enquiries and findings

Finally the North West Province Department of Education commissioned the Absolute Consultancy Task Team under the leadership of Mrs Oakley-Smith to oversee the process of transformation and investigate the crisis and tensions at the school. The main finding of Oakley-Smith's task team was that racism does exist at Vryburg Hoërskool. The following are the task team’s recommendations (Dlamini 1998(d):2; Mecoamere & Education Correspondence 1999:3; Odhav et al. 1999:47-48):
The principal, L T Scholts, should remain in his position although he was indicated to be without vision and was also ignorant concerning transformation.

The student leader, C Shoarane, should be transferred to another school.

A Black deputy principal should be appointed.

One school timetable should serve all learners (there should not be separate school timetables).

The new national anthem should be sung at the school.

The education department's district office in Vryburg should be restructured.

The school should allow parallel language mediums in order to allow English to continue as the optional first language of instruction.

The recreation facilities should be opened to learners of all races.

The school should allow White educators to teach Black learners and visa versa.

The new South African National flag should be hoisted instead of the old South African flag which was flown at that time.

Black parents should be represented in the school governing body, and disciplinary committee, and the Black learners be represented in the Learner Representative Council.

The SAHRC disputed some of the task team's recommendations and in turn recommended that (Dlamini 1998(d):2):

Shoarane, the student leader should not be transferred as it would create a bad precedent in that all vociferous student leaders would be transferred to other schools under the guise of protecting their safety.

A Black principal should be appointed. SAHRC was against the
recommendation of appointing a Black deputy principal for the reason that it is stereotypical and presupposed that the principal would remain a White person

- Black educators be accommodated in the hostels
- the education department, at provincial and national level, appoint an advisor on transformation, racism awareness programmes, curriculum development, integration and the improvement of race relations
- dual medium instruction be phased out by the year 2001. The dual system resulted in inadequate distribution of resources between Black and White learners while it also demanded the duplication of resources. A good example was that a technical subject like Home Economics was not available to Black learners and the Grade 12 (Std 10) Maths and English classes were without educators for a month. With one medium of instruction both human and material resources will serve all learners.

Although the appointment of a Black deputy principal, was one of the recommendations which the government treated as a matter of urgency, it was disputed by the school governing body.

6.5.4 The appointment of the first Black deputy principal at Vryburg Hoërskool

Confrontation followed the appointment of a Black deputy principal Mr M Fuleni. The school governing body, the Federation of Association of Governing Bodies of South African Schools (FAGBSAS), the predominantly White SAOU and White parents were all against the appointment of Fuleni (Dlamini 1999(a):4). Dominee Venter, the chairperson of the governing body, questioned the appointment of Fuleni on the basis that:
his appointment was a breach of the Educators' Employment Act, Proclamation 138 of 1994 (cf. 5.3.1.3) since Fuleni had not applied for the post

the department had not invited an alternative recommendation from the school after recommending Fuleni (Dlamini 1999(a):4; Sapa 1999(c):3).

The School Governing Body’s argument was based on the Schools Act (Potgieter et al. 1997:31-32) which stated procedures for the appointment of principals and deputy principals.

The Deputy Director of Education in the North West Province, Dr Anis Mohamed, argued that he had the prerogative to second an incumbent for a post in terms of the department’s affirmative action policy of bringing equity and representation in the education sector (Lekota 1999(b):4). Venter eventually had to comply with the department’s decision. When welcoming Fuleni he stated that:

He (Fuleni) was dumped on us but it is not his fault. At this stage we accept the man is here ... there is nothing we can do about it and as long as he is here we will support him (Sapa 1999(c):3). We accept him. We do however reject the manner in which he was appointed (Dlamini 1999(a):4).

Tolo, the MEC for education in the province, indicated Fuleni’s transformation mission in the Vryburg Hoërskool as follows:

Fuleni is thus tasked with mobilising support from the community of Vryburg and creating the necessary positive climate to ensure stability, and that the school is managed according to the Schools Act (Dlamini 1999(a):4).

Only two recommendations of the Absolute Consultancy had been heeded up to
June 1999, at the end of term of office of the GNU namely, the flying of the South African national flag and the appointment of the Black deputy principal, Mr M Fuleni.

The following are indicative of racial inequality at Vryburg Hoërskool at the end of the reign of the GNU, and also imply that the school is still not fully transformed because it is still an Afrikaans medium school (Odhav et al. 1999:44; Sowetan, 1998 (a):2):

- Of the twenty classes, fifteen were Afrikaans medium and five English medium.
- Of the whole school population, 517 learners were in the Afrikaans medium classes and 114 learners in English medium classes.
- In the hostels, 165 learners were White and 11 Black.
- Of the whole school governing body, only two members were Black.
- In management, there was only one Black seconded as the deputy principal. His appointment had been disputed on the grounds of the procedures followed in his appointment.
- Due to a shortage of English educators, the same range of subjects was not made available to Afrikaans and English learners.

The transformation of the Vryburg Hoërskool proceeded at a very slow pace (Odhav et al. 1999:48). The appointment of Fuleni was followed by an incident that again fuelled racial tension at the school: a Black learner stabbed a fellow student with a pair of scissors.

6.5.5 The Andrew Babeile's case

On 17 February 1999, the racial conflict at Vryburg Hoërskool resulted in a criminal offence when a nineteen-year-old, Grade 12 (Std 10) learner, Andrew
Babeile, stabbed an eighteen-year-old Grade 9 (Std 7) learner, Christoffel Erasmus, in the neck with a pair of scissors (Molefe 1999(a):3; Sowetan 1999(a):2; Sowetan 1999(b):2).

Babeile was suspended from the school and he was charged with assault with the intention to do grievous bodily harm. After being arrested, he was released on R500,00 bail. Due to pressure from fellow learners and COSAS, Babeile was readmitted to the school in March 1999 (Mecoamere 1999 (d):9; Pela 1999:9). The Babeile issue sparked controversy between the school governing body and the parents and also the department of education around the technicalities of suspension procedures, hence Babeile was readmitted and expelled again the following week (Dlamini 1999(b):4). The changing of Babeile’s original charge of ‘assault’ to ‘attempted murder’, aggravated racial tension. According to the medical report, which motivated the change of the initial charge ‘...the nature of the injury, ... could have caused the death of the other person’ (Sapa 1999(b):3).

Babeile as attacker had acted on racist remarks passed about him by a group of White learners, and the fact that he had been slapped and pushed (Molefe 1999(b):3). Babeile was transferred to Reveilo High School in 2000 while waiting for Magistrate Du Plessis to pass judgment. At the new school, he was once again in the news when he allegedly threatened an educator with a knife. The North West Department of Education decided that it had had enough of the boy and the Deputy Director General, Dr Karodia, served Babeile with a letter of expulsion due to misbehaviour. Babeile was debarred from being admitted at any school in the country, because he was guilty and also over 20 years which is above admissible age according to General Notice 2433 of 1998 in South Africa (Molakeng 2000:4).

Finally, on 10 May 2000, Babeile was sentenced by Morne Swanepoel to five years imprisonment with two years suspended for five years. When passing judgment, the Judge agreed that the stabbing was racially motivated but that did
not warrant such a potentially fatal action (Sapa 2000:3; SABC TV News: 2000(a)10 May). COSAS was not satisfied with the sentence. The following day violence and vandalism erupted in Huhudi as youths protested against Babeile’s sentence (SABC TV News 2000(b)11 May). When he was sentenced, Babeile, together with three others, were still awaiting another sentence for holding members of the Vryburg school governing body hostage at the local Education Department on 23 February 1998. Four of them were demanding that the six fellow learners, who had been suspended, be readmitted (Sapa 2000:3; SABC TV News 2000(a)10 May).

On 23 June 2000, the Vryburg Magistrate’s Court acquitted Babeile on two separate charges of public violence. He was acquitted because the evidence of witnesses had been contradictory (Babeile acquitted of public violence 2000:5; Molefe 2000:16; Sowetan Reporter 2000:3).

Resistance has been the most common reaction to fundamental change in the country. In 1953 there had been resistance to Bantu Education from the church, educators, political and liberation movements, student organisations, the entire Black community, and liberal Whites (Legodi 1996:60-66). In most cases resistance to change flourishes were there is poor communication, little or no active participation and involvement in decision-making and where tensions are allowed to simmer unchecked. To overcome such resistance, it is necessary that there be open lines of communication, involvement of all stakeholders and a positive atmosphere of support, negotiation and agreement.

Dhlomo (1991:133) suggested that constitutional change did not necessarily change people’s attitudes and prejudices. Transformation, besides the policy change, also demanded a change of the hearts and minds of South Africans through which greater human understanding would be promoted. The country therefore needed more than a democratic Constitution and Acts to accomplish
transformation.

6.6 Conclusion

From the exposition in this chapter, it has become clear that the resistance to transformation in education is prevalent in some schools in the country. Dhlomo (1991:134) is optimistic that there had been a tendency among Black political leaders to dismiss out of hand any mention of any concern of the White minority about the future political dominance by Blacks.

This chapter has explored what has been taking place at learning institutions as far as racial discrimination and resistance to transformation are concerned. From the two detailed accounts discussed above (that of Laerskool Potgietersrus and Vryburg Hoërskool), one can conclude that for the entire period of the reign of the GNU there has been resistance in a few White schools. The Constitution of the country and Schools Act played a major role in the decisions taken to resolve problems at the two institutions discussed in some detail.

There is a dire need for a qualitative new basis which must ‘prima facie’ take into account the centuries of imbalance created by colonialism and apartheid. There is a need to take into account the interest of all the people. Selfish group interests cannot be considered. For the new democracy to work, public interests, including education, must serve the whole country.

In the concluding chapter the researcher considered retrospection of the entire research. The findings, conclusion and recommendations that underpin this research were critically formulated.
CHAPTER 7

FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

In this thesis the researcher focussed on educational transformation in South Africa from 1994 to 1999 during the time the Government of National Unity governed South Africa. South Africans had looked forward to the 1994 elections as an event that would transform the country.

The evaluation was done, keeping the previous apartheid system in mind. To put this last chapter in perspective, it is necessary to provide a brief retrospection on the previous chapters. Findings from this research are discussed and conclusions and recommendations are briefly highlighted in the subsequent sections.

7.2 Retrospection

The first chapter aimed at introducing and acquainting the reader with a detailed scope of the entire area of research. The statement of the problem was put forth in that chapter, together with the aim of the research, which was to focus on educational change brought about by the GNU. A further aim of chapter one was to demarcate the contents of this research in order to avoid discussing issues not related to the topic. The method of research and approaches to be followed in this research were also defined. Also in chapter one, the concepts on which the entire research is based, were explained. Such concept explication is essential to avoid confusion and it provides delimitation of each concept and how each concept should be understood within the scope of this research.

In chapter two the researcher exposed the essential issues that characterised
education in South Africa in the past, when education had been used as a tool to
divide the nation. Before the exposition of essential issues in education, it was
necessary to bring to light the legislation relevant to education. This research also
followed the history of discrimination which determined the direction of the entire
education system in South Africa. Legislation and its influence on education were
discussed (cf. 2.3). Issues characterising the previous system of education were
explored in detail (cf. 2.4).

The culture of teaching and learning in the country in the pre-election period was
discussed in this chapter as another essential issue that characterised education.
The culture of learning and learners’ attitudes towards education were discussed.
The culture of teaching and the attitudes of educators and their problems were
also examined. Professionalism and unionism were discussed as they affected the
quality of education. Farm schools and problems surrounding them, also formed
an important section of chapter two. The absence of affirmative action and gender
inequality could not be ignored as they were characteristics of the previous system
of education that adversely affected education.

In chapter three possible transformation strategies which could benefit South
Africa were researched. The liberalist theory of change was discussed. Since
South Africa is now multicultural the concept of multicultural received special
attention. The origin, characteristics, goals and essential conditions for effective
multicultural education were explored. Chapter three also concentrated on
theories related to multicultural approaches to educational change such as
amalgamation, assimilation and cultural pluralism.

Attention was also given to theories of educational change which originated in
Africa, such as Africanisation and its sister theories, African Renaissance and
Peoples’ Education. There are many educationists whose approaches to change
made a difference in education but the scope of this thesis could not contain all
their perspectives. The perspectives that were discussed in this research are those of the educationists whose writings had been made available to the researcher and are relevant to this research.

The conditions of service for educators and the culture of teaching were investigated in chapter four which also looked into new education legislation. The circumstances that shaped and preceded transformation and new education legislation were exposed in this chapter. The researcher did not lose sight of the fact that for some time prior to 1994, the way had been paved for change as many organisations and commissions had started preparing for education transformation. The De Lange Commission, the National Education Policy Investigation and the Education Policy Unit were a few of these organisations that were included in this study. The role played by the GNU, as the initial government in the democratic South Africa, in transforming the country was also explored. The passing of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, the White Paper on Education, the democratic Constitution of South Africa and the Schools Act were highlighted in this chapter.

Aspects that were prioritised were the dismantling of racial discrimination at institutions of learning, achievement of equal education for all, an authentic aim of education and the acknowledgement of cultural diversity. The realisation of a suitable curriculum and the medium of instruction were addressed in chapter four.

The culture of teaching and learning formed the basis of the discussion in chapter five. The researcher considered it important to discuss what was actually happening in the classroom (internal) and the immediate environment (external) where transformation was taking place. Matters that received attention were: cheating, irregularities in the finalisation of Grade 12 (Std 10) results, the high crime rate in schools and the protest against high fees at tertiary institutions. The role played by the media was scrutinised in the completion of this chapter, as most
of the sources consulted were primary sources. After bringing to light the conditions of service of educators, a survey of the actual situation at institutions of learning was undertaken. Educators' criminal behaviour and unprofessional conduct were brought to light and the influence of professionalism and unionism on the transformation process were evaluated. The educators' strike during the reign of the GNU when all registered teachers' unions in the country brought education to a stand-still was investigated. Educators, particularly SADTU members, were criticised by the GNU leadership. There was widespread criticism of SADTU's political alliance, SADTU's executive and educationists and intellectuals all over the country. In this chapter, the culture of teaching and learning at farm schools during the five years of the reign of the GNU was evaluated. The researcher also investigated learners leaving public schools in their neighbourhoods to travel long distances to private schools and formally White-only schools in cities. A discussion of affirmative action and gender equality formed the final part of this chapter.

This research could not have been concluded without evaluating the level of racism in South African education as it had been the basis on which the previous system of education was founded. Chapter six assessed fundamental changes in education as far as racial discrimination is concerned. Various forms of resistance from some of the members of the White minority were discussed. Two schools which experienced racial tension, namely Laerskool Potgietersrus in the Northern Province and Vryburg Hoërskool in the North West were dealt with at length. In the last chapter, chapter seven, findings, conclusions and recommendations are provided.
7.3 Findings

After an intensive literature study concerning education transformation in South Africa and from a number of verbal investigations, several findings came to light, and they are discussed in the subsequent paragraphs.

7.3.1 The culture of teaching and learning is not yet fully restored

The culture of teaching and learning has been eroded prior to the first democratic elections. In some schools no effective teaching is taking place, discipline has become a problem, educators' morale is at its lowest ebb while there is lack of professionalism among educators.

7.3.1.1 Effective teaching is not taking place at some schools

In most schools as discussed in chapter 6 (cf. 6.2) effective teaching has not been taking place. Both internal and external factors had a negative effect on education. Crime in schools affected education more than it has ever done in this country. The SABC drama series Yizo Yizo depicted the real situation in most Black schools all over the country (cf. 5.2.3).

7.3.1.2 No effective disciplinary measures at schools

The Constitution of the country seems to have frustrated school managers and leadership as far as disciplinary measures are concerned. With the type of learners the country has and with the Constitution which protects the rights of all, even the criminals, there seems to be little effort made at schools towards restoring discipline. While so much has been written on children's rights, very little has been written about their responsibilities. Mr D Balt (Altenroxel 1998:8) of the National Union of Educators, emphasised how severe the problem of discipline
was, averring that everybody in every school and institution, was under the pressure of ill-disciplined learners.

The use of corporal punishment was controversial. The Constitution of the country prohibits the use of corporal punishment. To some, corporal punishment is abusive and unconstitutional. To others, it is biblical and should be used if necessary.

The use of corporal punishment was controversial as in the case of Christian Education SA versus Minister of Education (Case No 2960/98 in the South Eastern Cape Local Division). A christian independent school took the Minister of Education to court to demand for the free use of corporal punishment. The school lost the case because the Constitution, which is the supreme law of the country, prohibits it (Christian Education SA v Minister of Education 1999:1-2). The withdrawal of corporal punishment was deemed necessary by some educators.

7.3.1.3 Educators' morale at its lowest ebb

While teaching had in the past been one of the most respected and noble profession, during the period under investigation, teaching lost the honour and respect it had had. In most schools there was no effective teaching. The quality and competency of some educators could be seriously questioned. The majority of the educators employed in the country during the reign of the GNU, created uncertainty that the education system would be in a position to produce the warm, caring and compassionate, thinking, skilled, competent and knowledgeable citizens the country so desperately needed (cf. 3.4.4.2-3.4.4.3).

7.3.1.4 The lack of professionalism among educators

Some educators during the GNU rule displayed unprofessional behaviour such as a lack of respect for one another and for learners, lack of co-operation and visions
among educators, sexual abuse and harassment of their learners, absenteeism, use of corporal punishment and drunkenness. Examinations were bedevilled by poor invigilation with educators being responsible for allowing cheating. There were even cases where false examination marks were awarded in exchange for favours of a sexual or other nature (cf. 5.2.5).

Since the culture of teaching and learning has not yet been restored the Grade 12 (Std 10) results remained low for the entire period the GNU was in power. The next section examined the findings concerning the matric results.

7.3.2 Poor matric results

The Grade 12 (Std 10) results for the entire period of the reign of the GNU did not indicate a significant improvement. The total pass rate in the nine provinces indicates a decline of 15% between 1995 and 1997. An increase of 1.9% was manifested the following year, i.e. 1998. In 1999 the results dropped again by 0.4% (cf. 4.4.2.3). Kane-Berman (1999:8) indicated that the education system as a whole was under-performing to the extent that the matric pass rate was a third of what it had been twenty years ago.

7.3.3 The GNU and the basic demands for resources

The following had not been provided satisfactorily by the GNU:

- Books and stationary
- Competent educators
- Adequate and enough classrooms
- Competent principals
Instead of fulfilling the above demands, the GNU allowed competent educators to leave the profession through the severance package offer (Bengu 1997:6; Mecoamere 1997(d):2; Naidu 1998(a):2).

7.3.4 Lack of confidence in the former Black-only schools

Parents, educationists, leaders of teacher’s unions, the GNU and even learners had for the past five (1994-1999) years registered their concern and loss of confidence in most of the educators at Black schools (cf. 5.5 & 5.7). This problem raised serious concern to the extent that parents sent their children to formerly White-only schools. Enrolling children in these schools was however, not the solution to this problem. The question arose as to what would happen to the children of the low income group who could not afford such facilities.

7.3.5 Racism still exists in some former White schools

This study revealed that racism still exists in South Africa. Several incidents occurring in schools are indicative of serious problems that need to be addressed as a matter of urgency. Two occurrences were highlighted, namely those at the Laerskool Potgietersrus and the Vryburg Hoërskool (cf. 6.4 & 6.5). Undeniable racism had been experienced in these two schools. In some schools around the country, where Black and White educators are working together or where Blacks are employed in institutions managed by Whites, there have been incidents motivated by racism (cf. 6.3).

7.3.6 Crime is rife at institutions of learning

Since 1994 crime has been rife in institutions of learning (cf. 5.2.2). Schools are no longer places of learning but some have become havens for criminals. Schools are also no longer safe places for children and educators. Even the journeys to
and from school have become nightmares with learners' transport being hijacked.

7.3.7 Lack of reliable and competent administration officials

The examination irregularities exposed by SAFCERT and Acting Judge Bertelmann in Mpumalanga during the 1998 examinations indicated the lack of reliable and honest administrative officials in the education department (cf. 5.6.3.1). Irregularities also occurred at institutions of learning where certificates were issued to learners who had not sat for the examinations. In some instances an educator who had been arrested for faking certificates had continued to receive his salary for twelve months after he had last set foot in a classroom (cf. 5.5.3). Over a period of five years there had been leakages of examination papers (cf. 5.2.5). Officials employed by the GNU had been responsible for the leakage of Grade 12 (Std 10) examination question papers from the department of education to the learners. The learners then sold and circulated these papers. Such practices were condemned by the GNU.

Mothapo (1997:10) blamed the GNU for the poor employment conditions of educators. He felt that the poor planning and inefficiency of officials and leaders resulted in educators and principals becoming demotivated.

7.3.8 The future of farm schools at stake

Schooling in farm schools have not been without problems. Since 1994, farm schools had been without adequate resources. Some citizens attempted to come to the rescue of fellow South Africans by inviting them to make use of their resources (cf. 5.8).

Many farmers wanted the schools on their farms to be closed. Closure of farm schools has been used as a way of resisting transformation.
7.3.9 Disempowered managers

Taunyane (Vilardo 1992:27) argued that until principals could be real managers with real authority, there would always be basic problems at our schools. Principals were living under traumatic conditions both inside and outside the schools. Many had even been assaulted and killed on the school premises in front of their colleagues and learners by their own colleagues (cf. 5.5.1). Instead of managing their schools with authority, most have withdrawn in order to save their own lives. Mothapo (1997:10) described the situation as pathetic because Area and Circuit Managers as well as principals feel powerless and they become reluctant to change from a state of defiance and negativism to a state of cooperation, dedication and constructivism.

7.3.10 Curriculum

Curriculum 2005 is still irrelevant to South African schools. Curriculum 2005 has been in use in schools for the past three years but has not yet been effectively implemented. Educators were not properly trained while some schools could not implement it due to a lack of related resources. Some educators were reluctant to implement it as they claimed it was not relevant to South Africans.

7.3.11 No effective policy on gender equality

There are still practices reflecting the broader discriminatory tendencies against women. The number of women in senior management positions in the education system bears testimony to this gender discrimination. This unfortunate tendency has pervaded all levels of the public sector, including schools. There is still a concentration of women at junior levels of the public service. This practice perpetuated the belief that women were not fit to hold top positions in the education system. It is unfortunate that women by their actions at times help to
perpetuate this discrimination against them (cf. 5.11).

7.4 Conclusion

According to the statement of the problem and the indication of the direction in which this study was to unfold, as explicated in Chapter 1, it may be concluded that the GNU has succeeded in laying the basic foundations of transformation in the country. Its commitment to legislating and amalgamating the previous fragmented departments of education is acknowledged as a positive step towards transformation. Many of the results of the efforts of the GNU could not yet be seen at the end of their term of office because transformation is a gradual and continuous process that cannot be achieved overnight. Despite the GNU transformation attempts, it is evident that there are many aspects that still need immediate attention as they are not yet completely transformed.

7.5 Recommendations

The recommendations which are suggested by the completion of this research for effective transformation in South Africa constitute a critical challenge to education policy makers. The researcher is confident that the policy makers will respond to these challenges with ability, imagination and commitment.

7.5.1 Aims for long-term transformation

From what has been revealed in this study, it has become clear that the country needs long-term planning for transformation. Short term measures are not recommended as compared to long-term transformation. Rapid short-term delivery of superficial changes may have the disadvantage of having little more than cosmetic effect on the deeper processes of learning and teaching.
The government should avoid a top-down management approach and the department should avoid imposing unilateral decisions from the top. Decisions on these systems and procedures should be versed and finalised through workshops and management training sessions. Decisions imposed from above will not be seen by school managers as their own and as a result they will always regard such decisions as foreign and as being imposed on them against their will.

7.5.2 Language

African children in particular need an extensive upgrading of the meagre education with which they had been provided, in order to catch up with their White counterparts. Since they lack proficiency in English, they will need special tutoring as English is the language of instruction in many schools.

7.5.3 In-service training

Black educators were not trained the same way as their Coloured, Indian and White counterparts. After amalgamating all fragmented systems of education, the need for retraining in order to close the gaps that existed during the previous systems became apparent. The deficiency in the training of some educators should not be underestimated as the damage it may cause may hamper the transformation process.

7.5.4 The need to combat racism in learning institutions

To be able to handle non-racist and multicultural classes and to adjust to non-racist staff meetings, there is the need for exposure to situations that would assist educators to understand their colleagues, their behaviour and their customs.
In their bid to reconstruct South African schooling, the policy makers should keep in mind the challenge of the country's biggest enemy, racism. Educators, parents and the government should never hope or take for granted that racism will quietly go away on its own. Racism in South Africa, constituted a constellation of negative attitudes which was systematically infused in peoples' lives. It cannot simply vanish on its own without some active participation in a concerted effort to get rid of it.

7.5.5 Provision of security at schools

The armed robberies that have been taking place in schools, as well as vandalism and burglaries, need to be addressed at national level. Prominent principals, leaders and hard-working educators have been brutally murdered in their offices and classrooms. Very limited efforts have been made to ensure adequate security at schools. On the whole, it has been left to individual schools to provide security measures which may not work since some schools are financially not capable of providing viable security. Mr O Ragolane, General Secretary of PEU (former TUATA), condemned the government for not reacting in time. He called on the government to concentrate on those issues which are of utmost importance namely, the safety of educators and learners. Other teachers' organisations have been calling for security at schools but to no avail (Sowetan Correspondence 1997(b):7).

In instances where crime was instigated by the prospect of gaining a cash reward, the would-be-criminals were apparently under the impression that the whole year's income was kept at the school. The education department should encourage school governing bodies to come up with safe methods of collecting money from parents. The money could be directly deposited into the school's banking account. In urban areas, the school could arrange with the parents and the SAPS or a security service for a specific day on which school moneys could be collected.
Such arrangements need the support of the departments and the community.

7.5.6 Lack of effective support systems

A lack of effective remedial, psychological and guidance services and school social and welfare support at institutional level, slowed down transformation. The support services should be available at every school so that social, emotional, psychological, career guidance and counselling problems could be addressed immediately. There has been senseless killings within the school premises and even in classrooms in front of learners and also instances of rape that affected the whole schooling system.

7.5.7 Appointment of principals

The appointment of new principals and vice-principals needs to be carefully handled by the Department to ensure that the leaders who assume these positions are capable of leading, managing and facilitating the transformation process. Interviewing strategies should be effective and be the responsibility of professionals and educationists from the department and not some ‘illiterate’ school governing body members who do not know what is expected of a good educational leader. When such appointment is done professionalism is eroded in the name of transparency. The education standard is dropped. There is also a need to appoint candidates on the basis of competency and not personal preference and loyalty to either political organisations or the so called ‘child of the soil’.

7.5.8 Revisiting teachers’ right to strike

Since there has been concern about the right of educators to strike, there is a need to revisit the conditions of this privilege. Like the police and the health
services which are some of the essential services demanded by human rights, education also needs to be classified as an essential service in order to avoid having a generation which cannot be properly educated. There have been appeals from the Azanian People's Organisation's (AZAPO) Mosibudi Mangena, and Rudi Heine of the Democratic Party (DP), to amend section 71 (10) of the LRA (South Africa 1995(a), sec. 71) to include teaching as one of the essential services, of which the members are not allowed to go on strike. This right needs to be re-examined and adjusted to the benefit of the children whose education and future are entrusted in the hands of educators (Mona 1999:13).

7.5.9 The improvement of educators' salaries and conditions of service

Educators who are equipped with the latest knowledge and skills are misplaced, i.e those who are in work situation and positions where their talents and capabilities cannot be utilised, delayed transformation process. It is therefore recommended that to enhance transformation, it is imperative for the government to treat its educators fairly not only by negotiating but also by implementing in good faith and to uphold its agreements (Thembela 1990:42). Unless the salaries and conditions of service of educators are improved, their frustrations will always have an adverse impact on education and transformation (cf. 5.6.3). A better salary structure should be negotiated. Conditions of service, which would encourage further study, research, and provide the motivation to adventure and explore various fields, should be made available. With this facility, South Africa will eventually have educators who are lifelong students. But without such opportunities, the teaching profession will have educators who are passive and unable to meet challenges and change. Chivore (1990:312) warns that inadequate pay levels for educators affect the status and stability within the profession and create frustration which could result in militancy and a decline in educational and professional standards.
7.5.10 The need to design an effective gender equality policy

From the findings in this investigation, the researcher recommends that an effective gender policy should not only be legislated but should also be practically incorporated in the appointment and promotion of educators. It is the responsibility of the government to promote gender equality. Davies in his studies of leadership in developing commonwealth countries (Riley 1994:92), discovered that women and men are equally ambitious that women are generally more highly qualified than men and in both public and private sectors are more concerned with the challenge of the job than men.

7.5.11 Transforming teaching at institutional level

If the transformation of education is to succeed, educators must be at liberty to make informed decisions and share power equally. This requires training of principals and educators and ample opportunities for power sharing (Steyn 1998:131).

7.5.12 The development of a strong administrative power base

The researcher recommends that a culture of serving the community ought to be cultivated among the administrators and public workers in order to uplift the morale of educators and school principals. This recommendation calls for a 'horse for shoe policy' (cf. 3.4.3.1) where the right people are given responsibilities. Those in leadership positions have the responsibility for transforming members of the public service into real servants of the public, through practising and setting examples of public morality and ethical conduct (Bunsee 1999:7).
7.5.13 Compulsory HIV/AIDS Programmes

The researcher recommend that HIV/AIDS be included as a compulsory programme in all schools. Learners need to be informed and make AIDS awareness part of their lives. This might reduce the number of people affected with the decease every day in the country.

7.5.14 Change of attitude amongst South Africans

To combat resistance against transformation it is essential that channels of communication be opened amongst racial groups and various ethnic groups. There is a dire need for mutual involvement, support and negotiation amongst South Africans. With such an approach there will eventually be a change of heart and mind-set. The new South Africa has no room for selfish group interests but instead the new democracy needs to be natured with public interest and respect for one another.

7.6 Conclusion

From the initial chapters of this study it has been indicated that unrest at schools left much damage to both material and human resources. The liberation struggle had a negative impact on education in the country. The struggle affected the departments, parents, learners and the community at large.

Education has perhaps been the most complex and burdened of services in the country. Being the keystone of public policy-making and an instrument for social reform, education has been expected to fuel economic growth, facilitate equality of opportunities and afford some social justice to the deprived. There should not have been any reason for denying Blacks their purpose of existence because a person is born to self-actualise as averred by Matin Buber (in Sonn 1986(f):172):
Every person born into this world represents something new, something that has never existed before, something original and unique ... and is called upon to fulfil his particular role in this world.

The GNU played a major role in the transformation of education in South Africa, however the damage done by the apartheid policies of the National Party in over forty years could not be eradicated in five years. At the end of its term of office, the GNU left behind the legacy of a well established single and non-discriminatory education department. It also left behind a legacy of sound policies of governing education and the rest of the country. The next government inherits a duty to dedicate itself to seeing South Africa totally transformed.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


292


Chambers' Twentieth Century Dictionary. 1995. S.v. 'professionalism' Oxford: [s.n.].


Christian Education v Minister of Education. 1999. SA 1092(SE) Case No.2960/98. [S.l.:s.n.]


City Press. 1999. 28 February:10.


Department of Education. 1995. **Report of the committee to review the organisation, governance and funding of schools.** Pretoria.


Facts and figures: *Education in South Africa* [s.n.].


Hlophe, D. 1999(c). We can learn from our fellow Africans. City Press, 1 August:7.


Mabaso, H. 1999. Yizo should be removed from the TV. City Press. 4 April:22.


Makgoba, M.W. 1999. Telephone interview. 2 May.


Mecoamere, V. 1999(e). Teacher Unions still unhappy with the talks. Sowetan, 9 June:5.


Mecoamere, V. 1999(g). S.A education is in crisis; says Asmal. Sowetan, 28 July:3.


Mecoamere, V. & Education Correspondence. 1999. Vryburg school to be transformed. Sowetan, 2 May:3.


Mulaudzi, M. 1997(c). Education' a disaster'. *Sowetan*, 20 February:12.


Naidu, M. 1998(c). Orange Farm Schools lack basic resources. Sowetan, February 26:17.


Perspectives in Education, 10(1):13-41.


323


Ramogale, M. 1997(c). Teachers, pupils need to shape up. Sowetan, 5 March:11.

Ramogale, M. 1997(d). Wanted: More self-analysis, Black intellectuals need to shift their focus away from white bashing. Sowetan, 1 September:9.


SABC (South African Broadcasting Co-operation) TV News. 2001. 08 August.


SABRA (South African Bureau of Racial Affairs) 1955. Bantu Education: Oppression or opportunity. Stellenbosch [s.n.].

SACE: [S.a.] Code of conduct, registration procedures, disciplinary mechanisms [S.l.:s.n.].


328
Schools & Teachers Under Apartheid. [S.a.] W.U.S. Briefing. Education for development [S.l.:s.n.].


Sowetan. 1996(b). 6 November (ii).


Sowetan. 1998 (b) 16 April:2.


Sowetan. 1999 (a) Pupils (19) stabs another in race quarrel. 18 February:2.

Sowetan. 1999 (b) 23 February:2.


Sowetan Correspondence. 1997(b). Teacher deplore classroom crime. 28 August:7.


Taunyane, L. 1997. Media statement issued in Pretoria by Mr Leepile Taunyane, President of the National Professional Teachers’ Organisation of South Africa (NAPTOSA) on 5 June 1997. NAPTOSA’s response to the offer by the State as employer. 4 June 1997.


*Times*. 1996. 11 October.


Van den Heever, R. 1986. *A decade of struggle. The hopes and purposes of Franklin A. Sonn's ten years as President of the Cape Teachers Professional Association*. Cape Town: CTPA.


