CRITICAL TEACHING UNDER THE BANTU EDUCATION SYSTEM

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A thesis submitted as a partial fulfilment for the degree
of Master of Arts at Saint Mary's University

July 25, 1990

NOTICE

AVIS

ISBN   0-315-60438-7

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ABSTRACT

Bantu Education is a part of the overall, well-considered policy of systematically maintaining white hegemony over blacks so that the former may continuously exploit the latter. This study examines, in general, how Bantu education serves the economic, ideological and political functions of maintaining, reinforcing and producing the relations of production under apartheid. It specifically looks at the complexities of teacher classroom practices, at how these practices are influenced by government policy on education and by the pressures exerted on teachers' by students, parents and their own political consciousness. In this study, I explore the ways in which some teachers struggle to make learning under apartheid more 'empowering'. I conclude, however, by arguing that because of the lack of a critical awareness by teachers and the level of ability of teachers based on lack of training and exposure, such empowering practices are minimal and controversial. In order for any meaningful changes to occur within the education system, it is essential for teachers to develop a 'critical consciousness', in which the inequalities of apartheid South Africa are recognized and addressed in pedagogical practices.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my father.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ANC	African National Congress
ATASA	African Teachers' Association of South Africa
AZASO	Azanian Students' Organization
BC	Black Consciousness
BPC	Black People's Convention
CATA	Cape African Teachers Association
CNE	Christian National Education
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DET	Department of Education and Training, formerly Department of Bantu Education
HOD	Head of Department
ISA	Ideological State Apparatus
NEUSA	National Education Union of South Africa
NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
PAC	Pan African Congress
PMburg	Pietermaritzburg
PTA	Parent Teachers Association
RSA	Repressive State Apparatus
SACP	South African Communist Party
SASO	South African Students' Organization
UDF	United Democratic Front

INTRODUCTION

The history of the Bantu education system for Blacks in South Africa mirrors the broader history of enslavement, oppression and exploitation characteristic of the socio-economic and political philosophy of apartheid. Apartheid is a philosophy based on racial separateness, on the belief of white supremacy and black inferiority. As a racist-capitalist state, South Africa uses Bantu Education to reproduce its apartheid philosophy, its socio-economic and political relations. Bantu Education can be historically viewed as a subtle emerging ideological state apparatus used to indoctrinate Blacks to accept and acquiesce to an inferior station. Bantu education was officially endorsed by the declaration of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. Henry Verwoerd, then Minister of Native Affairs and later Prime Minister, explained it to the Senate of the South African Parliament in 1954:

> There is no place for him [the Black person]
> in the European community above the level
> of certain forms of labour... For that reason
> it is of no avail for him [sic] to receive a
> training which has as its aim absorption into
> the European community... Until now he
> has been subject to a school system which
> drew him away from his own community
> and misled him, by showing him the green

pastures of European society in which he
was not allowed to graze. . . What is the use
of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when
it cannot use it? (In Mathonsi, 1988, p. 12).

Although this statement was uttered almost 35 years ago, even today,

the South African education system still reflects the Verwoerdian mentality

of white supremacy and the premise that the role of Black South Africans in

society is to create the wealth of White South Africans. It is also important to

note that though the term Bantu Education is no longer used -- it has been

substituted by other names, for example, the Department of Bantu Education

changed the name to the Department of Education and Training -- the

philosophy of Bantu Education still prevails in apartheid South Africa.

Since its implementation, Bantu Education has been strongly resisted,

opposed and struggled against. Initially, the struggle against Bantu

Education was pioneered by the African National Congress which mobilised

students and attempted to establish "cultural clubs" where education outside

state control was provided. Unfortunately, the government responded by a

crackdown on all these activities. By the 1970's, however,

opposition against Bantu Education had multiplied. The philosophy of Black consciousness, together with the success of liberation struggles in Angola and Mozambique, also helped raise the Black South Africans' will to resist. Major resistance was manifested by students of Bantu education. The initial dominant strategy of students' resistance was simple class boycott or "stayaway" which was later supported by black trade unions and community organizations. This act of solidarity became a positive factor for the "revolutionary students" in that it left the government with not one group of opponents to 'deal with' but, rather, a large segment of the society.

The 1980's witnessed a very high rise in the number of pupils involved in some form of class boycott or similar acts of defiance. For instance, by the end of 1984, over 30,000 pupils were staying away from school on a "semi-permanent basis." (UNICEF, 1987, p. 4). This situation resulted in a declaration of the state of emergency in June, 1985 in which many youth leaders were detained. According to the government itself, more than 2,000 children under 18 years were detained between July 1985 and January

1986 -- a quarter of all those detained by the state (UNICEF, 1987, p. 6).

Moving into the 1990's, despite deKlerk's reforms, it appears that the hope of resolving political and economic issues is still very faint. These issues are accompanied by a violent escalation of educational crises and student uprisings that are encompassing the whole of South Africa

This thesis is an attempt to analyse the crises within the Bantu education system. It intends to describe generally how the apartheid South African government has manipulated and abused education for the maintenance of white domination and the preservation of the Afrikaner (White South African) cultural identity and how black South Africans have resisted and struggled against this hegemony. This study focuses particularly on the role of black teachers in this struggle and raises questions about the role of black schools in apartheid South Africa, questions which are also part of wider concerns within the liberation struggle.

In this study I draw from the experiences of my parents: my father who worked and struggled as a teacher in different Bantu Education

schools; and of my mother who is still struggling and who continues to teach others to survive and struggle under the Bantu system. From both my parents, I found the strength to fight against the system, and from their experiences, I learned strategies of beating the system, of how to struggle and to survive. I further draw from the educational experiences of my friends, and of my younger sister and brother who, because of my parents' return to South Africa in 1975, after living outside the country for eight years, have had to make more adjustments than either my older sister or me. I also draw from my own experiences, especially my experiences of teaching as a black woman in South Africa.

As a teacher, I witnessed and lived the insane realities that, as black people, we have to endure. Some of these realities cannot go unmentioned. One of the most vivid and painful experiences I recall as a teacher occurred in 1988 on our way, as a school, to bury one of our students who had been killed by state police during demonstrations. Halfway through the journey, our buses were stopped by the state police. We were searched for weapons and warned against any "revolutionary activities". After an hour or so, we

were allowed to board the buses and, once more, we set off for the graveyard. A few minutes later, we were again stopped by another group of state police who ordered us off the buses and ventured to search us again. The students could no longer tolerate this and, seeing that we were not very far from our destination, they started the journey by foot, half running, half dancing, singing 'toyi toyi' (songs of the struggle), ignoring the police shouts that they should come back. Without any warning the police opened both fire and tear gas. I could hear cries and screams from the crowd, and I know that one of the screams came from me. What could I do? As a teacher this was my first confrontation with violence. This time, I could not just run away. I knew I had to be there, to do something, and yet I felt powerless and very vulnerable. Three of our students died that day. It was a sad day. Yet, when I look back, I realize that this incident instilled in all of us the will to fight on. Poems were written (see Appendix A), plays were acted and songs were sung as responses to this devastating abuse.

Throughout my teaching, I was challenged, frustrated and moved by many of my students' experiences. I taught students who would come to

school without any food, school books or pens. I felt I had to instill in these students, as my parents had in me, the desire to go on, never to give up. When some disagreed with my idea of education as one of the weapons against apartheid, and ventured to join the arms struggle, I never condemned them for I believe that, indeed, there are many paths to freedom. Together we explored ways of survival and learned from each other. I remember in one of my Standard 9 classes I asked students to write a composition on the topic "The most beautiful day in my life". (It is worth mentioning here that this occurred a week after my family had thrown a big party to celebrate my graduation from university. This had been and remains one of the most beautiful days in my life. I assumed that everyone of my students must, at one point in time, have felt the way I had felt that day.) One of the students came to me and said, "Miss, I don't remember any beautiful day in my life, but I sure do have some days that I will never forget. Only that they were not beautiful." I responded by asking her what day she would like to write about. She said she would like to write about a horrifying experience when the police came into her house, shot and killed her father, kicked and beat her for crying out aloud, and ended up

taking her mother with them. She further suggested that I change the topic

to "A day I will never forget". Such incidents taught me, inspired me to go

on, and instilled in me the belief that through sharing our experiences with

others, we can come to understand better the nature of our suffering and

devise means to confront it and change it. This thesis is based on this belief.

To understand more clearly some of the complexities of teaching under

apartheid, I chose to interview fifteen teachers in the Pietermaritzburg area

of South Africa, an area in which I myself taught. The interviews were

carried out between June and August 1989 with teachers who teach and

have taught in general schools for a period of more than three years (see

Chapter Three for the grouping of schools in Pietermaritzburg.) I chose these

teachers because they teach arts subjects -- subjects which form the base of

the Bantu education curriculum, yet, as some of these teachers will

demonstrate, which also allow more space for critical classroom practices.

These interview data constitute the basis of the discussion in Chapters Three

and Four.

The thesis is divided into five chapters.

The first chapter is an outline of the theories that help to shape this

study: reproduction and production theories of education and culture. In this chapter I draw from the reproduction theories of Althusser, Bowles and Gintis, Bernstein and Bourdieu in an attempt to analyze the structural and functional production and reproduction of South African society. I also use the production theories of Gramsci, Giroux and Freire in order to analyze the acts of resistance, struggle, and counter-hegemony, that have dominated the South African Bantu Education Institutions.

The first part of chapter two gives an historic background to the emergence of Bantu Education and its anticipated benefits by the South African Nationalist Party. This is done to expand the reproduction theory -- the use of Bantu Education to reproduce South Africa's socio-economic and political relations. The second part of this chapter briefly describes the strategies employed by students, workers, and parents, against Bantu Education since 1954. This introduces the chain of crucial events leading to the situation in South Africa today. It is here where we see the emergence of "people's education", community-based, non-racial democratic curricula being developed as an alternative to the state education system.

Chapter three is an analysis of the school curriculum by teachers in the Pietermaritzburg area. The analysis of the curriculum in this study is mainly focused on the textbooks used in schools, particularly those textbooks used in the teaching of history, literature and the languages.

In chapter four, the voices of the teachers are heard on controversies surrounding their teaching position. I examine the contradictory position of the teachers, how, for instance, on one hand, teachers have to teach and practise according to the government policy on education and how, on the other hand, they have to teach and practice according to the pressures exerted upon them by students, parents, and their own political consciousness. I explore the different strategies th t teachers employ in an effort to teach to "empower" their students, and the factors that limit steps towards this kind of teaching.

In the final chapter, I offer alternative strategies to the contemporary conflict - laden education system. I look at different angles that coul be used by teachers to raise the "critical consciousness" of their students and conclude that such transformation cannot occur unless the critical awareness of the teachers themselves is raised and unless teachers become prepared

become prepared to struggle against apartheid. I suggest a systematic approach to the teaching of both students and teachers. Despite the complexity of the current crises in the education system, a fundamental structural change is vital.

CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Moving into the 1990's, the situation in South Africa, still characterized by boycotts, uprisings in the townships, strikes, demonstrations, mass detentions, and stay-aways, makes the work of teachers frustrating, challenging and complex.

Teachers are directly affected by these crises and are continuously facing a number of dilemmas due to their contradictory position. For instance, over the past years parents have continuously accused teachers of not being able to discipline the so-called "revolutionary" students. On the other hand, students are also attacking teachers whom they refer to as "sell-outs" or agents of apartheid. Teachers are seen in this light because of their work, that of control and surveillance, specifically as they act as bearers of relations of ideological domination over pupils. Furthermore, teachers legitimize school knowledge as being worthwhile and as being the only rational and valid knowledge by promoting ruling - class knowledge, language and norm-referenced grading accordingly. Unfortunately, even

the government itself is pointing its fingers at teachers, calling them "bad potatoes" and accusing them of teaching revolutionary "Marxist-oriented" ideologies, thus turning the schools into revolutionary institutions.

This study attempts to capture the complexity of the teachers' positions within the social context of apartheid South Africa. Drawing from interviews with a sample of teachers in the Pietermaritzburg area of South Africa between June and August 1989, this study focuses on the concerns and struggles of these teachers as they identify them in the interviews.

In this study I have been influenced by two recent theoretical traditions: critical educational theory and feminist theory. Through the use of these theoretical frameworks I am able to raise questions about the connection between classroom practice and the larger political events in South Africa. In using these frameworks, I attempt to place individual struggles in the larger context of the economic and social forces in the country. These theoretical frameworks are necessary for establishing an understanding of the formation of schooling under apartheid and for the understanding of individuals acting within it. In short, in this chapter, I

discuss a number of theoretical issues and begin to explore the ways in which they can be integrated into a theory that can address the complex issues of teaching and learning under apartheid.

CRITICAL EDUCATIONAL THEORIES

While traditional educational theory takes the "existing arrangement of society as given, not changeable in any serious ways, and desirable -- critical educational theory rests on a critical view of the existing society, arguing that society is both oppressive and exploitative, but also is capable of being changed" (Weiler, 1988, pp. 4-5). Critical educational theory puts emphasis on the need for both individual empowerment and social transformation. It focuses on the need for developing a critical consciousness in students as well as the need to change society as it is presently arranged. It is this tradition of critical educational theory that has, to a large extent, influenced this study. Critical educational theory encompass theories of reproduction and production.

REPRODUCTION THEORY

Reproduction theory concerns itself with the processes through which existing social structures maintain and reproduce themselves.

Reproduction theory can be categorized into two forms: social and cultural. Social reproduction refers to the reproduction of class structures, and cultural reproduction refers to the reproduction of class cultures, knowledge and power relations. Cultural reproduction theory has been pioneered by the works of Pierre Bourdieu (1977) and Basil Bernstein (1977). Social reproduction is best represented by the works of Althusser (1971) and Bowles and Gintis (1976). Both social and cultural reproduction theorists see schools as institutions that transmit social and cultural reproduction by having students accept as real existing inequalities.

One of the important works on social reproduction is Althusser's seminal essay "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" (1971.) In this work, Althusser addresses the role of schools in the reproduction of capitalist societies. He describes the problem as being the need "to understand the reproduction of class relationships and the process through which members of a society accept as "real" their class identity and relationship to the means of production" (In Weiler, 1988, p. 7). To address this problem Althusser adopted two concepts: ideology and the subject. He defined ideology in two forms. "1. Ideology represents the imaginary

relationships of individuals to their real conditions of existence, [and] 2. Ideology has a material existence". In this sense ideology "seems to be the cultural world that people inherit; it is imposed upon them through material practice" (Weiler, 1988, p. 7). Althusser's analysis of ideology is important to this study in that it promotes an understanding of how, as blacks born under apartheid, we inherit a culture of economic poverty which forces us to accept subordinate positions in society.

Althusser advanced his theory by identifying two sets of apparatuses that govern material and ideological practices: the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) which is made up of the army, the police, the courts, and the prison; and the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) found in the capitalist social formation, including the family apparatus, the religious apparatus, the trade union apparatus and the educational apparatus (schooling, etc.) (Althusser, 1977, p. 143). It is the latter which is important in this study. It must be noted that the state apparatuses function by both repression and ideology with the crucial difference that the repressive state apparatus functions massively and predominately by repression (i.e. repression suggests that the state apparatus in question functions by

violence) whereas the ideological state apparatus functions massively and predomination by inculcation of ideology to ensure the reproduction of labour power and the social relations crucial for maintenance of the dominance of capitalist classes.

Equally influential in the development of social reproduction theories is the work of Bowles and Gintis (1975), Schooling in Capitalist America. Like Althusser, Bowles and Gintis approach schooling from a tradition of Marxist political economy and analyse schools in relation to the reproduction of labour necessary for specific stages of capitalism. They argue that, as a state activity, schools are not only aimed at imparting necessary technical skills to individual workers but, on a more general level, they function to maintain the cohesion of the social formation. By so doing schools perform an ideological function through providing legitimacy to the capitalist mode of production and the social inequalities which it brings about. Specifically, Bowles and Gintis argue that what is learnt in schools is what is needed in the labour market:

> The educational system helps integrate
> youth into the economic system, we believe,
> through a structural correspondence

between its social relations and those of
production. The structure of social relations
in education not only insures the student
to the discipline of the work place, but
develops the types of personal demeanor,
modes of self-presentation, self-image, and
social class identifications which are the
crucial ingredients of job adequacy. (In
Weiler, 1988, p. 9)

According to Bowles and Gintis, the structural characteristics of

schooling reproduce the existing class structure by preparing students to be

workers at various levels and various relationships of production. The

works of Althusser and Bowles and Gintis are necessary in this study for an

analysis of schooling under apartheid. For instance, Althusser's work is

important to our understanding of how Bantu Education schools function

according to the logic and ideology of capitalist South Africa. Furthermore,

Althusser's description of the two sets of state apparatuses have been

demonstrated in the South African situation in that the state is forced to use

repressive measures (RSA) in the absence or failure of ideological state

apparatus (ISA) to support itself. The work of Bowles and Gintis is

to an understanding of the social functions of Bantu Education. For instance, in the context of their analyses of schooling in capitalist societies, Bantu Education can thus be analysed in a twofold process: first, through the production of attitudes and values appropriate to the social relations of production, specifically, values such as punctuality, cleanliness, honesty, respect and courtesy; and, secondly, through theproduction of appropriate skills, particularly, communication, numeracy and literacy skills. The work of Bowles and Gintis is also essential for the analysis of the emergence of Bantu Education under the Nationalist Party. However, these works have been criticized for their failure to describe the actual processes through which social reproduction is achieved. For this reason, the works of Pierre Bourdieu (1977) and Basil Beinstein (1975) are imperative.

Both Basil Bernstein and Pierre Bourdieu try to analyse the process of legitimation of capitalist values and knowledge through looking at the functions of the school curricula and practice. Bourdieu and his associate, Jean-Claude Passeron, approach the process of legitimation through the concept of "cultural capital". In <u>Reproduction in Education, Society and</u>

Culture, they describe cultural capital as the knowledge and modes of thought that characterize different classes and groups, with some forms of cultural capital having a higher exchange rate than others. According to Bourdieu and Passeron, "valued school knowledge is, in fact, the cultural knowledge of the bourgeois class. Thus the children of the dominant classes appear to be successful in school because of their natural intelligence, whereas, in reality they rise because they already know what is valued." (Weiler, 1988, p. 10)

Writing within the same theoretical framework, Basil Bernstein looks at language use in relation to class production. He argues that schools use middle-class language in the transmission of knowledge, and that this therefore puts working class children at a disadvantage since they learn in a language that is foreign to them. Bernstein's argument of the use of language in promoting class structures has been demonstrated in South Africa in a number of ways. For instance, Bantu Eduation shools are forced to use either Afrikaans or English as a medium of instruction which helps promote ruling class culture and the philosophy of white supremacy. The theories of Bourdieu and Passeron have also been demonstrated in that

the history, literature and language of white South Africans have been identified as the most "valued" knowledge to be learned by black South Africans. Through this stratification, black South Africans are put at a disadvantaged position for they learn in a foreign language, and are disenfranchised from their own history and literature. Together, the works of Althusser, Bowles and Gintis, Bernstein and Bourdieu, will be used in this study to analyse structural and functional reproduction of South African society. However, these theories are not sufficient for the analysis of the forces of struggle and resistance that have dominated Bantu Education since its implementation. It is for this reason that I also use theories of production in my analysis.

THEORIES OF PRODUCTION

Weiler (1988) defines theories of production as those theories concerned with

> the ways in which both individuals and
> classes assert their own experience and contest
> or resist the ideological and material forces
> imposed upon them in a variety of settings.
> Their analyses focus on the ways in which both
> teachers and students in schools produce

> meaning and culture through their own
> resistance and their own individual and collective
> consciousness (p.11)

Thus critical production theorists concern themselves with the social own construction of meaning and the ways in which dominant forms of language and knowledge can be critiqued and made problematic. Furthermore, critical production theorists put emphasis on the power of individuals to make meaning, while recognising the power of structural determinants in the sense of material practices, modes of power, and economic and political institutions. (Weiler, 1988, p. 13.)

Critical production theorists have been influenced by a number of traditions including the cultural theory of Raymond Williams, the work of the Centre of Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham, the theories and practices of Paulo Freire, and the work of Antonio Gramsci. I want to begin by looking at the work of Gramsci whose analysis of hegemony is essential to this study.

Gramsci is mainly concerned with the different ways in which dominant classes in any society impose their own conception of reality on subordinate classes and how these subordinate classes can create counter

institutions to establish their own understanding of oppression in order to oppose and change it. Gramsci uses the concept of hegemony to analyse the ideology of social control "with various institutions, structures and with a wider sense of cultural values and attitudes that go beyond the conscious control of ideas" (In Weiler, p. 17). While Gramsci argues that individuals will serve the institutions that transmit dominant ideas (hegemony), he insists on the power of individuals to counter hegemonic control. Thus, according to Gramsci, hegemony is always in the process of being reimposed (never complete) since it is open to resistance by historical subjects. Gramsci sees schools as institutions through which "intellectuals of various levels are elaborated." Thus, he argues for the establishment of institutions that will counter the existing ones.

Gramsci's analysis of hegemony is central to this study in that it gives an alternative meaning to the use of hegemony which has dominated the educational field, that is, hegemony as something overpowering and static, as something that is successfully and completely imposed by the ruling class on subordinant groups. More important is his concept of hegemony to our understanding of the nature of Bantu Education Schools.

That is, Gramsci's use of hegemony will allow us to view Bantu Education schools not just as Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) successfully used to reproduce apartheid relations, but as possible places of struggle that could be used to counter apartheid.

Equally important to this study are the works and theories of Paulo Freire. Paulo Freire is committed to a belief in the power of individuals to a critical consciousness of their own being in the world. Like Gramsci, Freire believes in the power of individuals to critique hegemonic ideology and to establish a counter hegemony through critically reading the word and reading the world." (Freire, 1987, p. 136.) Furthermore, Freire calls for a pedagogy in which teachers respect the consciousness and culture of their students and at the same time are able to create a learning situation in which students can articulate their understanding of the world. Thus Freire insists that "students and teachers must seek to understand the forces of hegemony within their own consciousness as well as in the structured historical circumstances in which they find themselves." (In Weiler, p. 18) While Gramsci's analysis of hegemony is essential for the conceptualization of counter hegemonic measures, Freire further enriches

this study by providing the actual process through which Gramsci's hegemonic concept could be applied. In other words, Freire's theory of critical consciousness will be used in this study to enhance the understanding of classroom practices within the South African system.

Closely related to the concept of hegemony is a theory of resistance put forward by Paul Willis (1980) among others, to try to analyse the complexity of an individual's experience of social reality and the production of meaning. Within this theory, actions labelled as deviant can sometimes be viewed as acts of resistance by individuals and groups against a culture that has all along exploited them. This theory will, thus, allow us to view youth actions that have been identified by the South African government as deviant, differently. For example, the South African government referred to the 1976 students' demonstrations against Afrikaans as a medium of instruction as 'riots', disturbances, an outbreak of juvenile deliquence. In the context of this study, such demonstrations would be analysed as a form of expression against a system of exploitation and oppression. Furthermore, as with the theory of hegemony by Gramsci and Freire, the concept of resistance enables

us to view South African youth as "individuals [who] are not simply acted upon by abstract "structures" but negotiate, struggle and create meaning of their own." (Weiler, p. 21.) The need to distinguish between different forms of resistance is, however, imperative. For this reason, this study will use the works of Henry Giroux in its attempt to avoid falling into the trap of defining any act of opposition as resistance without a consideration of both the quality and the expressions of these actions.

Henry Giroux attempts to create an educational theory "that can address the schools both as the means of social and cultural reproduction and as sites of the production of individual subjectivity and class culture". He further develops a theory of ideology that will "provide the theoretical basis for investigating both educational texts and practices and the role of schools in a way that "takes seriously the issues of agency, struggle and critique". Thus, for Giroux, ideology amalgamates "critical thinking and a transformative consciousness". (Weiler, p. 23) Giroux's analysis of ideology is important in that it links critical thinking with transformative action; it is only when individuals are critical of themselves and want to act upon their experiences that social transformation can occur.

I have discussed the concept of hegemony, resistance and struggle in detail in order to make clear the key concepts that guide this study. While the reproduction theories of Althusser, Bowles and Gintis, Bourdieu and Bernstein discussed at the beginning are important for the understanding of the construction of the South African education system, they are not sufficiently adequate to establish an understanding of the acts of resistance that have dominated the South African Bantu school since the implementation of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. Reproduction theories are important for our understanding of the formation of ideologies (ISA) and the actions (RSA) that have maintained Bantu education. More important, however, are the theories of production which encompass the concepts of struggle, hegemony and resistance, in the analysis of transformative action that is about to bring apartheid and its education on its knees. As Weiler (1988) points out, it is important to keep in mind the relationship of schools to the society at large and to take into consideration the realities of race, class and gender in terms of power and control; at the same time we need not underestimate the power of individuals to act upon those forces that

exploit and oppress them. It is for this reason that, in this study, I seek to analyse the complexity of Bantu Education schools and argue that while Bantu Education wants us to remain essentially 'Bantu' and ready to be exploited by the dominant class, it has, on the contrary, created a more conscious, critical and perhaps radical group of people than any education system has ever produced.

I want to argue that while radical changes in education cannot be achieved through changes in the school system alone, Bantu Education schools can be more effectively used as institutions in which both teachers and students come together to analyse and critique hegemonic ideologies through exploiting the very sources that are meant to oppress them.

CHAPTER 2

Historical Background

In the previous chapter, I argued that the work of Bowles and Gintis

(1976) is essential to an understanding of the development of schooling in

industrial capitalist societies, particularly to the development of schooling in

the racist capitalist state of South Africa. Bowles and Gintis (1976) analyse

the economic changes that brought about the development of capitalism,

looking at the production of skilled labour from its initial stage through the

family to the need for establishing socialization institutions, schools, that

could carry the ever growing demands of capitalism.

Similarly, in this chapter, I analyze Bantu education by looking at the

economic and social developments that brought about its implementation. I

demonstrate how Bantu Education emerged as an ISA that serves the ever

growing demands of capitalist South Africa. A large part of this study looks

at how, in South Africa, the unequal distribution of political power serves to

maintain inequalities in education. This chapter, however, provides an

analysis of how the origins of these inequalities exist outside the political

sphere, in the class structure itself, and in the class subcultures of domination and subordination typical of capitalist societies.

In this chapter I examine the development of Bantu Education by employing theories of reproduction outlined in the previous chapter.

1652-1910

The advent of Dutch colonialism in 1652 opened a new chapter in the history of education in South Africa. With it came formal education which purveyed the ideology of white supremacy and imbued blacks with ideas of racial inferiority. The first modern school to open in the Cape Province of South Africa in 1652, a school for the first group of slaves to arrive at the Cape from the Dutch East Indies, addressed itself to teaching the Dutch language, the bible and the doctrines of the Dutch reformed church. This school encouraged slaves to be diligent, rewarding them with brandy and tobacco. Later in 1663, a secondary school was opened as a provision for the children of the burghers. It consisted of 12 Europeans and five non-Europeans - four of whom were slaves. By 1676, however, the church administration was requesting a separate school for slaves (Troup, 1976, p. 12).

Throughout this century, and a greater part of the 18th century, similar elementary schools were opened at the Cape. This period witnessed the increase in the growing settlement to the Dutch and the English, the resistance of the indigenous groups of the forceful taking of their land, and their final defeat, by which they were forced to work as labourers for the new settlers.

At the turn of the 19th Century, a series of events occurred which had important consequences. First, the emancipation of slaves in 1833 meant that white farmers could no longer rely on a supply of "unfree" labour New means to ensure the supply of similar labour had to be devised. Education emerged as one means. Its role was not only to produce and reproduce such labour but also "to extend social discipline over the new members of a free society" (Troup, 1976, p. 15). This practice has since permeated every aspect of government.

A second event, the discovery of gold, diamonds and other minerals, brought about social, economic and political changes that are still felt today. With mining, South Africa was transformed from a mainly rural into an

urban society. Mining resulted in the formation of an industrial working class along racial lines: white skilled and black unskilled workers. The formation of this social division of labour will be looked at later on this chapter.

The third important event was the conflict between the British and the Boers culminating in the Anglo-Boer War of 1899 in which the Boers were defeated after three years of bitter fighting. As a result, the British took over the two Boer colonies, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and South Africa became a single British colony, the Union of South Africa. It is important to note that when, in 1908, representatives from the different provinces met to draw a constitution of South Africa, black people were not represented.

1910-1948

The development of mining and the growth of trade and industry led to the demand for labourers with appropriate skills and attitutes to function in this growing system. To ensure labour production, the new government passed a series of laws that were to force blacks into the State Labour market. For example, the passing of the 1913 Land Act in which black South

Africans were zoned to only 14% of the total land area of South Africa meant that the majority of blacks could no longer live as subsistence farmers. There was not enough land for blacks to farm, thus forcing them into work for wages on white farms, mines and factories.

While many blacks were forced into the wage labour system, a number of laws were simultaneously passed to put black workers in inferior positions to white workers and to rob them of certain freedoms. For example, the Native Act of 1923 stipulated that blacks were allowed in urban areas "as long as they minister to the needs of the whites". Pass laws and influx control also robbed blacks of their rights of movement to towns.

An ideal preparation for factory work, mining, and farming was found in the schools with their emphasis on discipline, punctuality, acceptance of authority outside the family and individual accountability for one's work. The expansion of schooling facilities at this stage was inevitable. However, this expansion was done along colour lines. Unlike schooling in bourgeois democratic states, where children may be differently prepared for respective class positions within a single schooling system, in South Africa operate different systems to reproduce social, economic and political reasons.

This segregation became more pronounced under the Bantu Education system. It is important to look at the features that characterized black schooling at this period. First, this period established separate funding for black and white schools and, as Table I indicates, this funding was unequally distributed.

TABLE 1

Per capita expenditure on schooling 1930 - 1945

Date	Whites	Blacks
1930	£22-10-10	£2-02-08
1935	£23-17-02	£1-18-06
1940	£25-14-02	£2-04-04
1945	£38-05-10	£3-17-10

(From "Bantu Education" Apartheid Ideology or Labour Reproduction?" by P. Christie and C. Collins, 1982, Comparative Education, 18, p. 62.

The result of this expenditure was that educational provisions for blacks were far from adequate. Shortage of teachers and limited school facilities, that is, furniture, books and other equipment, characterized black education

structures of this period.

Segregation in schooling was also reflected in the separate curriculum offered at primary school level where the majority of black school goers was concentrated. In 1922 the Cape introduced separate primary courses for Africans. The Orange Free State followed suit in 1924, and similar decisions had been made in Natal in 1886 and in the Transvaal in 1904. Although the secondary school syllabus was not changed, there was sufficient evidence to show that discriminatory actions were taking place at a larger scale. This period also witnessed a slow but steady increase in the number of blacks attending school. As Table II indicates, although there was an increase in overall attendance, a majority of blacks did not attend. This suggests that many blacks were not yet fully participating in the capitalist economy and thus schooling was not yet important (see Christie & Collins, 1982).

TABLE II Enrolment of Black Students 1930-45

Year	Number of Students	Percentage of black population receiving education
1930	284, 250	4.9%
1935	351, 908	5.5%
1940	464, 024	6.6%
1945	587, 586	7.7%

(From "Bantu Education: Apartheid Ideology or Labour Reproduction?" by P. Christie and C. Collins, 1982, Comparative Education, 18, p. 63).

For those blacks who did attend school, the ideological dimensions of schooling were aimed at producing the kind of workers demanded by the mining and industrial sectors. The acquisition of communication literacy and numeracy skills was important. Familiarity with at least one of the employer's languages - English and/or Afrikaans - was an important part of the curriculum. In addition to this, schooling for blacks was also based on religious and moral training in values such as cleanliness, punctuality, honesty, respect and courtesy.

The schooling provisions of this period deteriorated so badly that by 1935, an interdepartmental committee was appointed to examine schooling for blacks and make recommendations for the future. The committee, reporting in 1936, recommended was that African Education be financed by the state on the same principle as that for white education. No action was taken with regard to this recommendation until 1945 and, by then, shortage of funds had become increasingly pronounced.

More important were the committee's concerns with social relations of dominance and subordination in education and schooling in South Africa.

In the report, it was stated that "there is no difference in the ultimate aim of education whether you are educating Black people or White people....Practically considered, the aim in the two cases is not the same because the two social orders for which education is preparing White and Black are not identical." (In Mathonsi, 1988, p. 17) Such statements seem to stress the idea that segregationist and unequal schooling provisions were not introduced as part of the apartheid racist ideology, but were part of the social and economic structures long before apartheid. Nevertheless, these structures acted as a strong base for the implementation of apartheid when the Nationalist party came to power.

These crises in the education system were coupled by crises in the country's economy. By the late 1940's these crisis had intensified. Christie and Collins (1982) outline the main features:

> First, was the underdevelopment of the black reserves, generating rural unrest; secondly, the protested class struggle accompanying the development of capitalist agriculture by whites, bringing with it an acute rural labour shortage; and thirdly, the unprecedented growth of industry after 1933 which in 1943 surpassed the mining sector (p. 65).

Christie and Collins further comment that these three features led to the growth of a large black urban proletariat which was almost exclusively migrant in mining, but was getting non-migrant in commerce and industry. On the other hand, black labour was characterized by rural and urban impoverishment poverty. The results were rural unrest and labour shortages which were accompanied by a high degree of labour unrest.

Although black workers at this stage did not have any institutionalized bargaining rights, trade unionism grew both in size and in militancy alongside black nationalist movements. The unrest was not only concerned with just wages and the conditions of employment but it also called to question the segregationist structures that existed within the system. The 1946 mineworker's strike, which was brutally suppressed by the government, demonstrated this unrest. It is, therefore, not surprising that these developments respecting the conditions of black labour and its reproduction were to instigate some form of response in the area of schooling. Further to the shortage of black labour, school expansion was inevitable to cater to the increasing number of blacks now being involved in the capitalist mode of production (Christie & Collins 1982). The existing

system by then could not cope with the demands generated by labour unrest and changing social relations. When, in 1945, the state moved to change funding demands for black schooling so as to expand the growing system, all funds being paid from the consolidated Revenue funds, it was a long overdue reform which proved to be inadequate (Christie & Collins, 1982.). Bantu Education emerged as the next best solution.

Bantu Education: 1948 -

When the Nationalist party came to power in 1948 with its doctrine of apartheid, it had a ready and updated version of the so-called Christian National Education (CNE) -- "narrower in philosophy, more chauvinist and of wider applicability than the Transvaal version of fifty years earlier" (Manthosi, 1988, p.10). The CNE advanced an extreme Calvinist and fundamental doctrine as the basis of education. The word "Christian" in this context was defined as "according to the creed of the three Afrikaner churches" and Nationalist as imbued with the love of one's own, especially one's own language, history and culture" (In Mathonsi, 1988, p.11). Ignored was the fact that large numbers of White South Africans (let alone blacks) did not subscribe to the CNE principles or even to Calvinism.

Indeed, the CNE, as its South Africa critics often state, is neither Christian nor

national nor truly educational. This can also be observed in article 15

of its pamphlet:

> Native education should be based on the
> principles of trusteeship, non-equality and
> segregation; its aim should be to inculcate the white
> man's [sic] view of life, especially that of the Boer
> nation which is the senior trustee.....
> Owing to the cultural infancy of the native, the state,
> in cooperation with the protestant churches should at
> present provide Native education. But the native
> should be fitted to undertake his [sic] own education
> as soon as possible under the control and guidance
> from the state. (In Mathonsi, 1988, p. 11)

In order to justify the Christian National ideals scientifically, one of the

first things the Nationalist government did was to appoint the Eiselen

Commission on Native Education in 1949 which was to formulate "the

principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race, in

which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive

characteristics and aptitude and their needs under the ever changing

conditions are taken into consideration." (In Mathonsi, 1988, p. 13). The

Eiselen commission was also supposed to suggest how the existing

system was to be reformed to confirm with these aims, and "to prepare natives more effectively for their future occupation." The commission reported three years later, and although it expressed its recommendations in a polite, objective language, they were still in line with the ideals of the CNE. The commission recommended that

> Bantu education should be integrated organically with all other state efforts designed to raise the level of Bantu life; that to secure efficient coordination of planning, it should be removed from provincial control and be administered by a Department of Bantu Education; that Bantu communities should gradually take over control from religious bodies. (In Troup, 1976, p. 13).

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 was based upon these recommendations.

One of the major effects of the Bantu Education Act was that Black education was brought under state control. It stipulated that all blackschools would have to be registered with the government and that registration would be at the discretion of the minister. This measure allowed the government to close down arbitrarily all institutions and programmes that did not support its aims in order to teach the natives "from childhood to

realize that equality with Europeans is not for them" and to "contribute towards the reproduction of black labour in a more stable form" (Christie & Collins, 1985, p. 67).

Under the Bantu Education Act, there were to be three types of schools: Bantu community schools, established or maintained by the Bantu Authorities or tribes or committees, and in approved cases subsidized by the state; private and state aided schools including mission schools, which were allowed to exist provided that the minister of education saw such schools as not hindering the establishment of a community or a government school; and government schools which were initially provincial schools. More government schools were to be established.

In 1955, the state passed further legislation to restrict the mission schools even further (which, according to Dr. Verwoerd then Minister of Native Affairs and later Prime Minister, were misleading the Bantu). The result was that the number of mission schools was reduced dramatically and replaced by state schools. Whereas in 1953 there were over 5000 state-aided mission schools, by 1965 there were 509 out of a total of 7222 black schools (Christie & Collins, 1985, p. 65).

The control of black education by the state extended to other areas of black schooling. For instance, measures taken in 1955 brought night schools and part-time classes for blacks under state control. These measures also brought about the closure of all night schools in the year that followed. The estimated enrolment in night schools in 1953-54 was 12000 (Christie & Collins, 1982, p. 67). The closure of these night schools meant a decrease in the number of blacks receiving schooling. It also indicated that the state was more than prepared to reduce schooling provisions rather than letting them operate without its control: schools not certain of promoting the state ideology of apartheid could not be allowed to function.

The policy of state control over Bantu Education was also extended to universities. The 1959 Universities' Act led to the closure of white universities to black students and to the establishment of separate tertiary institutions for blacks. This act ensured that blacks who proceeded to tertiary institutions were to be trained in institutions where the state would have control of both the administrative structures and the curriculum.

Basically, state control over Bantu Education meant that Bantu Education could be used to support other state policies such as the Bantustand or

homeland policy. Such control would have served hegemonic functions. It facilitated schooling being more specifically geared to fulfilling the labour needs of capital in general, both in respect of skills, and of attitudes and values appropriate to capitalist, social relations (Christie & Collins, 1985, p. 67).

The principal difference between the Nationalist Party and its predecessors centers on the issue of urban black labour. While the United Party appeared to be moving towards the phasing out of the migrant labour system by allowing certain blacks to settle in urban areas, yet still maintain labour bureaux, pass laws, and the policy of segregation to ensure cheap labour, the Nationalist Party emphasized the "homeland" base and the extension of migrant labour, with the pass system and labour bureaux being extended as extra-economic forceful means of controlling labour and ensuring its supply at a cheap level (Christie & Collins, 1985). In 1959, therefore, the Nationalist Party went further and passed the Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act. This Act provided for the establishment of separate Bantu governments along the geographically fragmented homelands and ethnic groups under the guidance of the all-white South African

government. The homeland governments would be a combination of tribal and bureaucratic authority structures which would help re-tribalise and further fragment black consciousness. The homeland system would shift both the political and economic focus to the homelands and provide for black aspirations outside of the common framework, and thus perpetuate white dominance in the country.

For the homeland policy to work, the existence of a black elite which would support the structures ideologically and provide workers for their operation became necessary. The creation of this elite was to further divide and rule black South Africans along economic lines. One of the roles of Bantu Education was to contribute to the homeland policy by providing this elite. It is worth mentioning here that although the homeland policy did not develop fully until the late 1960's, in this sense the Bantu Education Act promoted the notion of political, cultural and economic segregation in broad terms.

The link between school and the reserves is clearly indicated in Verwoerd's "notorious" speech as Minister of Native Affairs in 1954:

> More institutions for advanced education in urban areas are not desired. Deliberate attempts will be made to keep institutions for advanced education away from the urban environment and to establish them as far as possible in the Native reserves. It is the policy of my department that education would have its roots entirely in the Native areas and the Native environment and the Native community. There Bantu Education must be able to give itself complete expression and there it will perform its real service (In Christie & Collins, 1985, p. 65).

The effect of this ideology was that secondary schools were to be concentrated in the reserves thus removing blacks who were in secondary schooling from urban areas and locating them in areas where the state wanted them to be focused. The effects of the provisions in the Bantu Education system for the division of schools along tribal lines and the facilitation of mother-tongue teaching was to foster tribalism and deliberate ethnic separation (on the basis that such isolation creates mistrust) which were also part of the homeland policy.

It has already been pointed out in this essay that colour lines, unequal social relations, existed prior to the takeover of the Nationalist Party and its hegemonic ideology of apartheid. One of the roles of Bantu Education was to

reproduce and justify these relations, to make them accepted by blacks as common sense. To achieve this goal, cultural differences between whites and blacks were emphasized. The following statement by the Eiselen Commission clearly indicates the use of cultural differences to justify the need for racial segregation:

> The Bantu child comes to school with a basic physical and psychological endowment which differs so slightly, if at all from the European child, that no special provision has to be made in educational theory... But Bantu Education practice must recognise that it has to deal with a Bantu child; i.e. a child brained and conditioned in a Bantu culture, endowed with a knowledge of Bantu language and imbued with values, interest and behaviour patterns learned at the knee of a Bantu mother. These facts must dictate to a large extent the content and methods of his [sic] early education (In Christie & Collins, 1985, p. 69).

PRACTICE UNDER BANTU EDUCATION

The South African government usually boasts of its achievements in black education resulting from the implementation of the Bantu Education policy. It usually points to, for instance, the increase in the total

expenditure on Bantu Education from R18-8 million in 1960/61 to R56.1 million in 1971/72, to the increase in the number of Bantu children attending school from 1.0 million in 1955 to 2.9 million in 1971 and to the increase in the number of schools from 5,801 to 10,551 (a 81.9% increase) (Troup, 1976, p.30). However, when a closer look at these claims of quantitative growth is taken, a sad picture of qualitative decline and cultural impoverishment is revealed. An example of this qualitative decline is indicated by the teacher/pupil ratio which rose from 45.5 pupils per teacher in 1955 to 57.8 pupils per teacher in 1971 (Troup, 1976, p. 30).

There is no doubt that the introduction of Bantu Education led to the increase in the number of African children enrolled in schools and also to the increase in the number of schools. However, the percentage of distribution across the grade levels is almost static. As Table III indicates, this increase was done in the absence of a corresponding expansion of higher primary and secondary school facilities: "two-thirds of all African children at school were in lower primary school; and 94% of all African children at school were in primary classes." (Troup, 1976, p.32).

Table III

Black pupil enrolment by years

	1950	1955	1960
Substds A and B	350 640	466 527	
Standard			
1	114 729	151 144	238 146
2	82 847	113 449	188 668
3	67 '54	90 948	138 495
4	48 211	66 101	97 437
5	34 087	47 353	70 012
6	25 325	34 667	53 833
Form			
1	)	16 122	21 310
2	17 162)	9 879	14 105
3	4 873	6 915	9 607
4	840	1 393	1 741
5	439	674	835
Unclassified	719	552	164
Totals	747 026	1 005 774	1 500 008

Expressed in percentage distributions these figures become
(Horell, 1968, p. 52-53):

	1950	1955	1960
Substds A and B	73.5	72.7	72.8
Std 3-6	23.4	23.8	24.0
Forms 1-5	3.1	3.5	3.2
Substds only	46.9	46.4	44.4
Forms 4 and 5 only	0.171	0.206	0.172

(From "Bantu Education: Apartheid Ideology or Labour Reproduction?" by P. Christie & C. Collins, 1985, Comparative Education, 18, p. 71.)

The Bantu Education school structure in all the lower primary classes (Grade 1-4) increased the possibility that all blacks going to school would at least complete the first four years of schooling in which the basic literacy, numeracy and communication skills were taught. At the end of the fourth year, an examination was conducted by the government "in order to determine whether [pupils] have made sufficient progress to be able to benefit by the following course" (Christie & Collins, 1985, p. 70). Many blacks never passed this examination and in this way were forced to accept subordinate positions in the work force. African teachers usually referred to this as the "primary school bottleneck". Today, the Black Matriculation results are used to achieve the same goals (Mathonsi, 1988).

There is a noticeable deterioration in the qualification levels of teachers under Bantu Education. Prior to the introduction of Bantu Education, black schools were not well staffed and teacher qualifications were low. Mission schools depended on white teachers as an important source of staffing. Under Bantu Education these teachers were systematically phased out. In his 1954 Senate Speech, Verwoerd stated that it would be the policy of the state to phase out these white teachers in black schools and also to replace

men teachers with women teachers in lower-primary schools, which would in turn bring about "a considerable saving of funds". The move to replace men teachers with women teachers parallels the effects of industrialization in England and the United States where, as Michael Apple (1986) points out, teaching became 'Women's Work'. In South Africa, as in the United States and England, this move demonstrates the importance of, and the complex interconnections of, race and gender oppression to the capitalist accumulation process. Furthermore, this move allows us to view Bantu Eduction as an economically cheap education introduced to serve the economic interest of the Nationalist government. These staffing changes, together with the expansion of lower primary schools, meant that new provisions were to be made for the training of black teachers. A two year Post Form I certificate and a two year Post Form III certificate programs were introduced. These teachers were very poorly qualified. With poorly qualified teachers, lack of facilities and a system of automatic promotion, it is obvious that academic standards under Bantu Education are very low.

It is true that expenditure on African Education was greatly increased after the introduction of the Bantu Education system. However, this

increase must be seen in the context of the other socio-economic developments of that time. The fact that the number of black students attending school increased from 1.0 million in 1955 to 2.9 million in 1971 make this claim of greater expenditure less impressive. Second, the Bantu Education Act broke away from the funding provisions of 1945 in which the state's contribution to African education was fixed. Under the Bantu Education Act, four-fifths of the direct taxes paid by blacks were channelled to their education, and once this proved to be inadequate, black parents were forced to contribute to the building of their schools and the paying of black teachers. Furthermore, black children were required to pay 'school fees' and to buy their own books and stationery (Troup, 1976, p. 28). Third, this claim becomes ludicrous when compared with state expenditure on white education. (see Tables 1V and V)

TABLE IV

Per Capita expenditure on education S. African Rand

Year	Blacks	Whites
1945	7.78	76.58
1953	17.08	127.84
1960	12.46	144.57

TABLE V

Per Capita expenditure

	Whites	Blacks
	Whites	Blacks
1976/77	R 654	R 48,55
1977/78	R 551	R 54,05
1978/79	R 724	R 71,28
1979/80	R 1,169	R 91,29
1980/81	R 1,021	R 176,20
1981/82	R 1,221	R 165,23
1982/83*	R 1,395	R 192,34

* Estimate

(From SAIR, A survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1976/1983.)

African Resistance

The Bantu Education Act was vigorously opposed from its embryonic stage by the South African press, various public forums and by some white and many black politicians. The publication of the CNE pamphlet had led to considerable agitation among white educationalists, and meetings of parents were summoned to protest against the obscurantist view in the fifteen

articles of the Act. Counter pamphlets were written, the English-speaking press wrote editorials criticising the proposals, and church and mission leaders voiced their opposition.

The campaign against the implementation of Bantu Education in the schools was initiated by the African National Congress (ANC). On the 8th of May 1954, the ANC and its associated organizations of the Congress alliance (The South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured People's Organization, and the (white) Congress of Democrats), launched a campaign that was dubbed the 'Resist Apartheid Campaign' (Mathonsi, 1988, p. 12). The particular measures that Congress aimed to resist were: the Bantu Education Act, the Native Resettlement Act (which was designed to remove 60,000 Africans from the black townships of Sophiatown and neighbouring regions, and transfer them to Soweto) the pass laws, the Group Areas Act, the suppression of Communism Act, and the anti-trade union measures (Hirson, 1979, p. 16). It must also be noted that the ANC "African Claims" in 1943 called for a free compulsory education provided by the state. By 1948 an opposition front created by the ANC grew, as black communities started establishing their own independent 'shanty' schools which existed in

Orlando, Western Township, Brakpan and Atteridgeville.

In 1952, a parents' protest committee organized a boycott at Orlando High School after three teachers, who had publicly opposed the Eiselen recommendations, were fired. The parents established a 'people's school' for boycotters. The protest committee was headed by IM Maseko, and apparently gained local support. Less than a third of the pupils attended school in the two-month boycott (Lodge, 1980, p. 43).

The resistance against Bantu Education strongly increased in 1954 with a boycott which was initially successful in Witwatersrand on April 21; it was estimated that 10,000 children from different centres on the Rand were out of school. But, later, the ANC's attempts to set up independent schools were thwarted by the police on the basis of the Bantu Education Act. The Congress responded by forming a series of 'cultural clubs' which were suppressed in a similar fashion. Verwoerd's response was the expulsion of about 7,000 students who persistently refused to return to school, although they were later re-admitted on condition that there would be no further boycotts (Work in Progress, July 1980). The South African Communist Party (SACP)

tried to work at ground level, opening a number of new centres (night schools) as a counter action against the Bantu Education Act. Unfortunately, these measures were also shattered by the government. There were also angry reactions from African teachers' organizations. For instance, the Cape African Teachers' Association (CATA) and the Non-European Unity Movement, announced that they were calling a conference to discuss the Bantu Education Act. CATA called upon "teachers and parents to do everything in their power to oppose the Herrenvolk's schemes for their enslavement" (Lodge, 1980, p. 46).

The government was shocked by the teachers' agitation and responded to this opposition by withdrawing recognition of CATA and bestowing on it the newly established and supportive Cape African Teachers' Union (an affiliate of ATASA). Such state measures did not, however, stop acts of defiance and resistance from taking place in other parts of the country, especially in the Transvaal. In the end, the state responded by banning the ANC, PAC, and SACP and this led to a gap in resistance against Bantu Education. This gap was filled only from 1969 onwards by Black Consciousness movements.

The launching of Black Consciousness organizations, especially SASO (led by Steve Biko who died in detention in 1977) and BPC in the early seventies, awakened the aspiration of liberation of the people. The influence of SASO and BPC gave birth to various groups: Black Women's Federation, Black Parents' Association, Black Priests' Solidarity Group, and other organizations which propagated the philosophy of Black Consciousness and which attacked Bantu Education and the whole system of apartheid. Their message - "Black man(sic) you are on your own" (Hirson, 1979, p. 82) - articulated the anger and frustration of a generation of young blacks born since the Nationalist Party came to power.

The most significant challenge that shocked the apartheid government took place on June 16, 1976 when over 20,000 students marched to Orlando Stadium. But this peaceful demonstration against Afrikaans as a medium of instruction turned into a massacre when police opened fire on the pupils. This uprising, estimated to have claimed over a 1,000 lives, spread nationwide, and very soon involved not just pupils, but their parents and workers as well. The focus of students' demands turned from rejection of Afrikaans to a rejection of Bantu Education as a system. The government

responded to this situation on October 19, 1977 by banning 17 black organizations (Hirson, 1979, p. 82-86). The banning of these organizations did not mean that all political activity was banned. Blacks took the offensive, organised themselves and, as a result, in 1979 and 1980, black student organizations, the Azanian Students Organization, as well as COSAS, were launched. Today, AZASO (now SANSCO), NUSAS and NEUSA (all affiliates of UDF) have embarked on a joint programme to consolidate their ideas for a future education system into a single document, the Education Charter, which will act as a guide against which the reforms (for example, the De Lange Report) being offered by the government can be measured, and which will also project the educational struggle against apartheid education. ("New Sense: NEUSA's Newsletter", March/April 1984).

Bantu Education Today

Bantu Education in South Africa today is still characterized by chronic shortage of schools and educational facilities and by low standards of education offered to pupils. Mathonsi (1988) summarized these features as:

- the high teacher-pupil ratio
- the very high drop-out rate

- the existence of double sessions in the sub-standards
- low salaries for teachers
- strained relations between pupils and teachers
- unhygenic classrooms and ill-qualified teachers
- the 'platoon system' especially in the rural areas.

These problems are not due simply to misdirected aims of education, poor planning or poor management of schools. They exist because South Africa is a capitalist country where there is no equal distribution of wealth and because its political life is structured on the basis of race. Bowles and Gintis' argument that these inequalities are economically based is vital - but in South Africa (which I have argued is an exceptional capitalist state), the racial factor dominates all other factors. In other words, it is through racism that the white South African supremacy and economic inequalities over black masses are established. The historical legacy of colonialism and racism has put South Africa in crisis. The crisis lies deep and is far reaching; it has its roots in the economy but is equally manifested in education, transport, housing, health, labour, pension funds, and security.

The state has responded actively, attempting to control and channel the changes through 'reform' by appointing commissions of inquiry into labour

relations: (Weihahn); education (De Lange); health (Reynders); urban blacks and labour migration (Riekert); security (Rabie) and media (Steyn). It has put many of the recommendations into law already, easing restrictions in some cases and tightening them in others, for example, such as the 'Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill' "which puts another nail into the coffin of migrant workers" (Mathonsi, 19875, p. 14). Today, the South African government is caught in a contradictory position where on one hand there is a high shortage of labour in semi-skilled and higher skilled categories and on the other hand there is a high rate of black school leavers and many job-seekers. Tied to the two is a high rate of unemployment. The question then is why South Africa has a shortage of skilled labour when thousands of blacks are jobless.

Mathonsi (1988) suggests that this shortage exists because whites are afraid to compete with blacks in the socio-economic and political sphere. I want to argue here that unlike in the early years of industrialization and mining, where laws and various Acts were passed to put black workers in inferior positions to white workers, today Bantu Education as an ISA is most effective in preventing this competition.

It is against this long history of exploitation and oppression, of resistance and struggle, that we have to view the practices of teachers in this study and how they have responded to various events relating to their lives both as teachers and members of the society. Many studies that have attempted to analyze the South African Education system consider resistance in a broader form, that is, as carried out by a group of students, teachers and parents. This study analyzes individual teacher practices and struggles in the Pietermaritzburg region and links these practices to larger resistance and to events taking place in the country.

CHAPTER 3

TEACHERS AND THE CURRICULUM

The previous chapter presented a history of Bantu Education against the background of broader historical events. The section that follows is an examination of the present high school curriculum as presented by teachers in Pietermaritzburg, Natal's provincial capital. As I will demonstrate in Chapter 4, Pietermaritzburg is characterized by a series of violent acts which are an escalation of political conflicts, economic poverty, and social injustices. The fifteen teachers interviewed in this study analyze the curriculum in the context of the events, particularly the violence, taking place in the area.

The analysis of the curricula in this study is limited to an analysis of the textbooks used in each subject, since, as Michael Apple points out, "it is the textbook which establishes so much of the material conditions for teaching and learning,---[and] it is the textbook that often defines what is legitimate culture to pass on" (1988, p. 81). However, in order to understand the teachers' views of the curriculum, it is essential to have some knowledge of the kind of schools in this area and the functions for which they were

established.

Types of Schools

Schools in Pietermaritzburg are divided into three categories, each assigned a different curriculum for different purposes. First, there are technical schools, which concentrate on the teaching of technical subjects such as electronics, motor mechanics, and plumbing. These schools are mainly aimed at producing students who will work as garage mechanics or, at best, work as "assistants" to white mechanics and electricians in the technical world. Second, there are commercial schools which focus on the teaching of commercial subjects such as bookkeeping skills and some accounting, typing and communication skills. These schools are supposed to produce people who could be employed in offices to take care of books, typing and other secretarial tools in the commercial world. Third, there are general schools which focus on the teaching of "general" subjects such as English, history, geography, math, and religious studies. These schools are to produce all kinds of people to fit into the general world, nurses, teach..., literate mine workers. Of the fifteen secondary schools in the Pietermaritzburg region, only one is a commercial school which opened

approximately two years ago; two are technical schools; all others are general schools.

This concentration on general schools can be traced back to the origins of Bantu Education, and specifically to Dr. Verwoerds' speech of 1954: "What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it?" (Government Report, 1954) or to the 1980 statement from the chief of Education in the Cape Province: "Coloured children will go into manual labour, so their education must be tailored accordingly."(In "Education for Change," NUSAS Newsletter, November, 1980.) All along the lot of preparing Black children for "manual labour" has been thrust upon general schools. However, because of the resistance and struggles against this form of education, the white government has decided to "windowdress" its obvious racist practices by introducing commercial and technical schools which, on the surface, suggest that Black children are now welcomed into the technical and commercial white world.

The fifteen teachers interviewed in this study teach in general schools, and a large number teach content subjects - history, geography, literature, and the languages - Afrikaans, English and one African language. These

teachers were chosen because they represent the largest group of the teaching population, those who teach arts, sciences and vocational subjects, subjects which form the base of the Bantu Education curriculum and which have so since its implementation.

Ideological control through the textbook

One of the strategies employed by the government to ensure control of the history syllabus is to prescribe textbooks written and published by white South Africans. For example, both textbooks prescribed for Standard Eight (grade 10), History for Standard 8 and Active History Standard 8 written by C.J. Joubert, and A.P.Van Rensburg and published by the Cape & Transvaal Printers Ltd, in 1977 and 1978 respectively, are characterised by inaccurate and contradictory accounts of South African history. Furthermore, these books still emphasize the supremacy of the "senior trustee" as was recommended by article 15 of the CNE pamphlet.

In both books, the history of South Africa begins with the settlement of the whites in the Cape colony and is followed by the "Wars of Conquest" in which the indigenous groups were defeated and forced to submit to the new settlers. The period of "discovery" (of minerals) and industrialization in

which great towns were "created" constitutes almost two-thirds of the South

African history. Needless to say, all political parties that have ruled South

Africa ever since the "settlement" period are part of the history of creation

of South Africa as a state. Where black South Africans are mentioned in

both books they are presented in a subordinate manner. For example, both

books emphasize the historical defeat of black South Africans in the "Kaffir

War", culminating in the blood bath at the "Battle of Blood River." (Joubert,

1977, pp. 10'-117, and Van Rensburg, 1978, pp. 78-82 and pp. 109-127).

Some of the history teachers interviewed in this study expressed their

concerns regarding these inaccuracies:

> There is a big contradiction between the history we know
> orally, and the history that is written down, especially
> the history about us. It becomes difficult because
> students question this.

Yet another teacher expressed further concerned that the history they

teach

> entrenches indoctrination. I mean, from Standard 6-10
> [grade 8-12] - children are taught that the white man
> [sic] is superior. They are taught this throughout their

school period. For instance, the textbooks we use start from 1652 when Van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape. The implication here is that South African history, which includes us blacks, starts durin this period. This is not true because our ancestors were living here in this country long before the 17th century.

In short, the history syllabus robs black children of their own history and works to inculcate in them an ideology of inferiority and of white supremacy.

Literature teachers, on the other hand, were also concerned that the textbooks they use do not take into consideration the child's culture, being and setting. One teacher commented:

> Most of the books are totally useless--irrelevant. Some are just fairy tales and you wonder why they are prescribed to begin with. The children neither enjoy nor develop their minds from reading these books. What makes things worse is that we are forced to teach books written overseas, like Shakespeare, while we have our own "Shakespeares" in Africa. I mean, I wish we could teach books by African writers, writers who describe how the dust smells when the rain falls after a long hot day, rather than to read books that describe how white the snow looks on the ground after a heavy snowstorm, something I will not see before going to the grave.'

This teacher is critical of the use of books that don't relate to the child's

experiences and of those that use unfamiliar objects in their description of everyday experiences. This teacher further argues that the continuous use of books such as Shakespeare's, gives children the notion that great authors are those who reside in Western countries and are of European origin. This however, is not true, since Africa has great writers who, moreover, use objects of African relevance in their description.

Literature teachers are given some latitude in that they have a choice of whether to do poetry, drama or the novel. They are also given a cluster of books from which to choose. For Standard 10, for instance, teachers are given five books from which they have to pick three. The final examination which is prepared by the white government, requires students to answer questions from two of these books. If the book chosen is a poetry book, students have to be proficient with all of the poems and yet the examination requires them to respond to only one poem. For this reason, teachers avoid chosing poetry books. The latitude of book selection is limited in a number of ways. First, all of the books from which teachers can choose are written by largely white, middle class authors who depict their culture. For example, for the 'New Syllabus' implemented in 1988, teachers can choose

either William Shakespeare's <u>Macbeth</u> or <u>A Man for All Seasons</u> for drama.

For the novel, teachers can choose either K. Vice's <u>Romantica Book of</u>

<u>English Short Stories</u> or George Eliot's <u>Silas Marner.</u> For poetry, only <u>The</u>

<u>Wind at Dawn</u> by Smyth and Swacina was prescribed. When these books are

changed, they are replaced by books with similar features. For example, in

1989 Shakespeare's <u>Macbeth</u> was replaced by <u>Merchant of Venice,</u> and

George Eliot's <u>Silas Marner</u> by George Orwell's <u>Animal Farm.</u>

This latitude of book selection is further limited by the presence of

those books that are usually identified as "classical literature", for example,

Shakespeare. All books that fall under this category are <u>always</u> set for the

final "National Examinations". Furthermore, these books are

alwaysaccompanied by a teacher's guide and some teaching aids. The

teacher's guide outlines major themes, characters, and possible exam

questions. For this reason, teachers tend to choose books that fall under this

category. In this way, at least the child is almost certain to pass the final

examination and the teacher protects her or his reputation as a 'good'

teacher, for good results are equated with good teaching. In short, most or

all the literature used in high schools is of European origin--justified under

the guise of "classical or great literature."

In both literature and history, the South African government controls the syllabi through standardized evaluation procedures and imposed texts which sponsor a white vision of legitimate culture. This control disenfranchises blacks by denying them access to their own literature and history. South Africa is rich in literature and poetry by black South Africans, much of which is read internationally, for example, the writings of Hezekiah Mphahlele, Miriam Tlali, Alex la Guma, Nelson Mandela, and many others. Literature by black South Africans portrays different aspects of the black life including the struggle for liberation. The work of Miriam Tlali, for instance, portrays the distortion of our culture by apartheid and traces the process through which people are forced to accept their lot, especially the women in the homelands. Miriam Tlali tries to make black South Africans aware of what it means to have the responsibility of self-determination, to struggle to maintain one's culture. Alex la Guma, on the other hand, traces the destruction of those families whose members join the armed struggle. He depicts life as an anti-apartheid warrior. All this literature would empower and teach black South Africans about their history, culture, and politics, something that the Bantu Education curriculum is not meant to do.

One English literature teacher summarized this situation:

> I wish there were plays and novels about
> black people in the syllabus.   I am sure
> students would be interested to read about
> their being, past and present, and also about
> their life in general.   Now these plays are
> irrelevant because students learn so much about
> other   people   but   nothing   about
> themselves.... Not that they should not learn
> about other cultures, they should, but not at
> the expense of learning about themselves.

Language teachers also made comments about the languages they teach,

especially the two official languages. These teachers were mainly concerned

the language they teach in the classroom cannot be used outside the

classroom. They mentioned, for instance, that, as teachers, they are trained

to teach the rules of grammar. These rules and regulations are not helpful in

the actual spoken part of the language which is not taught in the classroom.

For this reason, teachers felt that the method of language teaching is

inadequate.

Language teachers were also concerned that since the spoken part of the

language is not taught, students are unable to get jobs.

> The problem we have is that students fail to
> communicate in English.   Even understanding
> orders, instructions, they fail. That is, they
> have a difficulty with the spoken English,
> even in a job situation.....

While teachers are advocating the teaching of the spoken language, the aims behind this advocacy are in line with those of Bantu Education, that is, Africans have to learn the two official languages, English and Afrikaans, so as to be 'drawers of water and hewers of wood," or as this teacher puts it, to "understand orders, instructions."

Statements, such as the one above, suggest that teachers themselves have internalized the ideologies of inferiority permeated through Bantu Education. This, then, brings into focus the need to analyze how hegemonic ideology is reproduced through schooling in South Africa, how, as Michael Apple (1986, p. 15) states, "the domination of our consciousness [occurs] so that we come to accept as given the social 'reality' we have received." The production and reproduction of hegemonic ideology through the curriculum will be discussed in detail in the following chapter, in which I examine the nature of teachers' beliefs and practices. However, before doing that, it is important to examine the way in which unjust economic relations are perpetuated through curriculum construction.

Social context and the Curriculum

One of the myths we usually subscribe to, as educators, is that social liberation can be achieved through scholastic merit and "that every student will, more or less, reap the academic rewards of his or her own initiative,

regardless of sex, religion or family background" (McLaren, 1989, p. 151).
Many believe in the myth of equal opportunity for the rich and poor alike.
School curriculum is designed to perpetuate this myth and students who do
not make it are usually blamed for their failure.

Unfortunately, schools in PMburg, or in South Africa in general, also
subscribe to this myth. As a result, the state-controlled curriculum
mystifies the socio-economic realities that govern the process of teaching
and learning. Teachers are supposed to teach the text, and to teach it
without addressing the socio-economic realities of the students they teach.
Students, on the other hand, are supposed to learn the facts and figures,
irrespective of their socio-economic oppression. Teachers interviewed in this
study were very critical of the economic needs that govern students'
learning:

> I think students' material needs have to be
> considered first before satisfying their
> academic needs, for example, we have in this
> area an accommodation problem, food,
> clothing, etc.
> Students need a base in which when they are
> at school they know they have a home to go
> back to. Even if they have homework, they

know they have a home to work in. This need
creates a problem that sometimes as teachers
we never appreciate.

As a result of this awareness, teachers in this school have devised a

strategy in which they assign themselves a few hours at school outside of

regular school hours to spend with those students who do not have an

adequate home environment in which to do their homework. (Teacher

supervision is necessary because it is illegal for students to be found on

school premises without the presence of a teacher. Failure to comply may

result in police detention.) The hours are usually distributed between the

morning and afternoon periods to accommodate those students who are free

in the morning but not in the afternoon and vice versa. A lot of students

have taken advantage of this arrangement and use this time for group

discussions, homework or general study. As a result, students themselves

now share the responsibility of monitoring these periods in cases where the

teachers are engaged in other businesses or where there is a shortage of

teachers in general.

Other teachers emphasized that these social and economic problems are

deep and far reaching. They pointed out that the economic poverty leads not just to homelessness, but also to broken families, alcoholism, and suicide, which, in turn, affect the academic perform ce of the students:

> There are various things that upset the child outside the school premises. For instance, som have problems like maybe the father is not working, or is an alcoholic (maybe because of frustration from lack of work) or in general the child is not happy at home. Yet there is nothing within the education system that is designed to help address the needs of such children. This cripples the child a great deal and it is the core cause of the unrest happening in schools today.
> This aspect is also frustrating to the teacher because there is nothing she can do to help such children. This also break the communication between the students and the teacher since the students see us as people who are well-off, while they themselves swim in poverty.

This teacher raises a number of important issues. First, the students' social needs are part of their economic need; second, there is nothing within the education system that addresses these needs. However, unlike the other teacher, this teacher feels helpless. She is overwhelmed by the students' psychological frustration and their overt poverty. Yet, this teacher further argues that the (socio)-economic state of the students differs from that of the

teachers, thus causing an unhealthy teacher/student relationship. This suggests that the teachers' position is contradictory both in ideology and in class terms, a position which will be examined in the following chapter.

The relationship between the economy of the country and Bantu Education has already been examined in Chapter Two of this study. I have already mentioned that Bantu Education is one of the apparatuses used by the state to socialize African children to accept the unequal distribution of wealth in South Africa and their position in the hierarchy. On the other hand, however, the impoverished condition of Bantu Education schools, themselves, has resulted in a crisis in the education system. The present government of F.W. de Klerk has attempted to address these crises by appointing the De Lange commission to investigate and make recommendations for 'reforms'. Furthermore, the government has tried to offer basic school supplies such as textbooks, pens and exercise books to students. Teachers in the Pietermaritzburg area are becoming aware that these supplies are a token strategy used by the government to calm the students' endless demands for "a free education for all." One teacher described the actual reality of these "supplies":

> What happens is that the books are either 'out
> of stock' or are delivered late - such that at
> the end students are forced to go and buy
> textbooks and other materials so as to learn.
> So, practically yes, students still pay for their
> books.

Because of these supplies and other minor 'reforms', the government

feels that it has done enough and views students' complaints as coming

through agitation from outside forces. It argues that education is being used

by liberatory organizations as a political weapon. The next chapter discusses

the relationship that exists between politics and education in South Africa

and the effects of the present political situation on education. However, I

want to point out here that it is the government itself, with its policies,

which is stigmatizing and politicizing education by running it along racial

lines. In South Africa, there exist separate schools for Coloureds, Indians,

Whites and Blacks. The students get curious and want to know, without

being instigated by anyone, what there is in the education of the other pupils

that he or she cannot share. Unless such segregation policies are changed,

(Bantu) Education will always be under scrutiny, attacked and resisted by us.

The inadequacy and exploitative nature of Bantu Education is

maintained and perpetuated through state control of the curriculum. Bantu Education schools are forced to teach white history, literature, and language. In South Africa, Pierre Bourdieu's words that "the cultural capital of dominant classes and class segments [are] considered the most legitimate knowledge " (In Dale, 1976, p. 198) have been illustrated. In the next chapter I examine the teachers' struggles against this ideological domination and xploitation. I examine the political beliefs of these teachers and how these beliefs have shaped their practices. Finally, I examine and analyze what has been achieved by these practices in relation to the larger events taking place in the country today.

CHAPTER 4

POLITICS AND PRACTICE

As suggested earlier, teachers' pedagogical practices are governed by a

number of conflicting factors. First, the political events taking place in the

country today; second, the students' activities inside and outside the

classroom; and, third, the government policy on education. I want to begin

by describing the political situation of the country, particularly of the

Pietermaritzburg area where my data were collected. Although the events

taking place in the Pietermaritzburg area may differ from events in other

parts of the country, they are a reflection of the conflicts that characterize

apartheid South Africa.

Since 1986, a "power play" for political control of townships

surrounding Pietermaritzburg, (Natal's provincial capital) by the KwaZulu

homeland leader Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement has been identified

as the root cause of the violence that has wracked this region. (Inkatha is a

black 'liberation movement' which ironically, claims to be using peaceful

means to achieve the liberation of black South Africans. Many Blacks,

however, see it as an extended force of apartheid oppression because of its support of the homeland policy, and the well pronounced positive relations between it and thewhite government.) This violence is said to have been instigated by attempts to force residents to join Inkatha and to intimidate activists and leaders of the anti-apartheid movements, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU). Residents who were associated with UDF and COSATU were particularly singled out for attacks by Inkatha warlords. Court interdicts on UDF and COSATU lawyers did very little to ease the violence. In January 1988, attempts were made by UDF and COSATU to diffuse the situation through negotiating with Inkatha. At this stage, the Pretoria regime intervened; on February 14, 1988, it banned UDF and put restrictions on COSATU's political activities. This made negotiations impossible for UDF - which was by then supposed to have diffused. This move by the regime was widely interpreted as an attempt to prevent Inkatha from being forced into accepting a settlement. At this stage, the killings and counter-killings rose to a peak, with 225 deaths recorded between January and May 1988. (Southern Africa Chronicle, June 1988, p. 8).

Youth are a major political force in this region in which the central issues are education and unemployment. Already low education standards are reported to have dropped since the KwaZulu takeover of schools in 1980 and reduced job opportunities are a result of South Africa's depressed economy A survey by the South African Race Relations on 250,000 blacks in the PMburg area revealed an unemployment rate of 34% of which 80% are under the age of 35 and the majority are under 21. (Southern Africa Chronicle, June 1988, p. 6)

In response to this war of rival factions within the township, youth of these townships banded together into enforcing groups called 'comrades'. They organized their parents into community defence committees. Despite all odds against them, the committees forced Inkatha out of many areas, particularly in the large urban townships of Edendale and Ashdown. The struggle in the region continues.

What appears on the surface to be an Inkatha/UDF conflict is in actual fact an outburst of anger and resistance to long borne injustices. People of this region are saying no to those structures that have helped reproduce social, economic and political inequalities. The takeover of Inkatha in

Pietermaritzburg would mean the political and economic control of the region by the KawaZulu Bantustan government, a government perceived to be a puppet of the apartheid government. This takeover would also further divide black consciousness through putting emphasis on ethnicity (Zulu) as opposed to nationality (South African). Worse still, it would lead to further economic impoverishment as it has already been illustrated within the education sector. As I pointed out in Chapter 2 of this study, one of the aims of Bantu Education is to support and legitimize the concept of separate development. It is, therefore, not surprising that the resistance against this 'power play' was and is strongly felt within the education system which is seen by the youth as tolerant of and promoting apartheid. It is also not surprising that youth involvement in this situation has greatly affected teachers' classroom practices which are also seen as tolerating and reproducting the ideology of apartheid.

Students have become more open in their criticism of teachers, specifically of the teachers' tolerance of both the political and academic issues. Teachers have responded differently to this criticism. One group of teachers believes in teaching the book and "teaching it as it is," that it is

possible to separate politics from education, and that, therefore, the role of students is to first achieve academic knowledge before embarking on any other issues, be it politics or otherwise. These teachers have interpreted students' political activities to mean that students are simply using politics to stay away from their expected duty of going to school. These teachers believe that education the answer to the current problems and they fail to consider the political nature of the education they perpetuate. These teachers seem to be more conservative and uncompromising in their approach. The following conversation is illustrative.

T: Sometimes you can teach and find that these people are not interested - they absolutely don't care, they are not as serious as they should be with their work.

Q: Do you think that if you were to ask students what they want, what they would like to see happening in their schools, they would know?

T. They definitely would fumble because most of them have got distorted thinking. They would talk about all nonsense such as, "we don't want teacher so and so, we don't want Afrikaans, etc." One time I gave them a composition topic: 'What I would like my country to be like' Oh the garbage I got!! I wouldn't dare give them a similar topic again. It just wouldn't work with my students. They wouldn't know what to say.

This kind of attitude has certainly exacerbated an already hostile teacher/student relationship, whereby the teacher considers herself or himself, and is seen as, an 'untouchable', literally and figuratively. Yet, to try to understand this kind of attitude one has to look within the construction of the education system itself. These teachers are products of Bantu Education, an education that rewards obedience and passivity and punishes criticism and questioning. Thus the failure of these teachers to question why it is, for instance, that students are no longer interested in going to school, in writing about the South Africa they want, is born out of the system of which teachers are a product. These students are placing a lot of challenges on the teachers and, rather than face these challenges, teachers have resorted to those very strategies that have been used to keep them where they are, that is, to be untouchable and uncompromising. Thus, in this way we find the "oppressor within the oppressed" (Freire, 1987) and teachers, as such, as perpetuators of the status quo.

Another group of teachers is aware of the exploitative and oppressive nature of the school system. However, their practices are strongly policed by the government's policy on education. The government stipulates that

'politics' should not be brought into any discussion on education. Politics, in this context, refers to any discussion which may question or counter the governments' dominant ideology of apartheid and its reproduction. It also refers to those ideas that might suggest a democratic culture and the reconstruction of society. In short, as Verwoerd put it in his "notorious" speech of 1954, the government stipulates that "people who believe in equality are not desirable teachers for natives" (Government Report, 1954). As a result, teachers who fail to comply with this policy are either expelled, detained or indirectly banned from the teaching profession under the guise of misconduct. The government has formulated a mechanism to ensure that Bantu Education schools effectively reproduce the dominant ideology. As I already pointed out, this it does through control of examinations, teachers' jobs, and through the imposition of violent means of repression, namely, police interrogation, detention, and others. For this reason, teachers have tended to be very skeptical about what they say and what takes place in the classroom. One teacher, for instance, made this comment about the teaching of George Orwell's Animal Farm:

I must say - it is a good book if you are not going to look at it critically (laughs), if you are just going to enjoy the story without taking into consideration the present political context of this country. This book is somehow making fun of communism....Most of the students here are very political. So if I teach the book critically we would have to discuss in detail its controversies. Simply speaking, one of the things that would have to come out, is that the author blames everything that the animals do after the takeover from capitalist Jones to communism per se - that there is nothing good in communism. You see, if I had taught the book critically, the students would have raised all sorts of questions, especially those related to capitalist/communist ideologies and I would have found myself in a tight corner.....The book would have aroused those political feelings which we are not supposed to bring into the classroom.

What this teacher and others have simply done, despite their consciousness, is to accept government terms. They have learned to accept the situation as it is. This attitude is understandable yet dangerous. But more dangerous are the teachers who fail to deal with the students who resist these terms. Teachers are saying, "Why can't students do what we did - simply ignore the problem, or even laugh it away." Unfortunately,

this is the teaching that dominates Bantu Education schools. In this way, teachers are advocating the reproduction of what already exists, while students are looking for something more relevant and empowering. This then suggests that Bantu Education schools are not just ideological state apparatuses, but are also places of struggle where the dominated black students struggle against hegemonic control. To use Gramsci's words, this suggests that hegemony (in this case of apartheid) is never complete, but is "always in the process of being reimposed and always capable of being resisted by the historical subject." (In Weiler, 1988, p.7). While students are the major sources of resistance within the school system, some teachers are also, in varying degrees, part and parcel of it.

Such resisting teachers argue that it is extremely naive to expect the South African racist regime to develop a type of education that would enable black teachers and students to view social and political injustices critically. These teachers are aware of the government's policy on education, but argue that as black teachers, it is not their duty to carry out this oppressive curriculum, but to look at ways in which they might exploit it:

T: I think there is a way in which I can teach to empower my students. I simply teach beyond the constraints of the syllabus. It's possible....You see in history for example, the textbook would mention the ANC as a banned terrorist organization. It would, for instance, say, "the first chairman of the ANC was John Langalibalele Dube" and that will be all. Now as a teacher, I will talk about Langalibalele, the ANC, in details. I will state why it is that the ANC was forced to violence and is now a banned organization. In short, I will give the students a historical background, not only about the ANC, but also about other events that help explain why it is that we are where we are today.

Q: What about the exam questions, as you do not prepare them yourself?

T: I simply inform the students and say "you see, this is for the exams and what I am telling you now is for you to know as black students". You see, it is easy for students to memorize things like who the first chairman of the ANC was out students are more interested in those things that make them think, understand the situation of their being. The fact that students fail the Pretoria exam is not because they are stupid or don't know, but simply that they don't want to know and remember those things that the Pretoria exam asks. Their minds are conditioned to forget all that they are not interested in.

This teacher is definitely firm about his pedagogical practices. That he does

bring "politics" into the classroom is beyond questioning and he is not

apologetic about it. This is grounded in his belief that

> it's not a question of whether or not students should be involved in politics, because they are already involved. I think our first and foremost task is to give them a historical background of what is happening to teach beyond the constraints of the syllabus.

Again, Gramsci's analysis of the power of hegemonic ideas to shape

consciousness and his belief in the power of critical and political activism is

at this point very useful. As Weiler (1988) points out, it allows us "to begin

to see individuals as both shaped by history and shapers of history" (p.17).

This teacher's pedagogical practices are based on this notion, that is, on the

power of individuals to make their own history and to change those

ideologies imposed upon them. He is confident of the power of his students

to separate, for example, exam content from that which is meant for

individual development. He brings issues of interest for discussion and

debate in the classroom. This is not to suggest, however, that this is a

smooth practice that goes unchallenged by either the government, students

and/or other teachers. There are many factors that hinder pedagogical

practices similar to this one. It is these factors that I will now discuss.

CONTROVERSIES SURROUNDING CRITICAL PRACTICES

One of the main problems faced by teachers is high enrolment rates.

Since 1988, Pietermaritzburg has been witnessing a great increase in the

number of students going to school. This has been a result of various

meetings such as that called by the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee in

December, 1985, which urged the return of students to school and redefined the strategy from "Liberation before education" to "education for liberation". In Pietermaritzburg, this slogan was taken up at the end of 1987 and since then, the teacher student ratio is estimated to be 1:60.

This slogan has brought with it serious concerns and practices. First, teachers have lost control of everyday administrative issues, such as admission, to anti-apartheid activists who make decisions without consultation with the teacher. In turn, the teacher is forced to comply with these decisions from fear of being labelled anti-struggle or, worse still, since the struggle in Pietermaritzburg is now controlled by violence as opposed to ideas, the teacher complies because of fears for her or his life. One interesting example is that of a secondary school in which teachers ended up admitting 636 students in a building of 6 classrooms each built to accommodate roughly 35 students. The head teacher explained the situation as follows:

> We couldn't do otherwise, because there was this "back to school" slogan by UDF and COSATU whereby over the holidays they encouraged all children to go back to school. So even if some children have not been schooling for the past two or three years, we were forced to take them

>back. If we didn't do that we knew we were going
>to be in a very sad position.

Despite its positive initiative, this slogan failed to provide healthy school environments to ensure that this 'liberatory' education does take place. It assumed that once children are at school, they are learning, and that the learning that takes place is liberatory. The failure of teachers to take a firm stand, to identify with such organizations, is one of the contributing factors to this oversight. Teachers were not involved in the initial planning and decision making that led to this slogan simply because they have continuously remained removed from such political issues.

Teachers' practices are also hindered by resistance from students themselves. This resistance has different forms and is for different reasons. To begin, students have internalized the traditional concept of learning and teaching. That is, students have internalized what Freire (1985) refers to as "education for domestification", the notion that educators are the possessors of knowledge and that students have to be filled with this knowledge. Students therefore perceive learning as a process of receiving

"knowledge" from the teacher, such that any teacher who moves towards "liberatory teaching" is met with resistance. As one teacher puts it:

> I think it's the style of teaching that students
> are used to.... it becomes difficult for them to change
> to one that demands them to think, analyse issues
> critically, etc. Because of this, students start
> comparing you with their previous teachers and end
> up labelling you as a person who doesn't "teach". In
> this way you end up being forced to go back[to the
> old method].

Even the teacher who succeeds to conscientize (Freire, 1987) students to perceive learning as a dialogical process encounters other forms of resistance which are partly a result of the existing unhealthy teacher/student relationships which are antithetical to the dialogic method which Freire (1987) defines as that which "systematically invites students or audiences to think critically, to co-develop the session with the 'expert' or 'teacher', and to construct peer-relations instead of authority-dependent realtions." (p.47))

Students are more critical of those subjects that they consider to legitimize the oppressor's norms, values and knowledge. One area, for instance, in which teachers have constantly met students' resistance is in the

languages, Afrikaans and English. These are a direct representation of English and Afrikanerdom, thus, students resist both the teachers and the languages they teach. One English teacher described an incident that demonstrates the complexity of teaching this language. At one stage she did a poem entitled "Dooley is a Traitor" with her Standard 7 class [see appendix B]. To test the students' understanding of the poem, she gave them a couple of short questions, and to encourage critical thinking, she also gave them this question to do on paper: "Would you readily enlist as a soldier in defence of your country? State why or why not." None of her students attempted this question. Later on, she decided to do this question orally and in the students' first language. The following are summaries of the responses:

a) Some students said that they wouldn't enlist as soldiers because this would mean they had to fight against their own people. They would be forced to fight in defence of 'Afrikanerdom', which is not the same as "in defence of their own country".

b) Some students said they would enlist as soldiers in order to acquire knowledge of the use of firearms. However, they would then come back from this military training and use their military knowledge to fight apartheid.

c) Some students mentioned that they would not enlist because they do not believe in the use of firearms as a solution to any injustices. They argued that, in fact, what war does is to

suppress those with less military power for a particular period. Once the oppressed intensify their military power, war would break out again. This, they argued, prolongs rather than solves the problem.

Once this dialogue was established, the teacher asked the students to discuss why they had not attempted the question in writing. Interestingly enough, what she herself had thought was the problem, failure to express oneself in the English language, did not come up in the discussion. Instead, students raised issues that the teacher had overlooked. Some students had not responded because they felt that this was a 'personal' question, their views on which they did not want to share with a stranger. The teacher in this incident had been regarded as a stranger, an 'outsider', because of her use of a foreign language while attempting to draw students' vision of the military in relation to their lives. But, once she initiates a discussion in the students' mother language, she becomes one of them.

The majority of the students, however, had not responded because of fear, the fear of their exercise books being used as evidence against them as terrorists, revolutionaries, or criminals. They had wondered why the

teacher had asked them to respond to this thought-provoking 'political' question in writing when the other 'simple' ones had been done orally. The absence of a relationship of trust between the teacher and students in this incident played a significant role. This lack of trust has been further aggravated by the continuous presence of state police and army officials on school premises. The presence of army officials in schools is a result of state policy to maintain 'law and order' in schools which are now seen to be places where political activities are planned, discussed and sometimes implemented. This is just one of the ways to control the political uprisings discussed in the beginning of this chapter and to suppress critical teaching. (Ironically, the teacher had unconsciously asked students to comment whether they themselves would like to be these officials, i.e., enlist as soldiers.) Through initiating a dialogue with the students, the teacher was able to understand, for instance, how students construct certain ideas in learning, and how this construction is sometimes prevented. She learned through this incident to understand the role of language, trust, and fear in the process of learning. To borrow the words of Henry Giroux, this teacher learned to "develop and interrogate how students perform particular

ideological operations to challenge or adopt certain positions offered in the texts and contexts available to them both in school and in the wider society." (In Freire & Macedo, 1987, p. 22).

While this teacher is able to resolve the problem in this incident, in many instances, as in the following example, the problems are never resolved:

> I used to tell my class to listen to the evening English news for class discussion the following day. Most of the students would come in the following day not having done this basically because their parents did not consider it a bright idea. One student voiced out a dominant parental attitude one day and said "My father said"AKUSIWO UMUZI WABELUNGU-LO ABAKUTSHEL INGANI-KE ULALELE UHLELO LWESIZULU NGELINYE ILANGA? (This is not a European home. Why don't your teachers ask you to listen to a Zulu programme?)

Resistance to the use of foreign languages in teaching and other spheres is not confined to the classroom, but is part of the larger society. This problem of language in education is also part of the historical legacy of colonialism with which all African countries have had to deal. At the time of

independence, most African countries were and are still faced with the problem of whether or not to use the language of the colonial country as a medium of instruction. To justify the use of a colonial language, it is usually argued that African languages lack uniformity, for colonialism, among other things, prevented the development of an African lingua franca. The most common argument, however, is that colonial languages have international status and therefore allow an upward mobility for the 'educated' African. Nonetheless, this argument does not hold in South Africa. For instance, in 1976 the Nationalist government formulated a policy in which Afrikaans was to be used as a medium of instruction. Since Afrikaans is a language peculiar to South Africa alone, this move appears to have been made in order to isolate rather than link black South Africans internationally. It was also a move taken to strengthen the Afrikaner culture and apartheid ideology.

Prior to this policy, language had been used to support the homeland policy which, as we have seen, is a divide and rule policy. Under the Bantu Education Act, schools were divided along tribal lines, and language teaching provisions were made along these lines. This bolstered retribalisation and

further alienated blacks from each other. The implementation of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction was done in order to promote Afrikaner culture and values and thus resistance towards it could be seen as a rejection of these values. Nonetheless, the manner in which tribal languages have been abused by the government seems to suggest that tribal languages are not altogether a viable solution to the language problem. A more meaningful solution is crucial to more effective and liberatory education.

Critical practices in the classroom are also crippled by gender inequalities. One teacher described some of her teaching experiences and how they have been affected by gender:

> Take for instance when I was teaching Standard 8 history. We would look at the reasons for migration. Here I would open up space for students to come up with other reasons, drawing from their knowledge and reasoning. Well some would, and some would not - especially the girls. They would just sit and stare at me.

According to this teacher, this behavior occurs because

> female students, or we - we come from a society that doesn't encourage females to think. It is a

society that expects us to be recipients of ideas as
opposed to being contributors or makers of ideas -
and we carry this with us to the classroom, to our
disadvantage I think.

The social construction of our society along gender lines as mentioned

by this teacher is also reflected in the manner in which power is distributed

in schools. With the implementation of Bantu Education, teaching became

woman's work (see Chapter Two). In his senate speech in 1954, Verwoerd

indicated that it would be state policy to phase out white teachers in black

schools (part of his hegemonic, separate-cultures strategy), and also to

replace men teachers with women teachers in lower-primary schools, which

would bring about "a considerable saving of funds". This practice has

persisted since then, however, with the increase of students' enrolment in

secondary schools, female teacher training has expanded to secondary

education. Nonetheless, these female teachers still hold subordinate

positions. In the Pietermaritzburg region, for instance, there are only 3

women teachers in administrative positions in 15 secondary schools. While

this has been a result of state policy, our society has also endorsed this

practice. As one teacher put it, our society socializes students to look upon male teachers as figures of authority. As well as in the traditional South African society, educating a female child is not a priority. Women are expected to perform the traditional role of being a wife and mother, which in any case does not require any 'academic' knowledge.

Economically, parents view the education of female children a waste since this child would in future take whatever income she would be making to her husband's household. In short, there is very little motivation economically or socially for the education of women. As a result, very few women could be educated to the level of obtaining a university degree. One of the prerequisites for these administrative positions such as Heads of Departments (HOD's) or principalships is a university degree. In this context, the distribution of power in black schools is gender-biased.

The school system in South Africa is generally male oriented in that it offers more benefits for male teachers and students than their female counterparts. Male teachers, for instance, are paid more than female teachers with the same academic qualifications and work experience. Male

students again have more chances than female students of getting

employment immediately after or even before matriculation. As one teacher

put it:

> The education system also encourages the males not to go
> far with their education because they know that once
> they finish their Standard 8 they can go to work as truck
> drivers, for instance. You find that in most cases,
> girls have to be more qualified than boys in order to be
> accepted in the job market. In other words, there are
> more chances of cheap labour for males supported
> through the school system than there are for
> females-because that's what we are [cheap labour], aren't
> we?

Unfortunately, the gender issues discussed above have not yet been

addressed, moreso in the case of those gender issues related to classroom

practices than to the economic benefits that accrue from these practices.

Teachers are more conscious of gender inequalities related to their economic

lives (than they are to those that relate to teacher classroom practice). In

instances whereby teachers are conscious of gender inequalities perpetuated

through the education system, there are no simple, straightforward solutions

as the following comments demonstrate:

Well it's obvious that the education system favours male students.....There are few job opportunities available for female students. I can give you an example. I've got girlswho are doing math and physics and I have boys who are doing math and physics. But now, Hulletts [the largest private sugar company in South Africa] is canvassing male students who are doing math and physics-not girls. They don't mention girls. Even Sabswa, they sent forms that required the best boy in math, not a girl.

This teacher insisted that gender inequalities are perpetuated by the education system and not by the private companies in that

it allows female students to go to those programs yet knowing there are no jobs available. It seems to me that the curriculum is misdirecting. The education system should simply say that since there are no jobs for girls doing maths and physics, girls should not do these subjects at all. They should do homecraft and things that are relevant. They should do things that they are going to get employment in because in the end they get frustrated. The discrimination that is pursued by the department is being followed by the industry. At the end it appears as if teachers are discriminating between male and female students to go for maths and physics whilst I think it is discrimination of the highest order to put a person in a certain programme which you know very well will not get her any employment.

These comments bring out the need to examine the relationships that exist

between school and the social and sexual division of labour, between class, gender and apartheid. It touches upon the need to analyse the role teacher and students play in these relationships. Are Bantu Education schools simply responding to labour and apartheid demands? Or, as this teacher argues, is the labour market following those inequalities that Bantu Education schools produce? Studies that have attempted to analyse the South African situation have mainly concentrated on the relationship that exists between school and the social division of labour. Furthermore, these studies have viewed school as a mere reflex of economic relations and in this way have undermined the power of resistance within school. (see Christie & Collins, 1985 and Mathonsi, 1988). I argue in this study that schools are not just mere puppets of the state or the economy, that, in fact, Bantu Education schools are places of struggle against race, gender and class inequalities which can be utilized more than they are, at present, as some teachers in this study demonstrate.

Teachers' practices are also governed by the teachers' understanding of the community they serve. Here is one teacher's assessment of how this understanding is developed:

In Sobantu, for example, the teachers have established
very good contact and communication patterns with
the students; they are not distant from them and
therefore they understand better their concerns than
most teachers in many schools. Of course, one of the
strong reasons is that almost 90% of the teachers grew
up in the same area and are therefore known and
treated as big brothers and sisters by the students.
These teachers are not like someone who goes
there in the morning and leaves the place for her
residential area in the evening. They also have
first hand knowledge of the social problems and
concerns of this community, thus a better
understanding of the child they teach.

A number of important issues come out of this teacher's statement. First,

there is a need for teachers to establish communication patterns that would

enable students to relate to them easily. Second, local teachers are at an

advantage as far as this communication goes and, furthermore, these

teachers are trusted by students while other teachers are viewed with

suspicion. The present political situation in the area, together with many

teachers' attempts to appear to hold a 'neutral' position has further

aggravated this situation. As one teacher pointed out:

Students do not see us in any political rallies and
meetings, while they see other workers such as nurses,

factory workers and others. They either think that we do
not know what is happening (which is highly unlikely) or
that we are "sell-outs". Most students tend to believe
that we are "sell-outs" [betrayers or state secret police].

This practice has created a relationship of hate and mistrust between the

students and teachers which, as previously demonstrated, affects classroom

practices that demand students to reflect on their experiences. Does this

mean, though, that local teachers should go to these political meetings and

rallies? What is it that helps students to relate better to local teachers? One

teacher made these observations from her teaching experiences:

> Students got a lot of influence from outside, and we as
> teachers didn't know what had occurred in their
> meetings. And so, when students came the following day
> angry or sleepy or whatever, we never understood, and
> perhaps we never made an effort to find out. One thing I
> noticed is that even in these conditions students
> respected those teachers who were from that area. I
> don't know why, but one thing I know is that the gap did
> not only exists between students and teachers, but also
> between the teachers themselves.

According to this teacher, local teachers in this school had a mechanism of

knowing what had happened in their students' meetings and, in this way, could relate better to the students than the other teachers. The underlying point here is that it is important for teachers to have an inner knowledge of the community they serve, and that this knowledge will not come unless certain communication patterns are established.

From this discussion, it is clear that teacher's pedagogical practices are influenced by a number of contradictory factors, some of which are found beyond the school environment. For instance, students' political activities together with teachers' political positions, appear to be the strongest determinants of teacher/student relationships. At the same time, we have seen that the teacher's political position is also determined by a number of contradictory factors with the state education policy being the most influential. For this reason, teachers tend to assume different political positions which, in turn, influence their classroom practices and attitudes towards their students. There are those teachers who believe that education can be separated from politics, that education is an equalizer between the rich and the poor as long as the poor work hard enough to bridge the gap between themselves and their rich counterparts. These teachers are blind to

the oppressive nature of Bantu Education and therefore their practices could be said to be in line with those of the Bantu Education policy. Furthermore, these teachers are hostile towards students' political "activities" and view students as deviant. There are also those teachers who, though aware of the oppressive nature of the education system, feel helpless. These teachers' classroom practices are no different than the former group of teachers. However, these teachers tend to be tolerant of both the system and students' political activities. Third, are those teachers who are conscious and critical of the Bantu Education system. For these teachers, the classroom is potentially a site where apartheid could be criticized and resisted, and where students and teachers can come to understand those forces that determine their being. The concluding chapter is an attempt to bring together different practices that might further enhance these critical practices and to develop the critical awareness of the other groups of teachers discussed in this study.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Throughout this study I have tried to demonstrate how the crisis within the South African education system is an expression of the socio-economic and political inequalities within the country. I have argued that education is one of the state apparatuses presently employed to foster white supremacy and to imbue blacks with ideologies of racial inferiority.

One of the most effective means the white South African government has used to get a hold on education is through the control of teachers' academic qualifications. It is estimated that, at present, 95 percent of the teaching staff is underqualified. This is mainly the result of government policy on teacher education. As we have already seen, with the implementation of the Bantu Education Act of 1954, the government designed two-year teacher training programmes for both primary and secondary institutions. At the beginning of 1984, the government introduced three-year teacher training programmes for the same institutions. Since then, the government has been telling teachers who received their teacher education before 1984 that they are no longer

qualified teachers, and that they should go back to school at their own expense. As one teacher pointed out, the government has been saying " if you don't better your qualifications, I'm going to chuck you out, and if you want money, better your qualifications". It is forcing us to do something about a situation it created, at our own expense, further ending the education that is not there". The results of these changes are far reaching. For instance, we now have teachers who are leaving schools, teachers who are going back to study or teachers who study while working. This is done at the expense of the students because it either increases the teacher/student ratio, or it subjects students to teachers' partial attention since teachers themselves are preoccupied with their own 'study work'. These problems seem to suggest that for any meaningful changes to occur within the staffing system, a different approach is needed.

To begin, the government needs to take full responsibility for the re-training of teachers. It needs to take financial responsibility for, as well as the structuring of, those teachers who will be going back for training. For example, the government can circulate teachers going back for training with student teachers who are being trained for the first time. That is, while

student teachers are doing their teaching practice, teachers who have been in the service for some time can go for upgrading. In this way, the upgrading of teacher qualifications could be done without jeopardizing the position of education. In fact, it might well raise educational standards and the teachers will themselves find an incentive to improve their own position, to also think critically about their job. At the moment, many teachers are merely acting like robots, simply performing tasks that have been set down for them by the government.

The government also has a firm hold on the teachers' level of political activity and awareness. Teachers are presently the least politically organized sector in our community. All other sectors, nurses, doctors, and factory workers, are organized, but teachers remain unorganized. This is so because the government continues to make sure that it has a way of intervening in the process of getting teachers conscientized because it is aware that once teachers get politically active, the basis of apartheid will crumble.

Although there have been so many challenges in government to

the educational system (some of which are outlined in Chapter 2), they have been largely ineffective because teachers have remained very conservative or, if not conservative, apparently powerless. We have, for example, teachers who, when the students called for "People's Education" said, " Give us the syllabus, we will teach it." So, there are still teachers who expect to operate in the same old way under a new atmosphere. This means that "People's education" contexts can not be advanced in many schools because teachers themselves are not equipped to proceed differently. In fact, they are not ready or well trained for what they are doing at the moment and are not ready for radical changes necessary to the times. In this context, therefore, teachers need to be conscientized; they need a re-education process. The approach towards this re-education process is complex. It is a question of how is it possible to enable teachers to see the ways in which they can be subjects contributing towards the total defeat of apartheid? How does one develop that consciousness in teachers especially because, as I have mentioned, teaching and education are the bases of the struggle? There is a competition over the control of teachers that is between the forces of change and the forces of repression. Thus, it is not easy to get to the

teacher without intervention and resistance from other state apparatuses, as such. This, however, does not mean that we cannot do anything.

One of the ways in which change is already happening, is through students' political activities. The critical nature of the students we have in schools at present in South Africa is placing a lot of challenges and demands on teachers. In my experience, for instance, we had a situation where students became very radical and raised all kinds of questions regarding the political activeness of the school and further brought to our attention some injustices permeated by the school system. These teachers who were saying "these students are crazy, they don't want to learn" and so forth, still have to respond to the questions and issues raised by the students. In dealing with and examining the issues, teachers were forced to become more aware of their complexities and therefore of the need to become more open. In this context, students have been and still are one conscientizing factor.

Another factor that will conscientize teachers more and more is the conditions under which they have to operate, that is, conditions of service. This, also, is already taking place. For instance, teachers in the Durban area went on boycott for the first time in May 1989 simply because of factors

that are now pinching on them. In most cases, teachers do not have first-hand experience of political and economic hazards that students go through and therefore do not fully understand the students' position. However, because of South Africa's depressed economy and the turmoil that exists in the political sphere, teachers' conditions are also getting worse. In this sense, teachers are being conscientized by their own conditions of service and are beginning to mobilise themselves around these issues.

Another place where teachers could be conscientized would be within the teacher education institutions themselves. This would be a more reliable place since, as I pointed out earlier, a lot of teachers are being forced to go back to college to upgrade themselves. Unfortunately, these institutions are structured in such a way that they teach exactly what teachers are allowed to practice under the system. That is, these institutions produce teachers who are less politically conscious and more authoritarian and 'traditional' in their approach. While there is a need for critical educators to work in teacher training institutions and to raise the consciousness of student teachers, it is very unlikely that the government would allow them to practice a pedagogy that counters its objectives of an education that is 'Bantu'. It is within this

context that one is tempted to consider Gramsci's notion of the establishment of counter-hegemonic institutions, and in this case, counter-apartheid institutions that will operate secretly without government intervention. Yet, the economic realities of this possibility are discouraging. Furthermore, the existence of these institutions is entirely dependent on the availability of critical teachers willing to struggle against all odds. Presently, university institutions which, on the surface, appear to be semi-independent, have so far managed to produce a very limited percentage of these teachers. Yet teacher training for a post-apartheid South Africa must be of such a critical bent.

My aim in this study has been to show how Bantu Eduction is directly linked to political and economic forces, and how for this reason critical teaching is made complex. I argue that the role Bantu Education plays in the cohesion of social formation, the representation of class interests and the reproduction of social relations depends on state power. I also argue, however, that this state power is capable of being resisted and countered, and that Bantu Education schools are the basis of the construction of counter-hegemonic practices. The most urgent need of the time is for

teachers, students and parents to work together in the construction of these practices.

I believe that change is possible if we begin, first, to change our own teaching practices in order to change our schools and engage in that kind of struggle where we take control of our schools and control of the curriculum, for a liberatory education for black South Africans. The tendency has been for us to look at the Pretoria government and talk about how it has to change the school structures and curriculum and, in this process of talking, we have lost sight of what we ourselves can do. For any changes to occur within the education system, it is important that we begin to take control of our practices and to exploit the existing loopholes within the system by being systematic in our approaches. For example, it is obvious from this work that in arts, languages, history and literature spaces exist for this change to occur. However, under the present circumstances, because of the lack of critical awareness of the teachers and the level of ability based on lack of training and lack of exposure, we have to work with the teachers first. While there are possibilities for change through a systematic approach to literature, history and languages, we do not have the resources in terms of
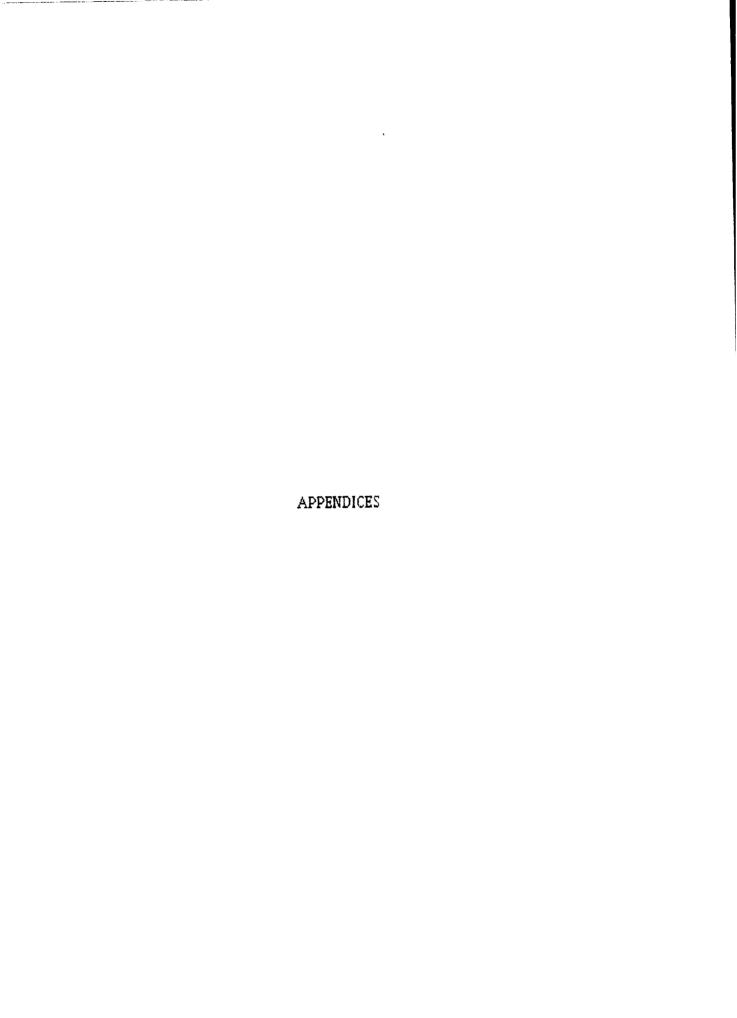
teachers. While I have, to a large extent, documented factors that limit the struggle for critical teaching, I do hope that these factors will not discourage critical teachers, but that, by realising these factors, teachers will begin to construct ways to overcome them and practice what is possible under the given circumstances.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Ngizwa ingoma ngizwa isikhalo
[I hear a song, I hear cries]

Listen to the voices
Voices of the deprived children
Deprived the land of their birth
Ngizwa ingoma, ngizwa isikhalo

Listen to the cries
Cries of women in crossroads and KTC
Cries of women in Bahopa and Brekersdal
Crying as if they are humming a song
Ngizwa ingoma, ngizwa isikhalo.

Children and mothers alike
Dumped into homelands
Alike sent into poverty stricken ghettos
Alike sent into homelands
Ngizwa ingoma, ngizwa isikhalo.

Happy am I seeing women in bravity
Happy am I seeing women in action
Happy am I seeing women in defiance campaigns
Marching along the Mangoyi road
Singing a song "ayanqikaza ayesaba 'magwala" [cowards are hesitant
and afraid]
Freedom is their birthright
But gross and brutal exploitation is their experience
Ngizwa ingoma, ngizwa isikhalo

Agastino Neto's people sang the song
Samora Machel's people sang the song
Robert Mugabe's people sang the song
As Oliver Thambo and Sam Mjoma are now leading the song
Ngizwa ingoma, ngizwa isikhalo.

APPENDIX A (continued)

Let my mind interprete my dreams of mount Kilimanjaro
Let my brain power interprete the last struggle in Africa
Unless human rights are embalbed in the statued books
Loyalty shall mean vengeance
Obedience shall mean rebellion
Conformity a bluff
And happiness a sign of danger
And Africa shall know no peace
Until we in the south are free

From Cape penisula to Cairo
Apartheid hierarchies shall cease
A sovereign state shall be a sovereign state
And the people in Africa shall sing
Shall sing a song
A song to dry tears of long toilling years
At last the people of Africa.

Dooley is a traitor

Judge: "So then you won't fight?"
Dooley: "Yes, your Honour," I said, "that's right."
Judge: "Now is it that you simply aren't willing,
          Or have you a fundamental moral objection to
5   killing?"
          Says the judge, blowing his nose
          And making his words stand to attention in long
             rows.
Dooley: I stand to attention too, but with half a grin
10   (In my time I've done a good many in).[1]
          "No objection at all, sir," I said.
          "There's a deal of the world I'd rather see dead —[2]
          Such as Johnny Stubbs or Fred Settle or my last
             landlord, Mr. Syme,
15   Give me a gun and your blessing, your Honour,
             and I'll be shooting them all the time.
          But my conscience says a clear no
          To killing a crowd of gentlemen I don't know
          Why, I'd as soon think of killing a worshipful
20   judge,
          High Court, like yourself (against whom, God
             nows, I've got no grudge —
          So far), as murder a heap of foreign folk.[3]
          If you've got no grudge, you've got no joke
25   To laugh at after."
                         Now the words never come flowing
          Proper for me till I get the old pipe going.
          And just as I was poking
          Down baccy, the judge looks up sharp with
30 Judge: 'No smoking, Mr. Dooley. We're not fighting
             this war for fun.

          carry a gun.
          This war is not a personal feud, it's a fight
35   Against wrong ideas on behalf of the Right
          Mr. Dooley, won't you help to destroy evil
             ideas?"
Dooley: "Ah, your Honour, here's
          The tragedy," I said. "I'm not a man of the
40   mind.
          I couldn't find it in my head to be unkind
          To an idea. I wouldn't know one if I saw one. I
             haven't one of my own.
          So I'd best be leaving other people's alone."
45 Judge: "But let me ask you as a plain patriotic fellow
          Whether you'd stand there so smug and yellow
          If the foe were attacking your own dear sister."
Dooley: "I'd knock their brains out, mister,
          On the floor." I said.
50 Judge: "There," he says kindly. "I knew you were no
             pacifist.
          It's your straight duty as a man to enlist.
          The enemy is at the door."
Dooley: You could have downed me with a feather.[1]
55   'Where?" I gasped, looking round
Judge: "Not this door," he says angered. "Don't play
             the clown.
          But they're two thousand miles away planning
             to do us down.
60   Why, the news is full of the deeds of those
             murderers and rapers."
Dooley: "Your Eminence," I said, "my father told me
             never to believe the papers
          But to go by my eyes,
65   And at two thousand miles the poor things can't
             tell truth from lies."
Judge: His fearful spectacles glittered like the moon
          "For the last time what right
          Has a man like you to refuse to fight?"
70 Dooley: "More right," I said, "than you.
          You've never murdered a man, so you don't
             know what it is I won't do.
          I've done it in good hot blood, so haven't I the
             right to make bold