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Education for a changing
South African society

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T.R. Botha, D.Ed.

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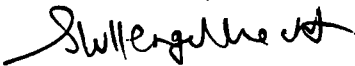ISBN   0 7969 0925 3

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PREFACE

The HSRC Education Research Programme has, for the past decade, been responsible for initiating, promoting, financing, conducting or commissioning research into topical educational matters in South Africa. A variety of investigations of interest have been completed in this way, for example investigations into the use of the computer in education, the use of the radio and television in education and training, education for gifted pupils, distance teaching, copyright in education, education for disabled black pupils, and the teaching of African languages in white primary schools, to mention but a few. Apart from those mentioned above, a number of investigations were also conducted in collaboration with the National Training Board, such as those on artisan training, skills training and the training and placement of disabled persons.

The programme naturally attempts to conduct relevant research and for this reason exercises are performed from time to time to determine priorities. On one such occasion education in a multicultural society was identified as a topic that demanded closer attention. The increasing relevance of this topic is emphasized by the fact that various persons have conducted or initiated research on it in the past few years. In the light of the recent changes in the educational field in South Africa and new possibilities that have been created for different population groups to receive education in the same school, the need has increased for greater clarity on the requirements of a multicultural educational set-up.

The question that arises repeatedly is how education in a future South Africa can or should be arranged to the best advantage of all children. The question naturally has numerous facets - e.g. the large number of languages and cultures that have to be accommodated.

The report was initiated by the Main Committee of the HSRC Education Research Programme and written by Prof. T.R. Botha of the Rand Afrikaans University after a number of persons had completed various related research projects for the programme. The report presents the views and opinions of Prof. Botha and not necessarily those of the programme or of the HSRC. In addition, the report does not necessarily represent the views of any of the researchers who completed the individual projects, although their research data were used in the same way as data from any other source.

However, the main committee supports the publication of this report since it believes that the data contained in the report could make a significant contribution to the debate on education. Thanks is due to Prof. Botha for his valuable contributions towards the publication of this report.

S.W.H. ENGELBRECHT
GENERAL MANAGER: EDUCATION

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CHAPTER 1

CONTEXT, PROBLEM AND GOAL

1.1 ORIENTATION

The last three decades of the twentieth century will probably be remembered as times of crisis in South African education, years in which attempts were made to bring about change and reform in the South African education system in spite of resistance from blacks and coloureds in particular.

With the violent uprisings of the sixties and seventies in Sharpeville, Langa, Soweto and elsewhere still fresh in the mind, the bids for revolutionary action focused in the eighties with great determination on labour and education. Today schools are still at the cutting edge of political and ideological conflict. In a sense black schools have become instruments of revolution. Many black children at present are not just bearers and heralds of the revolutionary message, but have themselves turned to violence. The basic motive underlying their radical activities appears to be resistance to oppression and structural violence in South African society.

Since 1976 resistance has regularly taken the form of school boycotts. The reason given for the boycott actions was that "Bantu education" should be rejected. The African National Congress (ANC) has opposed the Bantu Education Act of 1953 since it was first promulgated, and this legislation is still bitterly accused of having created a climate of oppression which still exists today.

The unrest that has emerged in education has in the past decade revealed very close links with other forms of protest such as resistance to existing transportation schemes and township rentals, and labour unrest. In this climate the government introduced a partial state of emergency in July 1985 and a nationwide state of emergency in June 1986; this has recently been partially lifted.

Against this background the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) has launched several highly topical investigations in an attempt to understand the problems of South African society and the provision of education in South Africa and to find guidelines for improving the quality of life of this unrest-ridden society. Two investigations of special relevance here are:

- the report of the Main Committee of the HSRC Investigation into Education entitled "The provision of education in the RSA" (hereinafter the De Lange Report) and
- the report of the Main Committee of the HSRC Investigation into Intergroup Relations entitled "South African society: realities and future possibilities" (hereinafter the Intergroup Relations Report).

Both these reports were the product of comprehensive research by experienced South African researchers. Naturally it will be impossible to discuss these reports fully or even in a balanced way here. Accordingly, only a few relevant issues will be raised.

As far as the Intergroup Relations Investigation is concerned, it is clear that South African society is characterized by segregation, separation and segmentation into separate communities determined mainly by ethnicity. The education system is also characterized by segregated subsystems. Each of these subsystems provides for the educational needs of a specific population group.

The merits of segregated subsystems in the South African education system could be argued from many points of view. Apart from certain identifiable benefits, there are also clearly hiatuses and disadvantages which can be indicated for the purposes of this report. The most obvious problem is that a segregated education system can give rise to

- unlawful and unfair distribution of money and manpower in the provision of education,
- alienation between population groups as a result of the emphasis on separateness.

In the De Lange Report (1981: 211-213) the problem of unlawful distribution in the provision of education was emphasized and extensively discussed. It is clear that the existing education system is viewed by the black population especially as unfair and unacceptable. In particular there are signs of resistance to inequalities concerning the per capita expenditure, the proportion of qualified teachers and the quality and quantity of facilities such as buildings, equipment and sports fields.

Since the publication of the De Lange Report in 1981 the government (which is still in power) has committed itself frequently to the elimination of inequalities, i.e. to educational parity. It is equally clear that such a process of equalization depends on various factors, the most important of which being the availability of funds. Against the background of prevailing economic trends, it would appear that parity could be achieved only after at least three decades. It can therefore be accepted that, in spite of the government's efforts since the

publication of the White Paper on the Provision of Education in the RSA (1983), it will be impossible to achieve financial parity in the short term if the financing of white education is taken as the criterion. Progress has been made, but the fact remains that the supporters of revolutionary action in South Africa have a good few years (even decades) in which to point out the inequality in education and its untenability.

Mention has already been made of the suspected alienation that has taken place between population groups as a result of the emphasis on separateness from the top levels of education right down to the classroom. Diversity in South African society - including education -.has been stressed to such an extent up till now that points in common have been largely neglected. One of the most striking examples of segregation or apartheid which has led to alienation is the absence of generally acceptable national symbols.

Even though the population groups in South Africa are linked geographically, and even though they are interdependent and therefore share a common destiny, the situation regarding intergroup relations leaves much to be desired. South African society is characterized by political conflict, cultural polarization and distrust; these are highly visible in the field of education.

1.2   THE SCHOOL AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS

It can be accepted as a historical fact that schools tend to reflect and follow trends and developments in society. They can therefore not take responsibility for social and political reform. However they could make a contribution to an improvement in intergroup relations if such a strategy were deliberately planned. Education includes influencing (Brezinka, 1977: 95). Education takes place when an educator guides, assists and influences an educand to operate at a higher level of adult functioning within a specific cultural context. The educand progresses to more adult functioning levels through self-actualization and the mastery of educational contents such as subject matter, certain norms and certain skills.

It is generally accepted that education and teaching have the same roots and share common features. Like education, teaching also involves the guidance, assistance and influencing of pupils by teachers. Teaching therefore involves much more than the explanation and mastery of academically recognized subject matter; it also includes the inculcation of standards, the arousal of conscience, the establishment of social skills and guidance towards integration in society. These ostensibly extra-academic facets of teaching arise to a considerable extent from the subject matter taught. Teachers and pupils have to discover them together.

Educative teaching provides access to society, i.e. it is teaching which has as its objective not only teaching and learning but also other aspects of more adult functioning in the context of a particular culture. A school situated in a reasonably orderly, peaceful community offers pupils the opportunity to acquire the knowledge and skills that will equip them for meaningful survival. Education aimed at adjustment (in the sense of effective personal and social orientation), at effective communication, at social skills and at integration into society therefore provides an opportunity for influencing interpersonal and intergroup relations.

1.3 STATEMENT OF PROBLEMS AND GOALS

It is clear that in South Africa conflict and unrest, rather than harmony and peace, are the dominant trends in intergroup relations. The problems being faced can be summarized as follows:

* How can South African education contribute to improving the relations between population groups?

* How can a common centre be found among the multiplicity of approaches to education in South Africa so as to bring about the development of a more generally acceptable education system?

* What can be done in the present South African situation, in the positive and proactive. sense of the word, to reduce oppressive or revolutionary tensions in and around schools?

* How can education be used as a means for the development of a common national consciousness and an enlarged experience of national identity on the part of all population groups?

The aim of this work is therefore to

- formulate guidelines for contributions on the part of education to the improvement of intergroup relations,

- identify common ground in the midst of the multiplicity of views of what an acceptable education system should be,

- formulate guidelines for relieving both oppressive and revolutionary tensions in and around schools,

- formulate guidelines for moving by means of education to a common national consciousness and an enlarged experience of national identity on the part of all population groups.

1.4   SYNTHESIS

In this report emphasis is given to education as a factor in the improvement of intergroup relations. If a meaningful contribution is to be made, it is essential to analyse existing educational strategies and develop new possibilities relating to the role of education in the improvement of intergroup relations.

It appears from the foregoing approach that education and theories about it are entangled in various ideologies, so we shall first have to consider the highly problematical relationship between multiculturality, education and ideology. The reason for this is that educationists debating education in a multicultural society accuse one another of ideological contamination of the thinking on education.

In order to evaluate current South African educational strategies, it is necessary to formulate educational criteria that can be applied in the South African context in respect of the appraisal of education systems and strategies. The unique nature of the South African situation with its First World and Third World developmental components calls for in the first instance a search for contextually valid criteria. It is not meaningful to work with "universally valid" criteria, since their application leads to generalizations arising from the absolutization of Western standards. To give just one example, the South African situation is unique in that the nature, distribution and numbers of ethnic groups here can hardly be compared with the rest of the world. Although Western-oriented Christian standards are accepted as guidelines for teaching and educational praxis in this country, contextually valid criteria are required for the evaluation of education. It is possible that some of these criteria may turn out to have generally valid potential and meaning which may be utilizable later.

Some of the existing and newly developing systems and practices in South African education will also be evaluated in order to determine their functionality for the improvement of intergroup relations. Attention will for instance be paid to current segregated and integrated forms of education as well as such alternative forms as "People's Education", in the light of the proposed criteria.

In conclusion, logical anticipation will be used to look at new directions and strategies for improving intergroup relations in South African education. Clearly the implication is that one should concentrate on nationally cohesive unifying factors rather than on divisive, alienating factors in education.

CHAPTER 2

MULTICULTURALITY, EDUCATION AND IDEOLOGY

2.1   IDEOLOGY AS A DISRUPTIVE VARIABLE

In South Africa - with its multicultural society and variety of ideological views - researchers and decision makers in education daily come up against ideology as a disruptive variable. All too often the disruptive effect of this variable is ignored, especially when people are arguing from their own ideological base.

In this context, Banks (1987: 537) identifies the role of ideology in a variety of arguments put forward to explain why American school curricula have remained Anglo- and Eurocentric in the face of multicultural reform efforts in the past two decades. In his opinion there are several valid reasons for this. Some teachers are simply insensitive to the existence of cultural diversity. If a school is culturally homogeneous, the multiculturality in the community is wrongly regarded as irrelevant to the curriculum. This phenomenon is clearly not confined to America, but is also an issue in South Africa. Other reasons for the overlooking of multicultural realities in American (and very definitely also South African) curricula are non-relevant textbooks, ambivalent attitudes on the part of teachers to ethnic diversity, and inadequate training oportunities. Banks (ibid.: 537) points out however that the basic reason for resistance to multicultural contents in education is to be found on the level of ideological fixations.

Ideology is defined as a system of political, religious or philosophical ideas or "'n omvattende en geordende sisteem van idees wat vir die individu of die groep as basis vir die verklaring van 'n wye reeks van verskynsels en as basis vir besluite gebruik word" [a comprehensive, ordered system of ideas which serves individuals or groups as a basis for explaining a wide range of phenomena and for taking decisions] (Gouws et al. 1979: 127).

From a sociological perspective, Theodorson and Theodorson (1969) define ideology as a system of ideas, assumptions, traditions, principles and myths maintained in a group or community as a basis for interpretations and as a means of rationalizing specific social, political and economic interests. In pluralistic societies the concept of ideology is often linked to the system of beliefs and values used by the dominant cultural group to justify its control over the lives and opportunities of subordinate cultural groups (Bullivant 1986: 103).

A logical question arises against this background: What is the connection between ideological considerations and statements on education and teaching? For a closer look at this question we can refer to a few international and South African scenarios.

2.2   EDUCATION AND IDEOLOGY: INTERNATIONAL EXAMPLES

The desegregation of schools in the USA was stimulated by the famous "Brown versus Board of Education" court case (1954).   The judgement established certain fundamental legal guidelines in respect of segregation and integration which shook the American school system. It indicated for instance that in education, separate is not equal, and that education is the basis of good citizenship: "Today education is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment ... to segregate the education of black children ... may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone" (Glenn, 1986: 656).

These motives of equality, integration and assimilation have definite ideological and educational undertones, for the questions remain: What kind of society do the Americans want to establish with the aid of their institutions, especially education? How can American adults contribute through education to the improvement of intergroup relations?

The black civil rights movement which came to the fore in the USA during the sixties showed confidence in the ability of schools to bring about social mobility and structural integration. On the other hand there were also critics who believed that schools simply restated the existing social structures and that desegregated education brought about lower standards because teaching was aimed at the lowest common factor.

The free world (the West) is still struggling to create responsible education systems which can best accommodate multiculturality in society. On the one hand conscious attempts are made to put teaching on an educationally acceptable basis, but on the other it is still a problem to detach education from its involvement with ideology.

As far as communist views of education are concerned, it would appear that the connection between education and ideology was more or less accepted until the mid-eighties. Education was seen as an instrument for the establishment of a communist society. From a historical perspective it seems that Lenin's ideological views on the objectives of Soviet education still determine its direction in spite of remarkable developments in the Russian education system in the past two decades in particular (cf. Holmes 1985).

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At present the Russians have 14 research institutes where the cream of the country's researchers work. Ideological considerations do however have a limiting effect on the nature of the research and the concomitant implications for policy. Accommodating gifted children in the education system was controversial, for instance. The struggle between egalitarian and differentiated thinking in Russian education was "won" by the supporters of differentiation. However the identification of gifted children is still regarded as subordinate to the building of a classless communist society. Personal interests are subordinated to collective interests as a "guarantee" against elitism:

Where communist teaching and education are practised, therefore, their connection with ideology is not concealed but deliberately brought to the surface. Educational research and its practical implications remain subject to the ideological context of communism.

2.3 EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA, MULTICULTURALITY AND IDEOLOGICAL SLANTS

South African research into and thinking on education cannot escape the problems of an ideological context.

2.3.1 The arguments for diversity and education

Some South African educationists argue that cultural diversity in society implies segregation in schools. The education which begins in the family situation is continued and extended in the school as educative teaching. To the proponents of this approach, "education as an own affair" is self-evidently reasonable, as culturally linked education acknowledges the fact of different cultural identities in the context of national diversity. It is accepted that a multiplicity of needs exists among the various cultural groups in a multicultural society.

Without referring explicitly to the ideological context, Van Loggerenberg illustrates how educational thinking and legislation are intertwined: "Wanneer na onderwys as 'n eie saak verwys word, moet hierdie begrip binne die konteks van die Grondwet van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika geïnterpreteer word. Die kardinale uitgangspunt van die nuwe staatkundige bedeling is die onderskeid wat gemaak word tussen eie en algemene (gemeenskaplike) sake" [In referring to education as an own affair, this concept must be interpreted within the context of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. The cardinal point of departure in the new constitutional dispensation is the distinction between own and general (common) affairs] (Van Loggerenberg 1987: 10). This ideological frame of reference supports the argument that education as an own affair gives recognition to the fact that South Africa's multicultural

society has differing beliefs about God, man and the world. Provision is therefore made for cultural groups to have the opportunity to give expression to their convictions about cultural matters in the context of their own schools.

In the context of education as an own affair, Theron points out that cultural heritage fulfils an important function in education. As cultural development takes place, education grows and develops with it, for education involves the transfer of culture. Education and teaching serve "die kulturele vooruitgang van 'n land en dus indirek die ideale van 'n volk" [the cultural progress of a country and indirectly therefore the ideals of a people] (Theron 1987: 10) - so there is no getting away from ideological considerations.

Much has been written about culture, but the main points which are distinguished are that culture refers to people's labour and their creative, shaping association with reality so that they acquire what they value and enrich human existence.

The important fact remains that in education and teaching children are introduced to extracts from or facets of the cultural life of a society. The pupils' acquisition of cultural elements equips them to function later as bearers and creators of their culture.

2.3.2 Anticulture arguments and education

There are however some South African educationists who disagree with the cultural argument discussed above. Morrow (1986: 88) is against both the abuse of the concept of culture in order to justify doctrinal thinking, and the equating of education and indoctrination. Cultural differences are accentuated and even created by own affairs schools, although it is clear that the identification of pure cultural groups is an imprecise and arbitrary practice.

Van den Berg (1987: 3) takes up an allied position: "The cultural argument looks suspiciously like a variant of the argument used for decades by the rulers of South Africa to justify their policies of supremacist domination." He argues from this position that initially there was a strong emphasis on differences of race, but as the country's rulers became more sensitive to charges of racism, there was a change to the more acceptable option of the identification of cultural groups and the emphasis of cultural differences in a multicultural society. He points out that this change of emphasis continues to have apartheid as its goal and that - whatever concepts may be used - its point is still a racially justified white domination intended to counter democratically based arguments.

Multiculturality is regarded therefore as part of "an ideological heritage that is profoundly unacceptable to the great majority of the country's people" (ibid.: 3).

What the anticulture arguments fail to notice or conveniently fail to mention is the fact that these views on education also have an ideological tinge. Van den Berg (1987: 12) refers to Thompson's view (1984: 131) of ideology as if it were inseparable from domination. The dominant pattern of thought or of interpretation in a society is an ideology according to this definition, while non-dominant patterns of thought or interpretation are not identified as ideological. This is hard to accept.

Van den Berg (1987: 14) indicates, ironically, the dangers of replacing one ideological violation of education with another. He goes on to call for the democratization of education. But to the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) democratization appears to mean something other than what it means in liberal thinking, to name but one example. The fact remains that the more determinedly an attack is made on one ideology, the stronger becomes the ideological framework from which the attack is launched. Ideological slants inevitably contaminate the thinking on education of even the greatest purists in the field.

2.3.3 Alternative education in the form of "People's Education"

Mkwatsha (Kruss 1987: 14) points out that black South Africans have a great ambition to establish a "non-racial, democratic and united" education system. The few available documents show that the struggle for an alternative education system is intimately connected with political liberation themes like "liberation now, education later". The Soweto Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC) unblushingly revealed its own ideological character in December 1985 with the following statement about the values which are to apply under People's Education.

> "(People's Education) ... eliminates capitalist norms of competition, individualism and stunted intellectual development ... encourages collective input and active participation by all as well as stimulating critical thinking and analysis" (Kruss 1987: 19).

Once again, the ideology from which the supporters of People's Education argue their position is not experienced by them as an ideology. They see "capitalistically based lifestyles" as ideological, while socialism is apparently viewed as just an economically related system and communism as something to be described in acceptable terms. Similarly Nkondo (ibid.: 45) states that teachers have the important function of identifying and eliminating alien ideologies

like <u>elitism</u>.

2.4   METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

In the above discussion of thinking on education, teaching, multiculturality and ideology it was shown that international and South African thoughts and actions on education have an ideological colouring.

It is clear therefore that when considering education in a multicultural society one cannot really escape the stranglehold of ideology. A conscious attempt will however be made to respect scientific principles by meeting the demands of objective consideration, method, system, methodology and contextual validity.

As far as methodology is concerned, it will be endeavoured, against the background of existing approaches to education in a multicultural society, to proceed to the unbiased formulation of evolutionary education criteria that are valid in the South African context. These criteria are seen as the result of an analysis of the heart or core of an educational scenario which is developing in South Africa with the aim of improving intergroup relations. With the help of these criteria, further evaluation will be done of existing and potential trends in South African education.

CHAPTER 3

APPROACHES TO EDUCATION IN
A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

3.1   INTRODUCTION

The literature contains various descriptions of ways of approaching education in a multicultural society. The works of Goodey (1989), Berkhout (1989) and Van Loggerenberg (1987) will be referred to as we move towards a description of the main trends in these approaches. Especial reliance will be placed on the work by Goodey (1989), which is functional for the purposes of this study and has been optimally utilized in respect of source references.

It is striking that contemporary societies are predominantly multicultural.   Many Western countries for instance accommodate multicultural societies as a result of voluntary immigration. The United States is an obvious example here. American society is not however characterized only by cultural diversity; there are also cohesive societal features such as an American identity, freedom of trade and of speech and the protection of individual rights. Even the relatively closed world controlled by the Soviet Union has a multicultural composition, and with the leitmotiv for the coming decade probably being glasnost and perestroika, it is not impossible that further multicultural trends may come to the fore in Eastern block countries.

Wars and colonialization have also stimulated multiculturality in societies.   In Angola, for instance, over the last few decades first Portuguese and then Cuban influences have been prominent.

Turning to South African society, we see that it is primarily heterogeneous. Diversity reveals itself in a variety of cultures, races, ethnicities and religions. The provision of education in this kind of multicultural society is no easy task - the variety of formal, non-formal and informal education needs is just too great.

Since one of the implications of education is the revelation of selected aspects of culture, definitions of culture are found in many publications on teaching and education. The transfer of culture is seen as a fundamental function of education, so a few remarks on this concept will follow. We do not intend to add to the literally hundreds of existing definitions (cf. Camilleri's reference to 160 definitions in Goodey 1989), but rather to consolidate them. On

the one hand it is probable that readers may reach their saturation points when faced with yet another definition of culture, and on the other it is possible that the controversial nature of this concept in the South African context may give rise to divergent emotional feelings and connotations. In spite of this it is impossible to understand multiculturality in the context of education without an elementary definition of culture.

Culture refers to people's labour and their creative, shaping association with reality so that they develop what they value and enrich human existence. According to Coombs (1985: 244) a society's culture includes its system of values, codes of social behaviour, production technology, customs, religion, social and political structures and decision making. This definition corresponds with that of Van Peursen (1970: 8), which amounts to culture's being a description of a society's way of life, implying not only existing and traditional ways of life but also the dynamic development and change of cultural patterns.

It is a fact that a variety of cultures and cultural groups are distinguishable in South Africa. It is however an open question as to what extent provision ought to be made for the educational needs of this multicultural South African society. In the context of this investigation the problem is more specifically: How should provision be made for these educational needs so that

* all population groups will be reasonably satisfied with the provision of education,
* relations between the population groups can improve,
* tension concerning education can be relieved,
* progress can be made towards a common national consciousness among all population groups.

When research is done on existing approaches and their possible connection with the problem mentioned above, it is clear that ideologically determined approaches (cf. Chapter 2) have had the greatest impact on the provision of education. It is also true that the provision of education arises from the policies of governments and that the policy makers in a specific country take the final decisions on such provision. Notice is taken of the advice of educationists, but it is the prerogative of the state to decide on the acceptability of that advice. Further references to approaches will therefore presuppose that the policy-making function of the state is decisive in accepting and implementing these approaches. Throughout the world educational research is interpreted as consultation, not prescription.

Goodey (1989: 4-18) points out that these approaches can be broadly categorized with the

help of the concepts of assimilationism and pluralism. We continue with a concise, free interpretation of his views.

3.2 ASSIMILATIONIST APPROACHES

Social cohesion is the goal of the assimilationist approaches which will be considered briefly below.

3.2.1 Assimilation

This approach is aimed at the absorption of smaller cultural groups or cultural minorities. Little attention is therefore given to cultural differences which manifest themselves in language, religious values, norms and customs.

3.2.2 Amalgamation

In this approach the assumption is that a new, unique cultural group can develop from an amalgamation of existing cultural and ethnic groups (the "melting pot" approach). It differs from assimilation by moving away from the idea of linking up with the dominant group. An attempt is made through co-operation and emphasizing common interests to bring about a merging into a new cultural and social order.

3.2.3 An open society

An open society is seen (cf. Appleton 1983: 70) as a society in which all individuals can share and in which there are no restrictions on social mobility. Participation and mobility are determined by individual achievement and not by cultural background or connections. Individual freedom (freedom of choice), democracy and equal opportunities are emphasized. Ethnicity, culture and religion are not recognized as bases for group association.

3.3 PLURALIST APPROACHES

Pluralist approaches can be said to be aimed at recognizing ethnic minorities and cultural minority groups.

3.3.1   Classical cultural pluralism

This approach stresses the diversity in society. The assumption is that a variety of cultural groups can operate alongside each other in the same society while retaining their own identities. Marriages, the practice of religion and education are included in the orbit of each cultural group, while economic activities cut across all the cultural groups.

3.3.2   Modified cultural pluralism

This approach supports a greater extent of interaction between cultural groups while still acknowledging cultural differences. Cultural groups are allowed to protect their own interests unless these threaten the interests of society in general. The interests of cultural groups are therefore subordinated to the national interest. It is assumed that there will be equal opportunities for all individuals in society. This approach enjoys wide acceptance throughout the Western world at present.

3.3.3   Dynamic pluralism

This approach also acknowledges the interests of cultural groups, but regards cultural pluralism as too narrow. Emphasis falls on the meaning of social interaction among individuals of all cultural groups. Common problems are tackled and solved in the short term by means of intensive discussions and ongoing contact. As the aim of the dynamic consultation becomes redundant, so the multicultural group dissolves.

3.4   SOME APPROACHES TO EDUCATION AND FORMS OF TEACHING

The assimilationist approaches aim for social cohesion at the cost of not recognizing cultural diversity. During the past two decades the pendulum has to a certain extent begun to swing back in the USA and Europe from assimilationism to pluralism.

In this context Fabian (1987: 91-91) refers to statements made during conferences in the eighties. At a conference held in Paris in 1983 by the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development), it was decided that language and cultural background should not be ignored in schools. The conference report says: "An age has begun when OECD countries, which have traditionally striven to promote cultural homogeneity - a common language and common values - now see virtue in cultural diversity" (OECD 1983: 79). S

imilarly at a conference in 1984 of the National Alliance of Black School Education Inc. in Washington DC it was noted that: "The unique diversity of cultural heritages and backgrounds of this nation should be recognized as a valuable asset for the nation, one to be cherished and shared" (1984: 11).

The Swann Report (1985) also makes it clear that ethnic minorities put a high premium on ethnic identity and that assimilation is not always a spontaneous process. However delicate the question may be, race and skin colour cannot be ignored as factors which militate against nation-building via the melting pot. In the USA situation for instance there are clear indications that the melting pot approach succeeded with certain white cultural groups, but that the amalgamation of black and white has not achieved the same success. It should however be regarded as a major breakthrough for the assimilationists that Americans of all races and colours share certain basic national values. As we have said, they regard themselves as Americans first, so one can talk of a shared, common national consciousness.

As far as South Africa is concerned, the central problem may be that society consists of profoundly segmented ethnic groups which at present, mainly because of sociopolitical conflicts, do not manifest a common national consciousness. The majority of South Africans do not share a common South Africanism and there is grave dissatisfaction about the neglect of such matters as equality and equal opportunities in respect of landownership, education and political rights. During the past decade in particular, these issues have received concerted attention from politicians and community leaders.

It is clear that the status quo concerning these grievances is not being ignored, but it is also true that the current attempts at reform will have to be continued for at least three decades before significant equality can be attained. In the short term it is essential for concrete progress to be made in raising the quality of life of indigent South Africans in particular, and providing opportunities for participation by representatives of all population groups at all levels of sociopolitical decision-making, including education.

To assist this process, it is vital that relations between the population groups should improve so that they can co-operate in such matters as common decision-making, production and sharing in the results achieved. In this context it is desirable from an educational point of view that education should make a contribution to better intergroup relations and mutual understanding. The problem of what forms of education are relevant then arises.

The above introduction to the various approaches to education in a multicultural society

indicates that classical pluralism still holds the upper hand in South Africa but that there is a growing tendency to accept modified and dynamic pluralism. It would appear therefore that emphasis on diversity is still dominant but that there is also a trend towards a balance between diversity and homogeneity. This tendency is apparent also in such fields as politics, the economy, local government and sport and recreation. As far as education is concerned it seems that, especially since the De Lange Report (1981), more attention is being given to the holistic inclusion of all South African cultural groups in educational thinking. In practice however there are still no signs of a comprehensive emphasis on common interests in education.

When the international context is considered, it appears that education has offered many answers to the question of multiculturality in society. Some of these forms of education, which usually occur in combination and are seldom unadulterated, will be discussed below.

Monocultural education is aimed at the application of education in the interests of a specific cultural group. The transfer of culture and the confirmation of the group's own identity are of prime importance and society in general is considered only in the context of preparation for employment and from the point of view of the group's own ethnicity. Van Loggerenberg (1987: 40) defines it as follows: "'n Monokulturele onderwysstelsel is een wat op die segregasiepatroon van kulturele differensiasie geskoei is. Dit kom daarop neer dat kinders uit verskillende kultuurgroepe afsonderlik in eie skole bedien word en onderwys verskaf word met die eie kultuur as vertrekpunt." [A monocultural education system is based on the segregation pattern of cultural differentiation. What it amounts to is that children from different cultural groups are accommodated separately in their own schools and that education is provided with their own culture as the point of departure.] She also points out that in this system education within the context of group culture is absolutized and cultural diversity is undervalued.

Intercultural education is interpreted in a variety of ways and it is sometimes impossible to distinguish in the literature between intercultural education and other forms of education such as antiracist education. In Western Europe it is sometimes described as education for children from cultural minorities (such as the Gastarbeiter in West Germany) to effect their successful integration into society. As far as the USA is concerned, the emphasis is placed on the establishment of good intergroup relations, respect for human rights, handling conflict and combating such phenomena as discrimination, stereotyping and prejudice (cf. Van Loggerenberg 1987: 40-42 and Goodey 1989: 12-16).

Karstanje (1985: 2) sees intercultural education in the Netherlands as "de verzameling van

onderwijsactiviteiten die betrekking hebben op verhoudingen tussen (leden van) etnische groepen" [the sum total of teaching activities relating to relationships between (members of) ethnic groups]. He goes on to claim that this form of education is typically to be found in schools in which children from different ethnic groups are educated. Intercultural education has as its objectives:

- The promotion of knowledge of and insight into ethnic relations,
- combating ethnic prejudices,
- opposing racist behaviour.

Holistic perspectives are dominant in <u>international and global education</u>. The world as a macrosystem is brought into relation with a specific society and its educational situation. The aim is to make young people aware of the interdependence of human groups and of the fact that certain problems can be dealt with effectively only at international level. They include pollution, damage to the ozone layer and the threat of nuclear war. However the South African situation is so complex that one requires a global perspective just to understand the problems of the region. In this society we find a microcosm of world problems, probably because of the First and Third World elements present.

As Americans became ethnically aware during the sixties, <u>multi-ethnic education</u> made its appearance. Banks (1987: 531-541) gives an account of multi-ethnic education, and explains its origins as follows: "Ethnic groups demanded changes in the educational system because they believed that the school could be an important instrument in their empowerment and liberation. Most ethnic groups have a tenacious faith in the school to help them attain social mobility and structural inclusion ... despite the arguments by revisionists such as Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Jencks <u>et al</u>. (1972) that the school merely reproduces the social structure and depoliticizes powerless ethnic groups" (Banks 1987: 531-532). Those educationists who support multi-ethnic education against this background are usually strongly opposed to assimilationist thinkers because assimilation is seen as the deliberate inhibiting of pluralist thinking with the aim of furthering the ideals of the dominant (USA) cultural group, also called the Anglo stream or mainstream. The assimilationists put it quite clearly: "that the diverse ethnic and racial groups within the United States not only should but also will eventually surrender their unique characteristics and acquire those of Anglo- or mainstream Americans" (<u>ibid</u>. 537).

Multi-ethnic education aims at ordering curricula so that the skills and experiences of the different ethnic groups are accurately reflected. The perspective of each ethnic group on

culturally sensitive subjects in particular is respected and used in teaching.

Multicultural education corresponds with multi-ethnic education to a considerable extent but can be regarded as a broader concept. It concentrates not only on ethnic minorities but on the diversity of groups in a society.

In a bid for clarity in the midst of numerous definitions of multicultural education, Modgil et al. (1986: 5) refer to Katz's (1982), work which attempts to achieve a synthesis from the available literature: "Multicultural education is preparation for the social, political and economic realities that individuals experience in culturally diverse and complex human encounters ... Multicultural education could include, but not be limited to, experiences which (i) promote analytical and evaluative abilities to confront issues such as participatory democracy, racism and sexism, and the parity of power; (ii) develop skills for values clarification including the study of manifest and latent transmission of values; (iii) examine the dynamics of diverse cultures and the implications for developing teaching strategies; and (iv) examine linguistic variations and diverse learning styles as a basis for the development of appropriate teaching strategies".

The problem of reaching consensus on the concept of multicultural education is aggravated by divergent approaches. Some of these in the literature are assimilationist, cultural pluralist and antiracist definitions of multiculturality. It would appear, however, that cultural pluralism is most closely linked to multicultural education. Triandis (in Modgil et al. 1986: 96) for instance calls for "additive multiculturalism where people learn to be effective and to appreciate others who are different in culture", while Montero-Sieburth (1988: 5) claims that multicultural education will lead to the acknowledgement of differences in cultural values between individuals and groups; that strategies will be developed for improving cross-cultural communication; and that more effective learning will result from multicultural education.

Baptiste (1977) claims that multicultural education represents the institutionalizing of cultural pluralism in schools (cf. Suzuki 1984: 299). Suzuki (1984: 305) sees multicultural education as a logical development from a society characterized by pluralism. He believes that society should be changed so that cultural pluralism can become a reality. He believes that schools can play an important role in this evolutionary process.

3.5   EDUCATION FOR A CHANGING SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY

Although the dominant pattern of education still contains strong elements of classical pluralism

and monocultural education, there are also signs of gradual movement towards modified and dynamic pluralism with multi-ethnic, intercultural and multicultural education forms in private schools. If we can accept that a sufficient improvement in intergroup relations as well as respect and appreciation for the variety of cultures in society can also be realized in segregated schools, there are also to some extent indications of multi-ethnic, multicultural and intercultural trends in certain government schools.

These trends can be summarized in terms of the concept "transitional phase education". Transitional phase education means education which is changed according to a deliberate plan to meet the needs of a visibly changing society. As far as this type of education in South Africa is concerned, it can be described as education which is increasingly being directed towards improving intergroup relations. This would appear to be a pressing need in the country and it will consequently have a strong influence on changes affecting education. However transitional phase education will not be absolutized and pushed through at the expense of educational standards.

Transitional phase education does not mean that all existing structures, values and standards must of necessity change. Christians, Moslems and Hindus all have certain non-negotiable beliefs which have remained constant through centuries of evolution. Where a society is demonstrably changing, however, it is essential that attempts should be made through planned changes in education to meet the most urgent needs of society.

Transitional phase education can therefore be described as a purposive attempt at effecting dynamic change in education with the aim of exerting a positive influence on society's problems. Of course education will not be the sole and single answer to these problems, but it can make a contribution to progress in solving them. The idea is thus to initiate dynamic processes in education in order to improve intergroup relations.

A question which must be answered is: How can transitional phase education be practised in South Africa? This problem requires a criterion-based investigation of trends in South African education. The next problem to be discussed will therefore be the design of contextually valid criteria for the South African education situation.

3.6 EDUCATION CRITERIA IN THE CONTEXT OF A CHANGING SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY

3.6.1 Contextual validity

These transitional phase education criteria are regarded as standards which must be met in

order to stimulate dynamic change in intergroup relations in society via the education system.

In seeking criteria for assessing education in South Africa, contextual validity emerges as a problem simply because of the great contrasts present in the country's population. It is logical for instance to ask whether the South African education system is predominantly an African or a Western one.

In spite of the wide variety of (own affairs) education departments, South African schools still broadly adhere to Western norms and standards. The De Lange Report for instance points out that the attempt to provide equal opportunities in South African education deals with "... the right of every individual to receive equal treatment in the allocation of collective benefits in the social structure ... In terms of contemporary Western civilizaton norms it does however imply the postulate of common humanity and the right every person has to expect that organized society will acknowledge the instrinsic values of individuality and humanity and promote the realization of these values" (1981: 205-206).

In spite of the fact that "the standards of present-day Western civilization" are at least assumed to apply as a common factor in South African education, South African education is different - there are definite differences in respect of concretizing and operationalizing internationally accepted educational objectives.

Educational objectives accepted by UNESCO and the International Bureau of Education (IBE) in Geneva in the spirit of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights are fairly widely accepted in South Africa today, but they are restricted and differently applied. It is clear for instance that international (Western oriented) education subscribes to the following objectives: "... in most widely conceived terms, education is regarded as a universal human right and that certain aims of education have been widely adopted. These are that education should develop the all-round intellectual, moral, physical and aesthetic capabilities of individual children and that education should contribute to the improvement of society economically and, depending on circumstances politically and socially" (Holmes et al. 1985: 7).

Improvement of the economic, political and social dimensions of society is undoubtedly very much needed in South Africa, but the conceptions of interest groups in this country on how this improvement should be brought about vary from evolutionary reform to revolutionary radicalism. Then there is also apathy, as there is in any society, on the part of those who support the status quo because it suits them. This variety of conflicting points of view is to be found in schools as well, in spite of regular pleas that education should not be politicized. South African schools are politicized: implicitly or explicitly, knowingly or unknowingly, subtly

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or blatantly, politics spills over into schools, and schools are at present one of the fields where the pulsating political conflicts in this country are being enacted. Indeed the National Party Government which has been in power since 1948 has always been criticized by "leftist" (in South African terms) opponents for reducing schools to instruments of the apartheid ideology so as to keep a minority regime in power.

It has become necessary in South Africa to modify both the school system and the nature of education in such a way that it

* · can move to some extent out of the area of direct political conflict;
* will be more widely accepted by the inhabitants of South Africa.

These objectives are clearly idealistic, but it is equally clear that there must be movement in this direction in order to build a new South African education system proactively. In the context of any imaginable Christian and humanitarian frames of reference, the need to modify the status quo is patently justified. The question is not whether the change ought to be made, but how it can take place subject, among other things, to the financial and manpower constraints of the South African situation.

Before we proceed with the formulation of some criteria, a few remarks must first be made about education systems from the point of view of systems theory (cf. Bondesio & Berkhout 1987: 34; Van Niekerk 1988; Idenburg 1971: 14).

3.6.2 The education system as a system

(1) Internal dynamics

Education systems are characterized by internal and external dynamics, which can be distinguished but not separated. The internal dynamics become apparent in the functioning of the education system as a whole. An education system can also be described as the total or unity of matters or parts allied to or concerning the phenomenon of educative teaching. An education system's right to exist lies in its ability to support and practise effective educative teaching.

The children who leave their families to enter the education system should therefore be assisted through educative teaching to eventually become part of society in a way that is characterized for example by the potential to practise a career and to establish a family or

relationship in a responsible fashion. The quality of the "product" of the system, usually a young adult, is clearly dependent on the quality of the "process" which can in general terms be called educative teaching. From a systems theory perspective, educative teaching is not only the aim of the education system but also a function of its internal and external dynamics.

The internal dynamics are recognizable in the interaction between educational components, educational functions and part structures (cf. Bondesio & Berkhout, 1987: 34 et seq.; Van Niekerk 1988: 35). These related parts of the education system will now be very briefly considered, with a view to arriving at a better understanding of the prevailing unsatisfactory intergroup relations in the country from the perspective of the South African education system.

It would appear from the sources referred to above that educational components consist of people, things, abstractions and issues. Pupils, teachers, textbooks, schools, curricula and aims are examples of educational components.

Educational functions are apparently really also educational management actions. These functions can be separated into various categories: anticipating functions, executive functions, controlling functions and part structures.

Anticipating functions include planning, legislation and curriculum design. Executive functions include administration and the provision of education, while controlling functions include evaluation, inspection and examination.

The part structures are the essential foundations for the implementation of educational functions and can therefore be regarded as part of the infrastructure side of educational management actions. Part structures comprise the controlling, administrative and financing structures, which in the main accommodate the decision-making authority; the educational structure, which involves the establishment and fine tuning of the relationship between the various kinds of education and pupil needs; and the physical structure - the buildings and infrastructure as well as the auxiliary structures such as educational psychology, research and curriculum services (cf. Van Niekerk 1988: 35).

(2)   External dynamics

From a systems theory point of view the education system is in constant interaction with the forces in society — this can be regarded as the external dynamics. Social forces such as the

demographic factor, the economic system, religion and world view, the political system, the social system and science and technology influence the institutions in society, which themselves have a significant effect on the education system. At the same time the education system also influences the institutional nature of society and has an effect, albeit a limited one, on societal forces.

It is important to note, however, that if there is relative harmony between the social forces and the education system, there will be a healthy society with adequate provision of education. If, on the other hand, there is a tense and dissonant interaction between the social forces and the education system, this will increase the conflict potential in a country.

As far as the South African situation is concerned, the social demands or demands arising from the social forces are in sharp contrast to the functioning of aspects of the education system. There is obvious conflict between the internal and external dynamics affecting the education system. This conflict is internally evident in the unrest in black and coloured schools, boycotts, the existence of various organizations opposing the system such as the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) and attempts to create an alternative education system such as People's Education.

As for the external dynamics, the fact that the population of South Africa lives constantly in an atmosphere of emergency regulations surely provides sufficient proof of the discord, dissonance and conflict in society which spills over into the classroom. The intensity of the crisis in South Africa is especially clear from the fact that certain social forces are inextricably linked with the teaching in the school. Large numbers of urban blacks appear to have difficulty at present in distinguishing between education and the liberation struggle. The schools are part of the struggle, the pupils are often regarded as freedom fighters, and the school buildings and grounds sometimes become an integral part of the violence.

The merits or otherwise of the liberation struggle are not at issue here. What we are concerned with is the possibility of establishing better intergroup relations in South Africa through education. The fact remains, however, that various (external) social forces will have to be satisfactorily dealt with before there can be any question of an improvement in relations among population groups via the education system.

3.6.3 Contextually valid educational criteria

Against this background we shall now endeavour to set a few educational criteria for the

transitional phase. These criteria are intended to be standards which a South African education system and the practice of education will have to meet in order to make a contribution to the improvement of intergroup relations and to the more general acceptance of the education system by all South African population groups.

These criteria should be considered in their relation to each other. The intention is that they should not be used in isolation, as this could lead to distortion.

Two basic forms can be regarded as fundamental to the criteria: democratization and parental co-responsibility. Democratization is a directional theme for all the criteria, while respect for inputs from parents and the devolution of aspects of authority over and responsibility for education to parent bodies is considered essential.

(1)   Equal educational opportunities, equal educational quality and attainability

Every pupil, regardless of colour, sex, language or religion, has the right to equal educational opportunities and equal educational quality within the context of what is attainable.

This case can be argued from a variety of perspectives. It is however clear that black South Africans in particular are experiencing major backlogs compared to whites in respect of the provision, opportunities and quality of education. Inequality in education is in fact without doubt one of the primary grievances and major causes of unhappiness, unrest and rebellion in this country.

A few basic objectives in striving for equality will be briefly discussed. References to a child or to children should be understood as excluding matters such as race, colour, origins or language.

*   Every child should have an equal opportunity to enter the education system. It is accepted that children have the right to education, but that at least in principle they should share responsibility with their parents (or guardians) and teachers for the learning they do.

*   Every child should have an equal claim to educational expenditure and quality. In principle this means that the provision of education should be so organized that every child should have an optimal opportunity, in accordance with his/her potential or limitations, for learning and development within an education system that provides

equal opportunities and education of an equal quality.

* Examinations of an equal standard should apply for every child in a given standard.

* Certificates of equal value should be issued for equal achievements.

Equality in educational opportunities and quality has grown in many respects, especially since the nineteen-fifties, into a core ideal in the black sectors of South African society. The striving for equality has been mythologized in certain respects so that even the most constructive and positive attempts to improve black education have been condemned as insulting and oppressive. The phenomenon should however be understood against the background of the UN's Declaration of Human Rights which was formulated in 1948, a year which the black population of South Africa probably views as the birth of restrictive legislation and the official sanctioning of institutionalized petty and grand apartheid.

Operating costs, the creation of an adequate infrastructure and the availability of satisfactorily trained teachers can be regarded as some of the basic parameters within which the attainability of parity in South African education can be considered.

The financing of education is thus seen as a central issue. As an illustration we shall risk a few rough estimates. The aim is not to make sophisticated statistical or econometric predictions, but merely to reflect an intuitive sense of the seriousness of the problem. If we were to accept for instance that a maximum of 18 % of the national budget should be spent on education, that the current expenditure on white pupils should be taken as the norm and that the population growth rate and real growth in the budget will both grow at about 4 % per annum, then only after about three decades could there be any question of parity in education being achieved (cf. Bondesio et al. n.d.: 26-28).

Per capita expenditure as a basis for comparison can, however, according to the Department of Education and Training, lead to misunderstandings about the current attempts to equalize education (1986: 79). The drastic differences in population growth rates in the different population groups also make it difficult to achieve equality in the provision of education.

As far as the establishment of a satisfactory infrastructure is concerned, the main problem is once again finance, although historically determined backlogs also have to be taken into account. The fact that the differences in the provision of education for the different population groups have historical roots exacerbates the problem of providing classrooms and school

buildings, for instance, which are satisfactory and comparable.

The quality of education correlates positively with the quality of the available teachers. In black education, in spite of progress with teacher training (especially since 1986), there are still major backlogs in respect of qualified teachers. The establishment of a properly trained body of teachers in the black educational sector in particular wil not be attainable in the short term.

(2)   Freedom of choice, freedom of religion and parental say

The right of pupils and parents to non-discriminatory freedom of religion, free association and disassociation should be acknowledged.

The fact that people can choose, means freedom but also restrictions and responsibility. Every education system, including South Africa's, reveals flexibility and openness in some respects and rigidity and inaccessibility in others, especially with regard to admissions and streaming. The harsh reality is that the majority of black South Africans probably see the own affairs education system as an extension of apartheid. These people experience the education system as rigid, closed and unacceptable. This has led to the boycotts, protests, vandalism and sometimes blatant irresponsibility accompanied by criminal acts.

The proposed Human Rights Charter (SA Law Commission 1989) contains several well-considered articles on freedom of choice in education. "The right to freedom of choice with regard to education and training" (Article 10: SA Law Commission: 472) is an example. The De Lange Report of 1981 also called for freedom of choice in formal and non-formal education: "No person will on educationally irrelevant grounds be debarred from available educational opportunities from which he might benefit" (1981: 212).

Whether freedom of choice in education and training should be regarded as a fundamental human right or as a policy guideline does not alter the fact that it should be looked at in the context of other relevant facts.

If freedom of choice is interpreted as a fundamental human right applicable to education, then it is clear that other, equally fundamental rights should also be taken into account, such as:

"Article 16
The right to associate freely with other groups and individuals."

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"Article 17

The right of every person or group to disassociate himself or itself from other individuals or groups: Provided that if such disassociation constitutes discrimination on the ground of race, colour, religion, language or culture, no public or state funds shall be granted directly or indirectly to promote the interests of the person who or group which so discriminates."

"Article 21

The right of every person, individually or together with others, freely to practise his culture and religion and use his language."

From an educational point of view Article 17 in particular has important implications. These articles in the proposed Human Rights Charter convey one message very clearly: dissociation connected with discrimination (Article 17) may not be financed with public money. If education is practised as an own affair, as it is now, it is logical to assume that the existing system and legislation would therefore be at risk, despite the gist of Article 21.

From an educational point of view it is clear that the limits which accompany freedom of choice in the existing system are too narrow and are experienced as smothering and oppressive by large numbers of South Africans. Undoubtedly the freedom of choice of individuals should be broadened - but this should happen according to evolutionary principles, since education systems cannot be effectively transformed overnight.

Other manifestations of freedom of choice that merit recognition and attention if intergroup relations are to be improved are freedom of religion and freedom of choice by parents and parent bodies in respect of the education of their children.

South African education already makes provision for freedom of religion. No pupils are forced to take part in religious practices which they or their parents find unacceptable. However parental choice regarding education is still subject to numerous restrictions - this includes choice of schools, policy, curricula, etc. The reason for this is on the one hand the system of own affairs and on the other the view that the professional integrity and field of practice of teachers and educational policy makers should be inviolate (cf. the functions of management councils). Here there is a need for genuine reform and democratization.

(3)   Career orientation, general forming and differentiation

Career oriented education or technically oriented education should be introduced as a possible

choice or as an integrated part of general formative education after due consideration of the pupils' potential.

Pupils who have a strong sense of the connection between school and career will at least hypothetically be pupils who learn purposefully. Career oriented education may well - especially in the case of less able learners - eliminate much frustration and conflict in their personal and social lives.

In spite of the fact that the De Lange Report placed strong emphasis on "... general formative preparatory career education ..." (1981: 139), it would appear that academically oriented education still enjoys precedence in society and in the education system. The De Lange Report actually states that in South Africa's current development phase, "... considerably more than half of the learners should be involved in general formative preparatory career education at the senior intermediate level" (1981: 139).

Since this statement was made there have been determined efforts to promote technically oriented career education. The Department of Education and Training in particular did imaginative and constructive planning (1985: 1-29) during the eighties, which was a period of relative progress in black education. Because of the political and racial polarization in South Africa, however, these attempts enjoyed little recognition by the people. The problem was basically one of selective perceptions based on negative stereotyping, emotions and attitudes - this can be seen as unavoidable in the context of a profoundly segmented society.

Bot (cf. Cooper et al. 1989: 287) believes that the number of people undergoing technical training in South Africa is far too small, and that not nearly enough is being done to improve the situation. By the year 2 000 there will be an estimated shortfall of 200 000 workers with technically oriented degrees or diplomas. At the same time there will be a surplus of 3,8 million workers with Standard 8-10 training and a surplus of 5,6 million workers with an educational level lower than Standard 8 (cf. Cooper et al. 1989: 287; Dostal 1986). These estimates are based on an annual economic growth rate of 2 %.

Bot (cf. Cooper: ibid.) also points out that career oriented education in South Africa is largely segregated, although technical work is integrated in all sectors of society. It can therefore be deduced that, especially in the black communities, there are several sources of dissatisfaction and frustration concerning career oriented technical education, for instance:

* The provision of technical education is inadequate (this applies to all population

groups).

- The perception is widespread that career oriented technical education is inferior to academically oriented education.
- There is the perception that segregated career education is alien because it does not mesh with an integrated labour system.

Berkhout (1989: 13-21) questions the overemphasis on career oriented education as a means of combating unemployment. She refers to international research in her analysis:
"Psacharopoulos (1987: 195) for example, has found that school leavers with vocational training are not necessarily more successful than job seekers with traditional schooling in finding employment in Colombia: if anything, they show the reverse, those who have followed vocational courses have significantly longer periods of unemployment: Similar results were obtained for Tanzania" (ibid. 18).

She rightly points out that career oriented education as a product of a manpower approach to education is not the whole solution to the manpower problem. Too much is expected of career oriented education, but the fact remains that South African education still underemphasizes career orientation.

Since meaningful training and job creation promote industrial peace, a plea is made for career oriented education as a possible choice or as an integrated part of generally formative education.

Career oriented academically formative education assumes differentiation in the school system. The principle that pupils should be able to benefit from the education they receive implies that as far as possible there should be differentiation so as to meet the needs of the pupil population and the parent community. The luxury of separate schools for different study directions cannot be afforded - internal differentiation within the mainstream of education may be the best option for the future.

(4)   Antiracism

The South African school system and the educative teaching in that system must be antiracist.

In order to improve intergroup relations through education, pupils should be equipped with antiracist attitudes. Such attitudes include feelings, opinions and actions characterized by

respect for the humanity, dignity and uniqueness of people of other races.

Racism on the other hand is characterized by stereotyping of and prejudice towards people of other races. South African society is marked to a considerable extent by racist attitudes linked to deeply rooted segmentation in an apartheid system. Racism engenders conflict and harms human relations. It cannot be condoned from any religious, humanitarian or educational perspective.

However this phenomenon is not restricted to South Africa. It is typical of intergroup relations in all plural or multicultural societies (cf. Botha 1990: 76-79), even if its existence is sometimes ignored or denied initially.

With reference to England, the comments by Riley (cf. Modgil et al. 1986: 3) in a discussion of the Rampton Report are relevant:

> "... certainly many of the things Rampton has to say are not new: that West Indian children are being disadvantaged by our educational system ... The unique contribution of Rampton is to suggest, for the first time, that this disadvantage is caused by factors other than 'temporary problems of adjustment and language.' The question of racism within schools is finally raised in an official document: 'we are convinced from the evidence that we have obtained that racism both intentional and unintentional has a direct and important bearing in the performance of West Indian children in our schools'".

Criticism of racism is however often onesided. Cole (in Modgil et al. 1986: 128) for instance sees racism as occurring exclusively among whites in England, because (male) whites have the power in that society. The underdogs in the British system are said not to be racist by Cole, which is of course a crude and obvious distortion of reality.

Racism is often associated with capitalism. It appears from the work of Bagley (in Modgil et al. 1986: 49) that racism in Western societies is regarded as a subsystem of those societies which oppress and exploit people through capitalism. The workers who belong to the same race as the capitalists in control also appear to have strongly racist tendencies. Bagley claims that even in education, racism flourishes among working class pupils: "In schools, white working class youth have been the most racist, and their attitudes and behaviour have been most resistant to change" (ibid.: 49).

How antiracism can be promoted in a system which condones racism is naturally a tricky question. Antiracism cannot be learnt to good effect in schools while racism is experienced in society. Reasonable harmony between constitutional structure, school system and classroom practice is required for effective education towards social integration. Evolution towards antiracism in society fosters evolution towards antiracism in the classroom, and vice versa.

(5)   Contact

South African education should strive for contact aimed at the common goal of improving intergroup relations.

Reports on research in this area show clearly that contact between pupils of different population groups contains the possibility of improving intergroup relations. Botha (1990: 86) believes however that much of the experimental work reported is methodologically disputable. In this regard Hewstone and Brown (1986: 1-44) have produced an interesting review of the research entitled "Contact is not enough: An intergroup perspective on the contact hypothesis".

The contact hypothesis is the belief that interaction between individuals belonging to different population groups will reduce prejudices, negative stereotyping and intergroup tensions. Commenting on this hypothesis in the fifties, Allport concluded that contact between people of different races could lead to an increase or a decrease in prejudice, depending on the situation. He made a major contribution to our understanding of factors which play a role in prejudice. His taxonomy of prejudice factors is just as relevant today as it was three decades ago (ibid. 1986: 2-4).

Clement et al. (1977: 205) believe that contact has a positive effect on attitudes. Contact creates the opportunity for someone with specific prejudices against a certain population group to meet members of that group who in no way match the stereotypical caricature he/she has created. Commensurate cognitive dissonance arises in the person. He/she feels uncomfortable and disturbed by the clashing perceptions - the climate is then favourable for development or growth, to use the idiom of Dewey, Kilpatrick and Rogers. Consonant positive experiences with members of other population groups can therefore counter negative stereotyping.

Amir (1969: 338) warns that there may be a difference between logical hypotheses and real results, in that contact in everyday life will not necessarily improve intergroup relations. The

alternative of institutional, structured separation in the same geographical area as a means of improving intergroup relations is however even more unrealistic.

It would appear that contact should meet certain requirements if it is to have a positive effect on intergroup relations (Botha 1990: 84-86), for example:

- Support from the government, community and other authority figures - in the school context one could also mention support on the part of the education department, school principal and teachers towards improving intergroup relations (cf. Weigel et al. 1975: 219).
- Mastery of the languages of other groups is regarded by Triandis and Vasselou (1967: 316) as beneficial to changes in attitude.
- Common goals are considered more important and meaningful than individual goals. Individual goals are clearly subordinated to what the various groups see themselves as sharing (Allport 1958: 454).
- The contact should not be stagnant and superficial — it should reach more meaningful levels of involvement, understanding, dedication and encounter (Riordan 1978: 176).
- The members of the respective groups should preferably come from approximately the same status levels, and should feel that they are part of a new team or group (Allport 1958: 454).

Contact as a strategy for improving intergroup relations in South Africa is potentially promising. However experimental work indicates that contact is by no means the answer to all the intergroup relations problems in South Africa. Foster and Finchilescu (1986: 124) agree with Pettigrew (1971: 75) that because of the composition of South Africa's population there is actually more interracial contact as such in South Africa than in the USA for example. Foster and Finchilescu (1986: 134-135) have found that contact in itself is not a satisfactory strategy for improving intergroup relations. It is more a declaration of intent by blacks and whites to endeavour to intergroup relations:

"The argument is rather that given the history and present nature of the South African problem, contact per se is not sufficient - to re-establish human contact in the non-contact society will require collective black-white strategies directed centrally at the very processes of social categorization that constitute the destructive lack of contact" (ibid.: 135).

(6)   Standards (academic and technical) and certification

Uniform South African standards and certification should be applied in education.

By academic and technical standards is meant that pupils at different stages should meet certain requirements or standards of knowledge and mastery of specified subject matter and skills. Standards of learning are linked to standards of living and the quality of life. A negative effect on academic and technical standards in integrated school situations has the potential to damage intergroup relations - this is of particular concern to white South Africans when reference is made to a post-apartheid era.

Intergroup relations are also prejudiced because blacks in particular do not have the opportunity to achieve higher standards in academic and technical subjects. The root of the problem is probably the fact that black schools have too few well-qualified teachers who often work under physically difficult conditions, and black pupils who suffer from environmental deprivation.

Especially in respect of the debate about opening schools in South Africa, Kapp (1986: 15) believes that notice should be taken of a similar debate in the USA as both debates deal with the same principles and problem although in different ways. He refers in particular to the report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education entitled "A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Education Reform".

As far as standards are concerned, Kapp cites problems affecting the pursuit of equality for all, especially the striving to give black Americans and other minority groups the chance of catching up with the whites.

In this process standards were lowered because, as Denis P. Doyle points out, it is not easy to get everyone on to the same high level; consequently the high standards were brought down to a level which was often close to the lowest because that was the largest common factor.

But standards are also relative - "relative to the particular time and place and to particular learners and their circumstances - " (Coombs 1985: 108). This relativity is probably experienced more acutely in South Africa than in the Western world - the variety of groups and the contrasts in developmental levels are often striking here. When staff are recruited in the private sector, for instance, there are clear perceptions of the difference in standard between black and white matriculation pupils.

The man in the street associates standards with school-leaving certificates and pupils' results as published in the media. If the other side of the situation was not so tragic, it would be amusing to watch the Standard 10 standards game. White high schools compete for the most distinctions, and the status and promotions of teachers depend to a large extent on them. Provincialism is evident in the pursuit of some or other winning achievement, and every year there are pupils who fall ill or run away, or commit suicide because of the pressure to achieve. Black parents, teachers and pupils feel aggrieved and protest if the pass rate falls. The government is held responsible, and personal accountability in respect of school attendance and study is relegated to the background. As far as the black community is concerned, they are at present still in a very strong negotiating position as a result of a history of discrimination and apartheid which has disadvantaged them. If the emotion can be taken out of the arguments about pass rates and standards, these people may themselves become more realistic about standards. At this stage there are far too many demands for a pass and not enough understanding that standards have to be met.

Intergroup relations could benefit if each group clearly understood that

*   there were equal opportunities for the achievement of a generally valid South African standard,

*   South African standards were uniformly applied so that uniform certification could also be attained.

There are also calls for responsibility for the quality and standard of education to be devolved to local communities. This approach cannot be followed at present because most South Africans would probably regard it as disadvantageous and discriminatory, because of the inequality and discrimination in the past. The problem is that socio-economic stratification will play a decisive role in this regard and that differences in the quality and standard of education will be emphasized rather than evened out.

(7)   Culture transfer and creation

Apart from establishing group cultural identity through the transfer of culture, the school is also responsible for working at the establishment of a new South African identity by stimulating acculturation and the creation of culture.

The school is responsible for

*   on the one hand transferring culture with a view to the establishment of cultural

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identity and the integration of pupils into society

* on the other hand creating, re-creating and renewing culture in order to expand the established identities of all South Africans, to further their understanding of each other and to promote nation-building.

South Africa is characterized by a wealth of cultural groups, but this diversity is still largely a non-utilized resource. The main reasons for this are little contact, large-scale segregation and widespread feelings of injustice, aggression, anxiety and bitterness. It is probably true to say that the enrichment potential of the heterogeneous cultures has been overlooked or ignored by many South Africans.

Although the cultural diversity in South African society has been properly taken into account in the current education policy and system, cultural contact, renewal and creation - i.e. the identification of common ground and of creative mutual intercultural dynamics - are largely neglected and even stigmatized. In South African literature on education the underemphasis of common ground in education is widely regarded as a shortcoming (cf. Stone 1982: 60; De Vries 1985: 7 and Van Loggerenberg 1987: 19).

It is still difficult to make clear distinctions between cultural, social and political contents. Skilbeck (1982: 27-35) for instance discusses the problem of the transfer of culture as opposed to the creation of culture in an article entitled "The school and cultural development" which is a clear illustration of the confusion between these concepts. Nevertheless he does indicate the school's strategic functioning in respect of social change.

It is in times of crisis and rapid change that schools have a more prominent function in the cultural development of a society. As Skilbeck observes:

> "When the Napoleonic armies overran the German states, it was the idealist philosopher Fichte, who in his `Addresses to the German Nation' proposed a far reaching project of nation-building through a reformed education. In the Soviet Union during the nineteen-thirties, a quite different political system and philosophical approach provided the under-pinning for no less determined attempts to relate education to nation-building ... ." (1982: 28).

Even if one does not agree with the reconstructive or reforming function of the school, it is impossible to ignore the demands for socially relevant education. There are many possible strategies which schools in the midst of rapid social change could use; only a few are

mentioned here. Firstly, the school could identify the dominant trends of change and simply swim with the tide without offering any resistance. Secondly, particular facets from the cultural spectrum of the past could be selected for conservation. Thirdly, schools could go on with their work as if there were no changes in the cultural life. Fourthly, schools could orientate themselves to the future progressively and pro-actively. Future scenarios are stretched for the sake of their relevance to education and the possible (admittedly slight) influence that can be exerted by schools on society.

The second strategy involves cultural transfer while the fourth relates to the creation of culture. In the rapidly changing society of South Africa a healthy balance would seem to be demanded between transfer and creation. The special cultural identity of a Zulu child, for instance, could be established by the transfer of culture and enriched by extending elements of South African culture and establishing a South African identity. The problem of course is that South African nation-building is impossible in the midst of violence, unrest and social polarization. A new, widespread spirit of mutual respect and a will to stimulate South African nationhood among all population groups are needed to enable schools to gradually introduce a balance between the transfer and the creation of culture in the school.

(8)   Language

Education should as far as possible be in the mother tongue and language should be a consideration when admitting children to a school.

South African history is marked by language issues and conflicts. The origins of Afrikaans, the language policy of Lord Milner, the Soweto school unrest in 1976 and the controversy about a language dispensation in a post - apartheid society (cf. Steyn 1989: 315-327) typify only a few facets of the complexity underlying language questions in South Africa. Steyn (ibid.) for instance highlights the oversimplifications in the debate on the revaluation of Afrikaans in a new political dispensation.

Engelbrecht (1987: 44-45) focusses attention on the following points of view on language in the South African education system:

> "In Suid-Afrika was daar nog altyd 'n mate van tweespalt tussen die voorstanders·van moedertaalonderrig en diegene wat 'n bepaalde taal om pragmatiese redes as medium voorgestaan het. Betreklik min twyfel kan egter daaroor bestaan dat die jongste opvoedkundige insigte die moedertaal as medium van onderrig ondersteun - ten minste

totdat die kind sodanige beheersing van die taal en vertroue in die skoolsituasie verkry het, dat oorskakeling na 'n ander medium sonder traumatiese belewinge plaasvind" [There has always been some measure of conflict between the supporters of mother tongue education and those who have supported a particular language for pragmatic reasons. There can be little doubt however that the latest educational insights support the mother tongue as the medium of instruction - at least until the child has acquired such command of the language and security in the school situation that changing over to another medium can take place without traumatic experiences] (1987: 15).

Educationally speaking, mother tongue instruction is a logical choice. The connection between language and thought, intelligence and abstraction is indisputable. It is especially important for average and below average pupils to establish their language structure properly in their own language before they are exposed to a second language as a medium of instruction.

In the real world however it is not always possible for a country like South Africa to allow total freedom of choice in respect of medium of education. As much flexibility as possible should be provided.

Against this background some possible approaches to language in schools are outlined.

- Admission requirements should be such that only pupils with the necessary competence in the existing medium of instruction in a school should be admitted to that school.
- Pupils should be taught in their mother tongue for the first four school years, after which they should change over to another language.
- A school should serve its pupils through the medium of more than one language. Separate classes can be created on the basis of a common language of instruction (for example the existing parallel medium classes) or more than one language can be employed in the same class (for instance the existing dual medium classes).

There are sufficient indications in the literature that as far as possible provision should be made in education systems for the freedom of choice of both pupils and parents in respect of the medium of instruction. However as already mentioned, unlimited freedom is not allowed anywhere in the world, and so it would seem that the officially accepted language - the language or languages with government sanction - will be dominant for either ideological or financial reasons (cf. Steyn 1989: 315-327).

In any human rights manifesto, group values such as culture, religion and language are not usually protected as group rights but as individual rights. The South African Law Commission has formulated Article 22 of its proposed human rights charter as follows: "The right of every person to be safeguarded from discrimination against his culture, religion <u>or language</u> and to be safeguarded from preferential treatment of the culture, religion or language of others: <u>Provided that legislation may determine the official languages of a region</u>: ..." (writer's own accentiation).

It would appear therefore that the government will have to take into account the highly sensitive issue of the language medium in schools in order to promote the improvement of intergroup relations. The insensitive imposition of English as an official language, probably the future <u>lingua franca</u> in South Africa, would be detrimental to sound intergroup relations. There are for instance an estimated six million people in South Africa who regard Afrikaans as their first language, while it is estimated that Zulu and Xhosa are spoken as first languages by even more people, though the numbers are fairly similar.

(9)   Religion

The potential of religion to link people across the boundaries of denomination and population group should be treated with sensitivity and respect in education.

In the discussion on freedom of choice it was noted that there is religious freedom in South African schools. The coloured and black communities in particular are oppposed to separate churches for each population group. The organizational unity of school and religious denomination with total disregard of race or population group can in certain cases occur only in private schools.

The Christian religion can however be regarded as potentially one of the strongest cohesive factors in South African society.

It is interesting to note the following facts:

*   "More than three-quarters of the South African population are regarded as Christians:
*   the largest single religious grouping in the independent black churches represents over 20 % of the total population; ...
*   about half the South African population does not belong to one of the main Western Christian churches" (Van Niekerk 1988: 189; HSRC 1985: 37).

It would appear therefore that the greater part of the school population can be included in a fairly homogeneous religious grouping. At the same time there are of course also a large number of denominations that range from the three Afrikaans sister churches to the Roman Catholic Church.

In an analysis of religious affiliation in terms of population categories, the HSRC (1985: 37) found that Christianity dominates all categories except the Asians. Hinduism has the most adherents among this group, according to Van Niekerk (1988: 189).

Although religion could be a powerful cohesive force in South African society, it has throughout history also been one of the most powerful dividers of mankind. After all, it is people who give expression to religious values, and people who demonstrate how reality can be torn apart. Consider the religious wars in the Christian world (the Thirty Years War and the Eighty Years War), the Iranian conflict and the ongoing struggle in Ireland.

A remarkable phenomenon in this regard is how exegesis, at least in the Afrikaans sister churches, has shifted in the last four decades. During the fifties diversity in creation was the topic, and currently the focus is on unity in Christ. The question is whether theology has developed or whether evolution in society has influenced theology. Perhaps both are true, with the latter probably being the dominant trend.

Nowadays religious rights are thoroughly entrenched in the context of human rights. Engelbrecht (1987: 46) and Lynch (1986: 19-20) refer for instance to Article 2 of the UNO's Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the UNESCO Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice (1978) which include the following extracts respectively:

- "Everyone is entitled to all rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion ...
- Any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, ethnic or national origin or religious intolerance motivated by racist considerations, which destroys or compromises the sovereign equality of States and the right of peoples to self determination, or which limits in an arbitrary or discriminatory manner the right of every human being and group to full development is incompatible with the requirements of an international order which is just and guarantees respect for human rights" (our underlining).

The same theme is to be found in the Human Rights Charter proposed by the South African

Law Commission (1989: 479-480):

"Article 17

The right of every person or group to disassociate himself or itself from other individuals or groups: Provided that if such disassociation constitutes discrimination on the ground of race, colour, religion, language or culture, no public or state funds shall be granted directly or indirectly to promote the interests of the person who or group which so discriminates."

"Article 21

The right of every person, individually or together with others, freely to practise his culture and religion and use his language."

"Article 22

The right of every person to be safeguarded from discrimination against his culture, religion or language and to be safeguarded from preferential treatment of the culture, religion or language of others: Provided that legislation may determine the official languages of a region: Provided further that when in proceedings instituted by an interested person or persons it is alleged that legislation or an executive or administrative act infringes the cultural, religious or linguistic values of any individual or group of individuals, the court shall in adjudicating such allegation have regard to the interests of other individuals or groups of individuals" (our underlining).

The protection of religious rights in a future educational dispensation will definitely contribute to good intergroup relations. A fresh look will however have to be taken at the elimination of possible enforced discriminatory measures which may restrict religious observance to a specific population group in a segregated context. One wonders for instance why Christian youth organizations even in separate or segregated schools do not encourage joint activities in which liaison and contact could take place, at least from time to time.

3.7 SYNTHESIS: DEMOCRATIZATION AS THE GOAL

At the beginning of this chapter assimilationist and pluralist approaches to education in a multicultural society were considered. It appeared that a gradual shift is taking place in South African education systems from classical pluralism to modified and dynamic pluralism. Multi-ethnic, intercultural and multicultural forms of education can be observed in integrated private schools in particular. Even if it were accepted that an effective improvement in

intergroup relations could be realized through the formation of positive attitudes in segregated schools, certain sectors in the government school system are nevertheless showing multi-ethnic, multicultural and intercultural tendencies. These changes in South African schooling can be described as transitional phase education: this means education which is being changed according to a deliberate plan in order to meet the needs of a visibly changing society. In the South African context therefore transitional phase education means education directed towards the improvement of intergroup relations, while maintaining educational standards.

The following were discussed as possible criteria for the realization of transitional phase education:

- equal educational opportunities, equal educational quality and attainability
- freedom of choice, freedom of religion and parental co-responsibility or say
- vocational orientation, general forming and differentiation
- antiracist attitude
- multicultural contact
- maintenance of standards (academic and technical) and certification
- cultural transfer and creation
- mother tongue instruction and language competance
- religion as a binding factor.

These criteria are aimed at the improvement, especially through democratization, of intergroup relations. A central point of conflict in South Africa has always been that decisions are made largely by the whites but often apply to other population groups. This denial of choice can be seen as a cause of the refusal by black youths to act responsibly, for instance. People without choice can hardly be held responsible for choices they regard as deliberately oppressive and exploitative. Democratization can therefore be regarded as a definite objective of education in a changing South Africa.

These criteria correlate positively with curriculum development in a multicultural society. An improvement in intergroup relations is in fact dependent on curriculum development and its classroom application. In Chapter 5 we shall consider curriculum development in a multicultural society, while Chapter 4 will deal with the application of transitional phase education criteria in the context of the current educational scenario.

CHAPTER 4

THE CURRENT SCENARIO IN EDUCATION

4.1   POLARIZATION IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

When the current scenario is viewed globally it is evident that serious polarization has already taken place. The polarization is characterized by an "own affairs" approach on the one hand and alternative education in the form of "People's Education" on the other. The question naturally arises as to whether a possible synthesis or other solution can be found between these two poles by means of transitional phase education. Between the two extremes one finds forms of desegregated education in the private schools. Both the coloured and the Indian own affairs education departments have opened (at least in principle) the schools under their control to pupils of all population groups.

It is clear that today, there is more than ever before, serious dissatisfaction among blacks with regard to basic injustices which they feel they are exposed to under the South African education system.

In this connection Thembela (1986: 40-41) has made statements which, although they are conservative, outline the problem. The following direct quotation will give a picture of moderate black thinking:

> "Black people in South Africa are not only coming from a culture in transition, but are also at the bottom of the South African social structure which happens to be determined by race as well. It is to the black's great credit that a good number has been able to surmount these social and cultural barriers and are able to compete favourably with the other race groups. But these are exceptions. "The great majority is seriously handicapped and cannot get out of this dilemma unless a significant (some people say revolutionary) transformation of society takes place.
>
> A few black children who get admitted into white private schools escape this dilemma but probably get into a worse one. They get alienated from their historical culture group without being accepted or assimilated into the white cultural group. This is complicated by the political issues which create an atmosphere of discrimination of Blacks and make it difficult for them to surmount their educational problems. What I

am saying here is that even if the Blacks were afforded the same type of facilities and equal provision of everything, they would still be faced with the one big problem of adjusting to a discontinuity between their home culture and the school culture.

Problems of overcrowding, lack of facilities, poor teaching and learning, higher drop-out and failure rates etc. are rather symptoms than causes of a situation in which Black schools are functioning at a very low level of productivity. The didactic problem under these conditions can be summarized in the form of a question:

- How does one teach a group of 70 pupils (or more in <u>one</u> class) through a medium of a foreign tongue, a subject that one has hardly mastered himself under drab and dreary conditions?"

Thembela effectively points out that an education system and practice foreign to the constitutional system has difficulty in surviving. Similarly, formal education which is intermittently built on environmental constraints in informal education or family training can hardly survive.

However one looks at black education in South Africa, one cannot escape the reality of an impending explosive crisis. Apart from the references to the approaches such as "own affairs", "People's Education", evolution and desegregation, one can probably think up a variety of other options as well. There is a crisis <u>now</u>, however, which needs to be dealt with and must be dealt with in such a way that, in the long term, positive relations are established between the population groups in this country.

4.2   POLARIZATION: SOME HISTORICAL INDICATORS

4.2.1   "People's Education"

Van der Walt (1987: 28-65) has given a thorough account of the historical roots of "People's Education". Extracts from this work will be referred to in this section, while research reported on by Kruss (1987) will also be mentioned. The historical background to "People's Education" reflects to some extent the progressive polarization in South African education.

* <u>From 1910 to 1952</u>

- Shortly after the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, the African

National Congress was founded in protest against the 1913 law that prevented blacks from owning more than 13 per cent of the land in South Africa.

- In 1952 blacks initiated the Defiance Campaign, which was primarily directed at the pass laws and the policy of racial segregation (or apartheid).

- The Bantu Education Act was promulgated in 1953, bringing all black education under state control (a result of the Eiselen Commission's recommendations in 1949 that drastic reforms were required in Bantu Education).

* <u>From 1953 to 1975</u>

- Various protest actions were initiated against apartheid and Bantu Education, the most important of which was the establishment of the African National Congress (ANC) Freedom Charter at Kliptown on 26 June 1955. This Freedom Charter is evidently still highly regarded by ANC members today.

The following are some of its demands:

"We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know: that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white...

The main demands are:

* The people shall govern!
* All national groups shall have equal rights!
* The people shall share in the country's wealth!
* The land shall be shared among those who work it!
* All shall be equal before the law!
* All shall enjoy equal human rights!
* There shall be work and security!
* The doors of learning and culture shall be opened!
* There shall be houses, security and comfort!
* There shall be peace and friendship!

... These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, <u>until we have won our liberty</u> ..."

With regard to study and cultural life, the following demands are also made (<u>ibid</u>.: 30):

"The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;   Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished."

- Black state universities were established in 1959 and there was resistance because blacks were channelled away from the white universities.
- Coloured education was put under state control in 1963 and education was made compulsory for coloureds.
- Indian education followed the same path from 1965.

In 1967 laws were passed determining that white education in general should be Christian and national in character.

- From 1976 to 1987

- Van der Walt (1987:   33) has pointed out that "Soweto 1976" (the bloody riots of 1976) is regarded by a number of commentators as a turning point in the struggle of black South Africans for democratic rights.
- The unrest continued to 1978, and frustrations with the political system found particular expression in the schools, in protest against "apartheid education".
- In 1980 the Cillié Commission reported as follows on the causes of "Soweto 1976":

There was dissatisfaction with "Bantu education", influx control, the Group Areas Act, the homeland policy and compulsory homeland citizenship.

Other causes were

- ■ legitimate complaints regarding black education and conditions in schools;
- ■ the introduction of Afrikaans as medium of instruction;

- the poor economic conditions which led to great poverty and unemployment;
- the problems associated with apartheid;
- the revolutionary spirit of the 1970's (with particular reference to Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe).

- COSAS (the Congress of South African Students), a national organization wanting to co-ordinate the liberation struggle of all black pupils, came into being in 1979.
- In 1980 school boycotts again flared up, and alternative teaching programmes were initiated from black schools. The content of the programmes included the history of the black people in South Africa, the Soweto uprisings of 1980 and related themes.
- The De Lange Report was published in 1981, but radicals labelled it modernized apartheid in the service of capitalism. Criticism against it mounted after the government would not accept the recommendation of one education department. In this connection Kruss (1987: 9-10) remarks that "... the state has expanded the education system without substantially addressing students' educational and political aspirations. In doing so, they have helped promote the education crisis."
- During 1985 and 1987 unrest - which had at times become dormant - was again ignited, apparently as a result of the proclamation of a partial state of emergency in July 1983 and a full state of emergency in June 1986. These unrest conditions became characteristic of the schools - "Thus school boycotts were transformed into a leading sector in a national political struggle" (Kruss 1987: 10).
- The SPCC (Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee) was established in October 1986, to negotiate with the Department of Education and Training over obstacles in education.
- The NECC (National Education Crisis Committee) was formed in March 1986 with a view to working in the direction of, inter alia, "People's Education" as a post-apartheid education system.
- Van der Walt (1987: 37-39) gives a clear picture of what should be expected in terms of an "Education Charter" which is still to see the light of day.

In the light of their obvious relevance to this study, the two documents he has singled out are quoted in their entirety:

The first document is entitled: Declaration of the Education Charter Campaign and reads as follows:

"We, the peace-loving people of South Africa ...

NOTING:

- that the separate and inferior system of education for the majority of the people of South Africa entrenches inferior and undemocratic ideas
- that the unequal education which students continue to reject further deepens the present crisis
- that the so-called reforms including the De Lange proposals and the White Paper are measures to ensure the continued survival of Apartheid education
- that under this New Constitution, Apartheid education will still be felt in our classrooms and the cultural life of our people will still be harmed.

BELIEVING:

- that education must be based on the needs
- and serve the interests of the people
- that education should be accessible to all regardless of colour, creed, sex or age
- that reforms will not bring about a lasting solution to our problems in education
- that our students' struggles arise out of real grievances
- that education is not an issue affecting students alone but all sectors of our society
- that there can never be meaningful change in education until there is meaningful change in society.

THEREFORE PLEDGE:

- to unite as workers, women, youth, students, professionals, sportspeople and others to fight side by side
- to interlink the struggles in education with the broader struggle for a united, free, democratic and non-racial South Africa
- to engage ourselves actively in a campaign for an Education Charter that will embody the short-term, medium-term and long-term demands for a non-racial, free and compulsory education for all in a united and democratic South Africa based on the will of the people" (Human Awareness Programme 1985: Info 1985).

The second document represents points of view regarding education held by a variety of organizations, who see People's Education as education that has the following functions:

"[People's Education] ...

- Enables the oppressed to understand the evils of the apartheid system and prepares them for participation in a non-racial, democratic system;

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- Eliminates the capitalist norms of competition and individualism and stunting intellectual development while it encourages collective input and participation by all, as well as stimulating critical techniques and analysis;
- Eliminates illiteracy, discrimination and exploitation of any person by another;
- Equips and trains all sections of our people to participate actively and creatively in the struggle to obtain people's power in order to establish a non-racial democratic South Africa;
- Allows students, parents, teachers and workers to be mobilized into appropriate organizational structures which enable them to enhance the struggle for people's power and to participate actively in the management of People's Education in all its forms;
- Enables workers to resist exploitation and oppression at their workplace".

There are however other, more moderate, even liberal definitions of "People's Education", such as that of Mkwatsha (in Knoetze 1987: 6): "When we speak of alternative or People's Education we mean one which prepares people for total human liberation, one which helps people to be creative, to develop a critical mind, one that prepares people for full participation in all social, political or cultural spheres of society".

4.2.2 Own affairs education

In order to give some perspective to the status quo of own affairs education, the historical development of Christian National Education in South Africa will be briefly outlined. Van Niekerk (1988: 332f) has made a contribution to the subject, which will be used liberally, with appropriate acknowledgment to her.

- From 1806 to 1900

  - After the British occupation of the Cape government schools were established, which the Dutch-Afrikaans-speaking whites found unacceptable. One can assume that the anglicization of education was a contributory factor to the Great Trek (1835-1838).
  - After the establishment of the Transvaal Republic on 13 December 1880, Reverend S.J. du Toit of Paarl was appointed Superintendent of Education in the Transvaal. At this stage the emphasis was on education as a matter within the domain of the parent community and the church, with only secondary involvement by the state.
  - At this time the English-speaking minority group felt the need for English-medium schools, which were then established. In 1897 there were six such schools, with 813 pupils.

- **From 1900 to 1966**

- In 1902 the Dutch-Afrikaans education system was replaced by a British system, which became ensconced in legislation in 1902.
- There was opposition to this in the form of the Christian National schools. About two hundred private CNE schools were established with financial support from Holland.
- As a result of financial problems the CNE schools amalgamated with government schools in 1905 and the principle of bilingual schooling was informally accepted and applied. There was however no recognition of Dutch-Afrikaans as an official medium of instruction.
- In 1914 Afrikaans was recognized as a school subject and in 1920 it was recognized as a medium of instruction, like English and Dutch. In 1925 it became an official language of the country.
- During the thirties and forties Afrikaner nationalism established itself and flourished. It was clear that the Afrikaner identified strongly with the Christian National idea. A struggle was involved which, although sharply contrasting with it, makes one think of the "struggle" of black nationalism today. In 1948 a Manifesto for Christian National Education was drawn up, which had a great influence on education in the country. This document, despite contrasts, had vague associations with the Education Charter planned by the ANC.

  The FAK (Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge) document reads in part as follows:

  "Our culture must be brought into the schools and this cannot be done merely by using our language as a medium of instruction. More is necessary. We shall have nothing to do with a mixture of languages, of culture, of religion, or of race ... the struggle for the Christian and National school still lies before us" (ibid.: 334).
- During the years of National Party administration that followed, the Christian National concept was established in education and developed.

- **From 1967 - 1987**

The National Education Policy Act No. 39 of 1967 introduced a new era in the sense that it determined that all state-subsidized education would broadly be Christian and National in orientation. It further stipulated that religious freedom would be respected and that mother-tongue instruction (Afrikaans or English) would be implemented.

- In the years following the promulgation there was naturally considerable criticism regarding the definition of the terms "Christian" and "National".
- During the seventies the Youth Preparedness Programme was started in schools amid the realization of the total onslaught against South Africa. The veld-school programme was also introduced during this decade.
- These initiatives were strongly supported by sectors of the white community on the one hand, and on the other sharply attacked by critics who slated them as proceeding from CNE and even as blatant propaganda.
- On 23 November 1983 the White Paper on the Provision of Education in the RSA was published (as a result of the publication of the De Lange Report in 1981). In consonance with the constitutional dispensation, the White Paper described education in terms of general and own affairs.

Niven (1986: 63-74), in a paper entitled "Multi-cultural education and the new constitutional dispensation in South Africa", points out that the existing education system should be seen against the background of the 1981 De Lange Report and the government's reaction to it.

When one examines the possibility of improving intergroup relations through education, it would appear that the De Lange Report made some potentially meaningful contributions in this direction (see HSRC 1981: 14-15). Its recommendations with regard to the management of education in the RSA have afforded an opportunity for democratization of the education system:

"The heart of the recommendations is a three-tiered pattern of education management with strong, built-in structures and procedures for participation, consultation and negotiation at each level, which ensures that all the people and interests concerned have a "say" and can influence both education policy and its practice: at the first level a single department (one department) that is responsible for the broad education policy of the RSA; at the second level education authorities allotted specific functions, and who are intended to provide education within a particular area; at the third (local) level will be the basic management unit of the school, within which the most effective provision will be made to accommodate the diversity of culture, religion and language and the varying needs of children and adults. Local requirements for planning and co-ordination can be served by grouping schools in to school districts" [translation] (ibid.: 196-197; my emphasis).

The De Lange recommendations were published at a time when they could not easily be reconciled to the constitutional structure of South Africa. In particular there is the

recommendation regarding a single ministry of education (one minister and one department) to "meet the need for a national education policy aimed at equal opportunity and equal quality and standards ..." (translation) which is incompatible with the "own affairs" approach.

The government's reaction to this recommendation was that one education department for general affairs was acceptable, but that own affairs should be handled by own departments along racial lines. The creation of one education department and one responsible minister for all educational matters would probably contribute largely to the creation of a positive climate between the South African population groups. The general and own affairs alternative is evidently widely experienced and politically exploited as the continued "entrenchment of apartheid" in South African society.

Niven (1986: 66), in his reference to the White Paper on the Provision of Education in the RSA (23 November 1983), remarks that the government - apart from accepting the principles for the provision of education - reacted by imposing certain "non-negotiables as points of departure". These include "the principles of Christian character and the broad national character of education as laid down in the National Education Policy Act of 1967. Of particular significance was that it was regarded as 'essential that each population group', in having its own schools 'should also have its own education authority', it being argued that these were necessary 'to do justice' to the right of self-determination which is recognised by government policy for each population group."

It is thus clear that the White Paper provided for harmony between the education system and the constitutional dispensation. The point of departure for the constitutional dispensation is its provision for general and own affairs. Although provision is thus made for general affairs in the Department of National Education, an own affairs department and minister is provided for each population group. There has thus been some movement in the direction of more centralized control of general administrative matters in the South African education system.

The Department of National Education has thus become a central co-ordinating point. In terms of Act 76 of 1984, the Minister of National Education has the power to determine general policy regarding formal, non-formal and informal education in the RSA. The general affairs that are included are

-       norms and standards for the financing of the running and capital costs of education among all population groups;
-       salaries and the conditions of service of personnel;

- the professional registration of teachers;
- norms and standards for syllabuses, examinations and the certification of qualifications.

Although political critics in particular, but education critics as well, have clearly pointed out that the "own affairs" education system amounts to a hardened and stagnant approach on the part of the government, it nevertheless appears that

- the broadening of the functions of the Department of National Education and
- the co-ordinating service to the executive education departments

have begun to pave the way to the eventual creation of one policy-making and executive education department with a variety of regional directorates of education, who are not classified or separated in terms of population group or race.

The own affairs departments are still a reality. However, when one looks at the state of affairs "on the ground" or in practice, changes are obviously needed. More money, more manpower and a more effective infrastructure are essential. The black schools seem to have become an important factor in the freedom struggle. Although various radical black leaders call from political platforms for responsible handling of education by the authorities, pupils, teachers and parents, the youth and even the teachers appear to take no notice. Revolutionary slogans such as "liberation before education", which can justifiably be labelled short-sighted and irresponsible, appear to have precipitated ongoing violence.

No matter how much understanding there may be for the decades of frustration and bitterness experienced and established in black communities, no compromise can be reached with the destructive forces in black education. Evolution makes allowance for the elimination of unacceptable, dysfunctional concerns, structures and practices - and the creation of acceptable, functional alternatives. Counterproductive and even self-destructive actions can, however, never be condoned.

Between six and seven million black pupils were under the control of the black education departments (6 657 942), while about one million white (951 134), 778 201 coloured and about 259 400 Indian pupils fell under their own education departments. According to Cooper et al. (1989: 265) the statistical picture was as follows;

"Of the 8 646 678 African, coloured, Indian and white pupils at school in South Africa (including all ten homelands) in 1987, 77 % were African, 9 % were coloured pupils, 3 %

were Indian, and 11 % were white (compared with 76 %, 10 %, 3 % and 11 % respectively in 1986)."

Among these departments only the educational provision for whites and blacks was "racially pure". It was only the children of black diplomatic staff whose children were permitted to attend white government schools.

Since education was however handled independently as an own affairs matter by each education department, in 1986 the Department of Education and Culture: House of Representatives (coloureds) decided to open its schools to all racial groups. The only limiting factor was the availability of classroom accommodation. In 1988 there were 7 240 pupils of other population groups in coloured schools. The Indian education department seemed to think along the same lines, but have kept a much lower profile regarding open schools since 1986. In 1988 there were 1 455 pupils of other races in these schools, six of whom were white, 1 182 coloured and 267 black.

It is therefore only to a small degree that desegregation or integration has taken place in own affairs Departments of Education and Culture. The department under the control of the House of Representatives (coloureds) accommodated proportionally the largest number of pupils from other population groups.

Integrated education in South Africa is currently mainly found in private schools. Brief attention will be given to this type of education.

4.2.3 Integrated education

Here too, only a number of historical markers in the development of integrated education will be highlighted, to provide a stronger framework of understanding regarding this form of education in the South African context. Fabian (1987) and Randall (1980) have useful information in this connection, some points of which will be noted.

* __From 1806 to 1900__

-    Lord Charles Somerset's influence on education during the first half of the nineteenth century was significant. After 1814 he began to establish government schools which provided free education.
-    In 1822 English became the official language and it also became the only medium of

instruction in the government schools.

- The Afrikaners reacted with opposition to the forced anglicization and, as a result, they began to establish private schools with "Afrikaans-Nederlands" as the medium of instruction.
- Randall interpreted this portion of history from the following educational viewpoint: "This was the beginning of two important patterns in the history of white education in South Africa:
  "(i) Dualism, whereby English and Afrikaans children receive their education in different institutions;
  (ii) The stimulus given to private education of one group for fear of domination by the other" (Randall 1980: 119).

* <u>From 1902 to 1947</u>

- In 1902, after the war, Lord Milner in a sense continued the Anglicization initiated by Somerset. He also wished to use the British "public school" as a model on which to base local high schools.
- In reaction to this, many CNE schools came into being in the Free State and the Transvaal.

* <u>From 1948 to 1988</u>

- The National Party's assumption of power in 1948 was a further stimulus for the growth and development of English private schools.
- These schools were chiefly private church schools, and at an early stage there was a trend towards multicultural pupil populations in the sense that small groups of Chinese and Asian children were also accommodated.
- In 1976 the Catholic Church decided that all the private schools under its control would be desegregated. The Anglicans and Methodists supported this decision.
- From 1977 desegregation (that is to say, integration) has been the general practice in various private schools under the control of different denominations.
- In 1981 the "New Era Schools Trust" (NEST) was established. It attempted to improve relations between population groups through education. Certain multicultural educational trends became evident in the schools' policies. The planners of the NEST schools envisaged, for example, that pupils from the different population groups would have contact from the start, that they would attend school together, and that the four population groups would have equal numbers in the classroom.

- On the tenth schoolday of 1988, there were 14 543 black, coloured and Indian pupils in "white" private schools who thus fell under the jurisdiction of white own affairs. The figures were as follows: 5 974 black, 5 620 coloured, 2 949 Indian and 92 682 white pupils.

- The state has been subsidizing private schools since 1986. Mr F.W. de Klerk, the then Minister of National Education, indicated in parliament in March 1988 that, should the state take over the total financial responsibility, the cost of doing so would amount to R85 000 000 in 1987/88.

- In 1988 state subsidies of 15 % were paid to 58 private schools, while subsidies of 45 % were paid to 90 such schools. No school was denied subsidization.

Until 1989 it was quite clear that the government would permit no integration in government schools. During 1986, 1987 and 1988 five government schools under the control of the white own affairs department asked for permission to admit non-white children to their schools. Eleven schools asked the minister for permission to open their doors to all.

All these requests were turned down by the minister in question (Mr P. Clase), although the parent bodies and the pupils strongly supported the opening up of facilities. The vote in favour of opening the doors in these schools was in the order of 70 %. The dilemma was, firstly, that the school communities did not present a fully united front and secondly, that the government had continuously assured the white electorate of an own community life and thus its own schools. It has, however, become evident during the eighties that "closed" government schools could not be officially enforced (by the central government or the Department of National Education, for example).

The establishment of the first New Era Schools Trust (NEST) school in Tongaat in January 1987 introduced a new phase in the development of integrated schools. These schools perhaps have more of a symbolic value, in the sense of signposting the way to a possible future dispensation, than a radical effect on current educational practices. According to Mr T.M. Krige, co-director of the Phuting NEST school near Fourways (north of Johannesburg) the purpose of the schools can be explained as follows: "As boys and girls of all races, in roughly equal proportions, learn to know each other and so to communicate as they play, work and live together, the kind of society we all hope for in post-apartheid South Africa will slowly and surely evolve. This is the only way forward for South Africa and as our first school, Uthongathi, demonstrates so clearly, it really does work" (Cooper et al. 1989: 251).

In the NEST schools the issue is controlled integration, in the sense that pupils admitted are

admitted "in roughly equal proportions" (ibid.). Because of the composition of the population it would, however, not be possible to institute the NEST model as a mainstream type of school. If geographical distribution was ignored, an integrated class of 25 pupils would be theoretically divided as follows: three white, one Indian, three coloured and eighteen black pupils (Berkhout l1988: 13). This does not however mean that this type of schooling has no place in South African society.

4.2.4 Synthesis

The South African education system is characterized by polarization and conflict. In this climate of disharmony three mainstream approaches to education can be discerned, namely:

* Own affairs education in state schools
* Integrated education in the framework of private schools
* Alternative education, in the guise of "People's Education", as a resistance movement in sectors of black communities

The existence of these three streams can be understood against the background of historical factors and current political-ideological forces. The status quo cannot logically be maintained if the improvement of intergroup relations is to be the criterion. To elucidate this statement, the three education streams will be briefly highlighted with the aid of the prescribed educational criteria.

4.3 OWN AFFAIRS EDUCATION, "PEOPLE'S EDUCATION" AND INTEGRATED EDUCATION

The transitional educational criteria proposed in Chapter 4 will be applied to own affairs education, "People's Education" and integrated education in turn.

4.3.1 Equal educational opportunities, equal educational quality, attainability

Each pupil, irrespective of colour, sex, language or religion has the right to equal educational opportunities and equal educational quality within the context of attainability.

It is evident that the present own affairs government schools cannot provide equal educational opportunities and equal educational quality to pupils from the various population groups and

will not be able to do so for decades to come. The inequalities in the per capita expenditure, the pupil-teacher ratio, the training of teachers, the Standard 10 results and the availability of school buildings, classrooms and global infrastructure are realities that have historical, political-ideological as well as religious and philosophical roots.

Cooper et al. (1989: 245) provide the following information (with the percentage increase in expenditure shown between brackets):

TABLE 4.1: PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE: 1987/88

	Including capital expenditure R	Excluding capital expenditure R
Blacks (in white residential areas	595,39 (25 %)	503,78 (37 %)
Coloureds	1507,55 (48 %)	1286,15 (45 %)
Indians	2014,88 (6 %)	1857,24 (8 %)
Whites	2722,00 (9 %)	2538,00 (10 %)

As far as the pupil-teacher ratio in the RSA during 1988 is concerned, the following figures are given (ibid.: 260):

TABLE 4.2: TEACHER-PUPIL RATIO

Blacks	41 to 1
Coloureds	25 to 1
Indians	20 to 1
Whites	16 to 1

Should Standard 10 plus a teaching qualification be considered a minimum qualification, it would appear that in 1987 54 % of the black teachers (homelands included) and 34 % of the coloured teachers were inadequately qualified. In white and Indian education, 97 % and 83 %, respectively, meet the minimum standard.

In 1987 the following percentages of pupils of each of the population groups appear to have passed Standard 10.

TABLE 4.3: STANDARD 10 PASSES

	Pass	Pass with exemption
Blacks	56 %	16 %
Coloureds	65 %	17 %
Indians	93 %	37 %
Whites	95 %	42 %

It should further be taken into consideration that white education is well equipped with schools and classrooms while black education is undersupplied, and it is estimated that one million black children of schoolgoing age do not attend school. In 1987 the Department of Education and Training (black education) had a shortage of 1 084 primary school and 2 194 secondary school classrooms, based on a calculation of 40 primary school pupils and 35 secondary school pupils per classroom.

In the own affairs dispensation there is little hope of equal education opportunity and quality for the present, or even for the next three decades. The government of the day is however committed to parity, and as can be seen in the per capita expenditure, an honest attempt is being made to eliminate present backlogs.

"People's Education" in its present form meets the requirements for equal education opportunity and quality, if seen from one point of view, because a socialist "democracy" of redistribution and total equality is advocated. Just as equality and redistribution can be understood in the context of transition education, it appears that the overarching aspiration for improved intergroup relations and the building up of a new South African nation cannot be served by "People's Education".

"People's Education" is a radical answer to radical inequalities and discrimination in society and education. The desire for an alternative education concept and system is understandable, but it is not a solution for better intergroup relations in the country. The effect of this educational line is already one of further alienation between the population groups.

The existing norms for integrated education offer, on a small scale, equal education to pupils in the different population groups. This is however a drop in the ocean - the numbers are insignificant in the sense that 107 225 pupils in private schools represent only 1,24 % of the total South African pupil population. The pupils, as mentioned above, are overwhelmingly white (92 682 or 86,44 %). There are 5 974 (5,57 %) black, 5 620 (5,24 %) coloured, and 2 949 (2,75 %) Indian pupils in the integrated schools. The integrated schools therefore do not have a significant influence on the provision of equal-quality education in the country. Although there is not totally irrefutable evidence to this effect, it seems that the symbolic value - in the sense of forming positive attitudes in these schools - should not be underestimated (cf. Fabian 1987: 168).

With regard to equal opportunity, it should be mentioned that there can be no question of it within the private school concept. Elitism and the grouping of pupils from wealthy families on the one hand and gifted children who have won bursaries on the other, are unavoidable. This is not a form of education that the "run of the mill" South African can attain. "Average" parents cannot afford private school education. The cost per pupil per year is roughly estimated at a conservative R3 000. If the state contributes 45 %, the cost is R1 650 per pupil. If one considers that the birth rate for black women is 5,1, Indians 2,5, coloureds 3,2 and whites 2,0, it becomes clear that the present system of private schooling cannot offer a solution for the improvement of intergroup relations in this country.

4.3.2 Freedom of choice

The right of both pupils and parents to enjoy non-discriminatory religious freedom, as well as freedom of association and disassociation, must be recognized.

Own affairs education is based on race or population grouping, despite the fact that there is a central co-ordination point in the Department of National Education. Coloured children who speak Afrikaans or English, and are professing Christians, are not admitted to white schools. This illustrates the reality of racial discrimination in South Africa. It is an argument that has for many years been put forward by "own affairs" opponents. The exposure of this type of "ugly South African" mentality can never be rationalized by logical debate.

The freedom of choice of the individual pupil and his parents is thus curbed by the stipulation by the Department of Education and Culture: House of Assembly (whites) that only whites may be admitted to the department's schools.

In fairness it should be added that even in the most democratic countries in the world total freedom of choice regarding education is not permitted. Differentiation with regard to standard, potential and achievement (that is, merit) is commonly encountered. It is also to the credit of the own affairs education system that pupils' freedom of religion is respected, although the education is broadly Christian and National in character. Legally sanctioned discrimination with regard to educational choices is however a unique South African phenomenon.

Research into "People's Education" suggests that freedom of choice is fundamental to this approach. Resistance is directed at suppression, domination and "structural violence".

"...People's Education is a rejection of Apartheid Education, which is education for domination" (Kruss 1987: 29). "... It must instil democratic values ... in opposition to current authoritarian and individualistic values dominant in schools" (ibid.: 30).

With the information currently available it is difficult to judge the attitude and approach of the proponents of "People's Education" to freedom of religion. The conspicuous lack of information can possibly be ascribed to the fact that Christian National Education is rejected in its entirety, and that the silence is the result of the sensitiveness of the matter.

Although freedom of association is a theoretical aim of "People's Education", the question remains as to whether freedom of association can be applied in practice. Has the Apartheid Dispensation over the years not lead to the entrenchment of prejudice, bitterness and negative stereotyping? Against this background is it realistic to assume that harmonious integration can become normal practice within a mind-set accustomed to radical opposition? On the other hand will those oriented towards free markets be able to identify with the clearly socialist emphasis of "People's Education"? It seems that this educational ideology, in its present form, is unable to give impetus to freedom of association over the boundaries of colour.

Integrated education has the advantage of being free of racial discrimination. Socio-economic discrimination cannot however be avoided, since the parents of pupils in private schools must be in a strong financial position to be able to afford this form of education. The truly small proportion of black and coloured pupils in these schools are to some extent supported by bursary schemes (such as those administered by the South African Institute of Race Relations).

4.3.3 Career orientation, general forming and differentiation

Career-oriented or technically oriented education should be carried into effect as an option or

an integrated part of general formative education, taking the potential of the pupils into consideration.

The entire spectrum of education in South Africa currently shows a disconcerting emphasis on general formative education at the cost of career-oriented (technical) education, despite grave warnings and deliberate attempts [to change the pattern], since the publication of the De Lange Report in 1981. Intergroup relations in both technical and academic education can be improved from the perspective of evolutionary education.

If· the South African system of schooling should become a significant factor in causing unemployment because technical education has had insufficient emphasis, the potential for conflict (between population groups as well) will be raised in the long term. The hypothesis can be made that pupils who receive career-oriented education will be more motivated to work and study than pupils who perceive no relationship between their schoolwork and their future careers. Some researchers consider that there are more black students at universities than at technikons. In addition, the balance between technical and academic training is totally unbalanced: "Only 10 % of the South African workforce is being trained in a technical field, while 75 % should be trained to meet requirements" (Bot 1988).

Career-oriented education is nevertheless presented as an own affair in formal education. Technical education is generally segregated, while the labour market is predominantly integrated. It is evident that the anomaly of "segregated education - integrated labour market" cannot continue. Blacks have - particularly since the Bantu Education Act of 1953 - the perception that they receive separate "Bantu Education", so that they can be exploited as inferiors in the labour market. The perception that blacks are at a disadvantage is also held by black managers and businessmen. Mr Don Mkhwanazi, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Black Management Forum (BMF) refers to an "invisible ceiling" which black business managers often come up against in white-controlled companies. As a result, black managers remain, frustrated, at a particular level in an organization, and then resign because there are no opportunities for upward mobility (cf. Sowetan 25 April 1988). It is not possible to judge whether this view is a false perception or a valid observation.

"People's Education" for "People's Power" is ideologically related to the above-mentioned polarization between black and white in the labour market. Van der Walt (1987: 233) states in this connection: "Like the Marxists, the advocates of PE (People's Education) have no patience with the class discrimination in companies, or with the exploitation of labour through capital, or with private property - hence the insistence on the socialist classless company, by

PE proponents as well".

When one looks at the first attempts at designing curricula for "People's Education", one sees that, with regard to formal school instruction, priority was first given to "People's English" and "People's History". It is no surprise that there was opposition to a culturally sensitive subject such as History, with a desire for an alternative curriculum. "People's English", however, is approached in a typically radical manner:

"People's English intends to assist all learners to:
- understand the evils of apartheid and to think and speak in non-racial, non-sexist and non-elitist ways
- determine their own destinies and to free themselves from oppression ...." (Kruss 1987: 41).

There is even talk of "People's Mathematics". At the time of the research conducted by Kruss (1987) there was, however, too little information available for discussion to take place.

" unfortunately information on their activities [the activities of the `People's Mathematics Commission'] and work to date is difficult to obtain". It is, however, difficult to envisage an alternative (People's) Mathematics.

There is clearly also a vagueness with regard to technically oriented education. It seems, however, that "People's Education" also sees technical careers as a field of activity. The Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee (SPCC) "called for an education that would enable workers to resist exploitation and oppression at their work place ... the argument is that People's Education must bridge the existing gap between `theoretical knowledge and practical life'.... Workers should not only be able to do their work, but be enabled to understand the processes of which they are part in the workplace. Thus the gap between mental and manual labour must be closed" (Kruss 1987: 59).

Although curricula for formal education do not appear to be oriented towards technical careers, it is clear that "People's Education" is also intended for the industrial worker. Its purpose is to enable workers to function "more productively" and to guide them towards independent handling of machinery and equipment. The worker should thus become skilled and independent.

From the above remarks it appears that "People's Education" does not concentrate on

differentiation, but on equalization. Classlessness is an ideological guideline which features strongly in "People's Education", although it is labelled "democracy" in existing documentation.

Since integrated education is chiefly a private-school concern in South Africa, its focus is academic and generally formative. Differentiation with regard to aptitude and interest is indeed applied, but current information indicates that technical careers are not emphasized in this type of schooling.

4.3.4 Antiracism

The South African system of schooling and the formative education in the system should be antiracist in character.

As far as own affairs education is concerned, it has been stated already that the system is based on race or population group. It has already been mentioned that the position of coloured education certainly indicates the reality of a population-group basis.

A question which arises spontaneously is whether children who attend separate schools can be educated to be antiracist. The antiracist examples set by teachers, and antiracist curricula in culturally sensitive subjects, could probably contribute to formative education in a school having antiracist emphasis. The problem is, however, that the school is at the centre of a polarized society which is currently characterized by conflict and violence. In this context it is certainly difficult to comply with the demand for antiracism. Anxiety and aggression in South African society has lead to the stereotyping of racial or population groups by individuals and groups, so as cognitively to retain control of the situation. Botha (1990), in his research into negative stereotyping in the context of a segmented and polarized South African society has highlighted just this problem.

On the other hand, "People's Education" does not necessarily offer a satisfactory solution to the problem of negative stereotyping. Although "People's Education" is aimed at "antiracism" and "democratization", it is also directed at anticapitalism. If anticapitalism - or indeed socialism - becomes disengaged from race or population group, "People's Education" will satisfy the criterion of antiracism.

"People's Education" is, however, essentially a black movement and the question is whether the participants (that is, the "People") will act in a democratic way towards those with other views or capitalist-oriented members of other population groups. The dogmatic and radical

nature of this socialist mind-set regarding education makes the outsider often wonder whether there is not a basic correspondence between the democracy of "People's Education" and democracy in, for the sake of argument, the USA.

Theoretically, "People's Education" seems to meet the demands of antiracist education. Should antiracism, however, be supplanted by anticapitalism and antireligion, which may be related to race as well, it would hardly be a good exchange.

The integrated private schools in South Africa are characterized by attempts to improve intergroup relations and eliminate antiracism. When one looks at research in this connection (cf. Fabian 1987) two matters feature strongly, namely:

- The integrated private schools are essentially antiracist, and they contribute to better intergroup relations.
- The real contribution of these schools to the improvement of intergroup relations and the establishment of antiracism among the youth of the country, is not comprehensive in nature, since only a fraction of the South African school population is involved in this sort of instruction. The value of integrated education in South Africa rests in the symbolic rather than in the literal meaning of the word.

4.3.5 Contact

South African education should strive towards contact directed at a common goal - namely, to improve intergroup relations.

There is considerable contact on an informal and incidental level between people from the different population groups in South Africa (cf. Pettigrew 1971: 75). It is however noticeable that, in comparison with the universal context, education and training take place in relative isolation.

As far as own affairs education is concerned, there are no programmes directed at bringing about contact over the boundaries of population groups. Each population group has an education department and schools. With regard to coloured and Indian education, there is more contact between the population groups in the sense that the two education departments involved admit pupils from other groups to their schools, to a limited extent.

With respect to white education, there are few opportunities for contact. The education is

segregated and as far as extracurricular activities are concerned, there is sporadic and ad hoc contact with pupils from other population groups. In fact, this type of contact has often been poorly handled in the past and relations between groups have at times been harmed rather than promoted. One thinks for example of the unfortunate events surrounding the Hoërskool Menlo Park in Pretoria, when (in February 1987) the school's Management Council barred a black pupil from participating in an athletics meeting at the school. It is this type of incident that seriously harms South African society and which can by no means be afforded.

"People's Education" has so far intimated that it would not distinguish between races or classes within the context of an anticapitalist society. The implication would be that contact between the pupils of different population groups would be spontaneous, should the pupils group ideologically homogeneously around a socialist approach.

In integrated private schools opportunities for contact are created within the curriculum, but also extracurricularly. There are thus more opportunities for contact between pupils of different population groups than in other types of South African schools. It is however also clear that only a small proportion of the South African pupil population is affected by this system, and the criticism of elitist homogeneity in the schools cannot be completely avoided. Within the existing spectrum of educational opportunities, however, these schools offer a meaningful contribution from the viewpoint of the improvement of intergroup relations.

4.3.6   Standards (academic and technical) and certification

Uniform South African standards and certification should be applied in education.

When one takes an objective, realistic and honest look at standards and their certification within the context of own affairs education, the situation leaves a lot to be desired. Within each of the Education Departments, averages and distinctions are adjusted to be "statistically acceptable". This practice is acceptable to some degree because evaluation is a relative and even arbitrary educational activity. However, when standards are relaxed on the grounds of, for example, political considerations, deception and betrayal take place which, in the long run, cannot stand up to close examination.

Hypothetically, one could maintain that there are currently significant differences in black and white educational standards. The black communities object to low pass percentages - while the truth is apparently that these pass percentages do not reflect the actual performance delivered. The percentage of black pupils that pass Standard 10 is (in real terms and in

comparison with white standards) probably much lower. But it is also true that great inequalities exist, for which the present government takes responsibility. There are few alternatives or solutions to this dilemma. Some educationists consider that the only possible solution is the downgrading of the determination of standards to the level of parental decision making in local communities. As already indicated, such an option would also have its problems, in the sense that the lower socio-economic communities would experience such a measure as restrictive and discriminatory and that the perception may arise that upward mobility is limited and restrained. Other educationists think in terms of a centralized body for the determination of standards and for certification in a central Department of National Education. Should this approach be instituted over a number of years and with the necessary honesty and sensitivity of all interested parties, wider acceptance and support can be achieved. In the short term such an approach would not be popular, as a consequence of, for example, high failure rates. Honesty and fairness are however, in the long term, more durably satisfactory, while the ad hoc, discriminatory relaxation of standards and certification would cause incalculable damage.

Standards and certification are at this stage only marginal figures or peripheral considerations in the thinking concerning "People's Education". The tendency towards revolutionary content and resistance in reality makes it impossible to think of generally acceptable South African standards in the idiom of "People's Education".

As far as desegregated or integrated private schools are concerned, there is no doubt that these schools are able to maintain high standards as a result of strong financial resources. It is striking how well these pupils perform each year in interschool competitions, particularly those of an academic nature. One thinks of the Maths Olympiads, for example. It should again be remembered that the average South African parent cannot afford this expensive form of education and that there are consequently relatively few pupils involved in it.

4.3.7   Transfer and creation of culture

Apart from the establishment of a cultural identity through cultural transfer, the school has the task of working at the establishment of a new South African identity through the stimulation of acculturation and the creation of culture.

In own affairs education due allowance is made for the transfer of culture. The physical separation of the different population groups into separate education systems and schools makes it difficult to stimulate acculturation and the creation of culture. This naturally depends

to a large extent on the atmosphere in the school, which is often a function of the management style and the views on intergroup relations held by the principal. Each teacher can also function decisively as a role model for the handling of intergroup relations.

It is believed that work can be done within the framework of own affairs education in the direction of acculturation and the creation of culture, to give the establishment of identity a broader and more accommodating South African basis. At the same time it is acknowledged that an absence of opportunities for contact have an inhibiting effect, particularly on the creation of culture.

"People's Education" is aimed at the overthrow of certain cultural contents in favour of new (revolutionary) contents, with a view to the elimination of racial discrimination and the establishment of democracy - with anticapitalism or socialism as the objective. The first impressions obtained from attempts at curriculum development in the "People's Education" perspective, is that acculturation and the creation of a more encompassing South African identity would probably be ignored and even opposed in an entirely new dispensation.

If one takes into account the fact that integrated education has the problem of limited scope and socio-economic isolation, it would appear that these schools succeed in stimulating acculturation to a large degree. White-centred and Anglo-mainstream thinking admittedly continue to be a problem, but the general impression has been gained that honest attempts are being made to establish a new (more democratic) era in South African society.

4.3.8 Language

Education as far as possible should be through the medium of the mother tongue and language should be a consideration in the admission of children to a school.

Own affairs education sets mother-tongue instruction as an important criterion. It is a fact that the fewest problems with regard to language are experienced in white, coloured and Indian education. Education normally takes place in the mother tongue or first language, even though it may be necessary to arrange separate classes in a parallel-medium situation. Black education is however characterized by an exceptionally complex language problem. For the first four years of a black pupil's school career he is taught through his mother tongue, and at the Standard 3 level he usually switches over to receiving instruction in English. As indicated above, this switch creates many problems, and probably has a very negative effect on the education of black pupils. It is however clearly the choice of black parents and pupils to switch to English as an international language and a possible South African lingua franca.

"People's Education" lends preference to "People's English", which also exhibits a revolutionary character and resistance:

"People's English intends to assist all learners to

- understand the evils of apartheid and to think and speak in non-racial, non-sexist and non-elitist ways
- determine their own destinies and to free themselves from oppression
- play a creative role in the achievement of a non-racial democratic South Africa
- use English effectively for their own purposes
- express and consider the issues and questions of their time
- transform themselves into full and active members of society
- proceed with their studies ...

... In short ... the learning experience is to transform and empower. People's English should enable students to analyse the ideological significance of all language" (Kruss 1987: 41).

From this it is clear that the language is primarily regarded as a revolutionary instrument and that resistance, liberation and ideological analysis should be made possible through this language. Despite the reference to a "democratic South Africa", the question is whether those who advocate "People's English" will show the spiritual broad-mindedness to support freedom of language over a broad heterogeneous spectrum in South Africa. The militant undertones in the debate can be read in the light of justifiable resistance, but there is also an intuitive feeling of spiritual dictatorship - in the sense of one ideology, one party and one language. In short, there are no overt signs of a dictatorial attitude, but the above approach appears to be one-sided; this is, however, not uncommon in Africa.

Interestingly enough, of various attempts that have been made to establish Afrikaans-medium integrated private schools, none has been successful enough to lead to the establishment of an Afrikaans-medium integrated private school movement. In most private schools the medium of instruction is English, and language problems are sometimes encountered (particularly by black pupils). It would be significant if, in the future, some schools of this nature could adopt a language other than English as their dominant cultural medium. They could have an Afrikaans orientation (admitting Afrikaans speakers without consideration of colour, race, population group, etc.), or perhaps a mainstream of Zulu or Xhosa.

4.3.9 Religion

The binding potential of religion, over the boundaries of denomination and population grouping, should be handled sensitively and with respect for religious freedom in education.

Religious freedom is respected in South Africa within the context of own affairs education. It however seems that the common points of contact or the binding potential of the Christian faith have not been optimized, because separation has so far brought more conflict than peace.

Although more than 75 % of the South African population is regarded as being of the Christian faith, it is clear that serious diacord and dissension exist among members. Religion in own affairs education is practised within the context of one's own population group.

"People's Education", as currently described and practised, offers no explicit scope for Christianity and other religious convictions. It appears that the "religious core" at the heart of the argument is politically ideological. This alternative form of education, which is socialist in nature, will probably recognize forms of liberation theology, the theology of the oppressed or revolutionary theology, because they might be instrumental in the struggle against "capitalist exploitation".

As far as integrated private schools are concerned, the type of education provided is evidently often strongly associated with the church. The Catholic, Anglican and Methodist churches have made a significant contribution in this regard. Certain integrated private schools appear to rate all educational issues - other than the school's primary religious considerations - as being secondary.

4.4 SYNTHESIS

The evaluation of the main currents in South African education, using transitional phase educational criteria, brings a considerable number of viewpoints to the fore. A few strong impressions will be touched upon.

With regard to own affairs education, its merits lie in the fact that it takes account of the variety of cultures and languages in the country. From the point of view of the whites, the system has benefited South Africa because the own affairs system has to some extent provided high-level manpower. On the down side, it is equally likely that the inequalities that obviously exist in the own affairs system have contributed to the underprovision of trained

workers (in parallel with the underemphasis on technical career-oriented education). From the viewpoint of improving intergroup relations it is clear that own affairs education, as currently practised, has reached a point of stagnation and sterility, which is leading to estrangement between the different population groups.

"People's Education" is, understandably, an educational resistance movement, which is seen as an alternative to apartheid education. At this stage "People's Education", with its strong revolutionary and anticapitalist overtones, cannot progress very far as a philosophy of education or as an acceptable system of instruction. Socialist radicalism is a little too transparent to make it rationally justifiable. On the positive side, it can be argued that community-based education to some extent underpins "People's Education". Just as the Afrikaner responded to oppression in South Africa's history by establishing CNE schools, sections of the black population are currently moving towards "People's Education". There is, however, a striking difference - namely, that black resistance, economically and ideologically speaking, is heading along the now discredited route to socialism, which is tantamount to the equal distribution of poverty rather than the sharing of wealth. Parts of the Soviet Union have come to realize this. There is no doubt that "People's Education" should be understood as a black resistance movement against an unfair (educational) dispensation, but to condone it is, rationally speaking, out of the question.

The establishment of integrated private schools in South Africa can be seen as an attempt to improve group relations. This form of education has, however, as a result of its limited scope, only a small effect on the education system in the country. Even the symbolic impact of such schools is reduced by the fact that the label of "elitist" can hardly be avoided by these schools.

The widespread school unrest in the country comes as no surprise against the background of the above observations. Curriculum development in existing education systems leaves a lot to be desired. One-sided and unbalanced history curricula, unacceptable master symbols and prescribed works that give offence to certain population groups are but a few of the recognized problems. A positive approach to the provision of democratically compiled core curricula for a multicultural society will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IN A CHANGING MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The recently applied educational criteria apply to the broad education system, but also have implications for school and classroom practice. It has been clearly explained that the education system is directed at educative teaching. The essence of an adequate education system obviously lies in the practice of educative teaching which, in the multicultural society of South Africa, can contribute to the improvement of intergroup relations.

An educational effort such as this is dependent, among other things, on the provision of nationally acceptable core curricula which have been democratically compiled - that is, by means of wide consultation and participation in deliberations - and which are directed at the improvement of intergroup relations in South Africa. It is also the responsibility of all curriculum developers at a national, regional, school and classroom level, to support the improvement of intergroup relations by means of responsible and acceptable curriculum development.

Much is being and has been published on curriculum development in multicultural societies. This document cannot give a fully representative picture of the current literature available on the subject, since this research is not primarily aimed at curriculum development, and spacial constraints must be considered. An overall impression of curriculum development guidelines in the South African multicultural situation will, however, be briefly formulated.

5.2 GUIDELINES FOR CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

Whenever curriculum development takes place within the context of South African society, special attention needs to be given to the elimination of, inter alia, negative stereotypes, bias, racism and discrimination - over and above the normal requirements that apply. A few guidelines will be summarized, with the help of the work of Suzuki (1984: 305f).

The selection of learning contents in a multicultural society can be clarified from the viewpoint of the pupil as well as that of the teacher. This clarification concerns segregated and integrated school situations in multicultural societies. It is accepted that the curriculum will

have unique emphases in different educational situations. These broad guidelines are however regarded as being applicable to all forms of education in multicultural societies.

5.2.1 Guidelines for curriculum development from the pupils' point of view

The curriculum should enable pupils in a multicultural society to utilize the following opportunities for learning:

* The development of positive feelings and attitudes towards both one's own and other ethnic groups
* The elimination of stereotypes and bias towards other ethnic groups
* The understanding of phenomena such as cultural pluralism, inter-ethnic conflicts, racism and polarization in the community
* The stimulation of dialogue and critical thought regarding complex societal problems against a historic background
* The development of a vision of a changing, better society

5.2.2 Guidelines for curriculum development from the teachers' point of view

The curriculum and its implementation in a multicultural society make certain demands on the teacher.

The teacher should

* know and respect the history, culture and the nature of the different ethnic groups;
* naturally be familiar with pluralism and its potential for conflict in South African society;
* be able to identify the evolutionary potential of his particular subject, and develop the curriculum and teach accordingly;
* identify and utilize community resources that can be exploited for the improvement of intergroup relations;
* accept as an attainable challenge, and meet, the demands made on his interpersonal and social skills, his critical and creative thought, his management of the classroom and handling of conflict, so that pupils can identify with a democratic lifestyle;
* demonstrate insight into the fact that the manner in which he implements the curriculum affects the pupils' motivation to develop better intergroup relations. A teacher's influence, expectations and the quality of education he offers can thus deliver positive or negative results in the field of intergroup relations.

The work of Banks (1981) and Lynch (1986) regarding multicultural education has also supplied valuable guidelines for the improvement and handling of intergroup relations in integrated educational situations.

Multicultural education (see 3.4) can be described as preparation for the social, political and economic realities and changes that individuals have to deal with in a complex heterogeneous society. It involves becoming prepared for the complexity of interpersonal and intergroup relations amid cultural differences. Modgil et al. (1986: 5) point out that teaching procedures in multicultural education often include the following:

- the promotion of analytical and critical thought and expertise on issues such as participatory democracy, racism and sexism;
- the development and inculcation of skills to identify and understand latent and manifest transference of values;
- research into the functioning of different cultural groups and the design of suitable education strategies.

Multicultural education therefore embraces a programme of both formal and formative education, which makes provision for a variety of learning opportunities to provide for the cognitive, affective, social and linguistic needs of pupils. The pupils' needs cover a wide field as a result of differences in race, sex, ethnicity and socio-linguistic background. Apart from the development of scholastic or academic skills, it is important that definite provision be made in the education programme for a better understanding of each cultural group's own heritage and background, as well as an understanding of the backgrounds of the other cultural groups involved.

Pupils should therefore be led to a respect for and appreciation of cultural diversity and the elimination of ethnocentric prejudice. It is also necessary to make people realize that the current estrangement between ethnic groups and the serious polarization of society can be understood against the background of South African history.

The curriculum should be flexible enough in scope to allow for critical thought on existing social problems in South Africa through democratic instruction and dialogue.

Ideally, the curriculum should be aimed at establishing an own identity, but also at creating the potential for a new vision of South African society which is moving and changing, and which will eventually bring about a more equitable dispensation for all population groups.

As far as integrated schools in the sense of multicultural education are concerned, certain general or broad guidelines can be set (cf. Banks 1981; Lynch 1986).

5.2.3 General guidelines for integrated (multicultural) schools

(1)   Ethnic pluralism should permeate the entire learning environment

Pupils from the different ethnic groups should have access to the media centres, in which accurate information on cultural diversity at school is available.

The more implicit and informal forms of curriculum development should also be multicultural in character. The daily or weekly assembly, classroom activities as well as extracurricular activities should reflect the multicultural composition of the school.

The pupils should have adequate opportunity to work together, to play and to relax.

(2)   School policy and procedures should be directed at multicultural interaction and understanding between pupils and teachers

In the past an attempt was made to obtain harmony in desegregated schools by treating everyone as equal and in the same way. "The same treatment" can however amount to unfairness and discrimination against many pupils. Although pupils should be subject to the same school rules and procedures, individual differences and cultural group differences should also be taken into account. Different cultural groups may, for example, have different codes of behaviour which should be respected, as long as the functioning of the school and the aims of the instruction are not compromised.

(3)   The staff of the school, like the pupil population, should be a multicultural body, and personnel development should form an integral part of the functioning of a school

Pupils model their own interaction with other cultural groups on the example of multicultural interaction set by adults. The way in which teachers of different cultural groups relate to each other thus has a material bearing on pupils' interaction among themselves.

For this reason it is of cardinal importance to train teachers not only before their assumption of duty, but also after it. The staff should be helped to

- get clarity about the feelings and attitudes they have towards their own cultural group as well as towards other cultural groups;
- get information on and an understanding of the historical background and characteristics of other cultural groups;
- acquire the teaching skills that are needed in a multicultural context;
- acquire skills in creating, selecting and evaluating teaching material;
- develop curricula for multicultural education.

(4)   The curriculum should make provision for a variety of styles of learning in the school community

This is one of the most difficult problems in multicultural education. The teacher should keep track of and be sensitive to divergent cognitive learning styles in every learning situation; this is made more intense by the cultural diversity in these schools. In South Africa there is unfortunately not much information available on the differences in cognitive functioning between pupils from different cultural groups - with the result that experience and intensive research will play an important role in this regard.

(5)   The multicultural curriculum should give pupils adequate opportunity to establish the identity of their own cultural group as well as a broader South African identity

The establishment of a personal identity, a positive self-image and self-knowledge should be supported by the curriculum. Particular attention should, however, also be given to the establishment of individual cultural identities, as well as the development of a new South African identity which will help promote the evolution of a nation.

(6)   The multicultural curriculum should include values, attitudes and behaviour that support pluralism

Pupils should realize that ethnic and racial diversity in any community has conflict potential, but that unnecessary conflict is not inevitable for any man or group. Conflict that may well exist in a community should be realistically and soberly appraised. The pupils should be made aware of the cultural riches intrinsic to diversity and difference, and that people can work together vigorously despite their differences in the interests of a better society and a brighter future.

(7) Interpersonal skills and intergroup communication should be encouraged

It is probably more important in multicultural education than in any other form of education to help pupils to acquire social skills. They should learn to be effective at the interpersonal level, as well as to liaise with other cultural groups as a member of their specific cultural group.

(8) The school should offer pupils the opportunity to take part in the aesthetic experiences of all the relevant cultural groups

Mutual experiencing of the art, music, dances and literature of the different cultural groups can greatly assist the discovery of common South African elements. It is important that pupils become aware of the cultural life and experiences of their peers in other groups.

Multicultural education has little scope in the form of (qualified) integrated schools in South Africa. As it will probably be given progressively more attention in the future, the next section will examine the possibility of using curriculum development, within the current structures and dispensation, to improve intergroup relations. Separate schools for different population groups will probably still be found in South Africa for many years to come - it is therefore important to work at intergroup relations in this context.

One of the core considerations in the improvement of intergroup relations in segregated schools is to develop the curriculum in such a way that it contains the multicultural realities of a pluralistic society. It stands to reason that the implementation of the curriculum, as well as the expressed attitudes and views about other groups in the school, are of fundamental importance for the improvement of intergroup relations. Generally acceptable core curricula are, however, a particularly contentious subject in the improvement of intergroup relations and for that reason brief attention will be given to them.

Attention is, for example, being given to History, since it stands out as a particularly sensitive concern. History teaching is currently one of the most controversial questions in the entire South African school system. But the total education system probably offers occasion for multicultural sensitivity and inculcation. In conclusion, a few remarks will also be made on the potential offered by School Guidance, Afrikaans and extracurricular activities to improve intergroup relations.

5.3 CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IN CULTURALLY SENSITIVE SUBJECTS IN OWN AFFAIRS EDUCATION

5.3.1 History

Van den Berg (1987) and Trümpelmann (1987) sharply criticize current developments in the school History curriculum. While one may in many respects disagree with the two authors' respective points of view, it is without doubt worth taking note of Van den Berg's broad perspective, and Trümpelmann's constructively critical treatment.

Van den Berg sees the existing core curricula, the practice of curriculum development and the prescribing of works or books all as subject to the apartheid ideology. He makes no attempt to argue on any level other than that of undisguised political ideology.

"Given the existence of an authoritarian minority government in South Africa, and the powerful hold it has over what is supposed to occur within schooling, one should not be surprised that History as a school subject is a particularly controversial issue in the country.

"The interpretation of South African History that dominates the selection of content for South African school syllabi is widely conceived to be the Afrikaner Nationalist paradigm, one that sees History as the triumphal march of the Afrikaner from exclusion to the point where he can take up his (God-given) place in the South African sun ..." (Van den Berg 1987: 14).

Chrisholm is used as a witness by Van den Berg.

"The history that is ... taught denies the African, Indian or Coloured his existence as it is the heroic tale of the rise of the Afrikaner (that dominates), the heroism of black resistance to their conquest is hardly charted. The implications of this are two-fold. On the one hand, by denying blacks a history, it is intended to prevent the growth of a national/class consciousness and to reduce as much as possible the desire for a radical alternative. On the other hand, the kind of history which has as its purpose the glorification of the status quo and the denigration of reformist and revolutionary movements and their protagonists must of necessity invite reflection on its objectivity, the desirability thereof and the role of the teacher in teaching this kind of history" (ibid.: 18).

The work of Trümpelmann (1987) also indicates that the teaching of History in South African schools reveals fundamental hiatuses. He indicates, inter alia, didactic pedagogic problems

such as that of evaluation. Examiners still too often fail to evaluate with the objectives in view. For example, too much emphasis is put on the result of memorization - which is often accompanied by mindless learning and the evaluation of facts - rather than on the acquisition and evaluation of the skills of daily living.

He however convincingly points out that in History instruction there are difficulties in teaching the skills of living. There are also "... serious problems if the subject History is simplistically linked to contemporary problems" [translation] (1987: 22). There is, for example, the problem of differing ideological truths. The task of the historian, the teacher and the writer of textbooks is always to be seeking the truth. This search for insight and the true facts is always done from a particular perspective. An objective view of history is a truth-seeking approach which is faithful to reality, describing relevant historical themes. Certain themes are thus identified from historical reality, then narrated from different viewpoints and debated with a view to determining reality. Having no standpoint with regard to the writing of history is probably not desirable either (cf. Hancock quoted by Beerling 1962: 140, and Trümpelmann 1987: 22) "... historians who claim to have no point of view will fill the void with their prejudices".

In this country much debate has taken place on indoctrination and the prevalence of master symbols in history textbooks. A master symbol is described as a generalization which dramatically reinforces sociocultural values - the master symbol can thus be regarded as a powerful influence, even a subtle indoctrinator. Du Preez (1983) identified twelve such master symbols. Giliomee (cf. Trümpelmann 1987: 21; Giliomee 1984: 6) considers that a marginal shift in the use of master symbols can be expected in the more recent textbooks. He predicts a movement away from white superiority, but expects perseverance (a hardened attitude?) with regard to ethnocentric historiography.

Against the background of Trümpelmann's view of the historian as a researcher who seeks truths objectively or thematically, and formulates viewpoints in this regard, the question now is whether it is not dishonest and opportunistic to "use" History and education to this end, in the interests of better intergroup relations.

Deist (1980: 165) makes a plea for reconciliation and the experiencing of a common South African nationhood by white and black in South Africa. He is seeking - as are so many other well-meaning South Africans in these times of crisis - for hope: hope for the youth and hope for the future. He considers that a meaningful perspective on the future and approach to it can derive from an honest demythologizing of white history and an honest decolonializing of

black history.

Deist's plea obviously falls within the bounds of acceptability in so far as it is an honest search for truth. He asks for reconciliation, but not reconciliation at all costs. His standpoint is that, if the truth regarding South African history is disclosed with the necessary respect and compassion, it will make a positive contribution to reconciliation. Distortion of reality into a system of irrational perceptions or faulty convictions which have no truth value (see Ellis's view on "irrational beliefs and irrational belief systems", with reference to his Rational Emotive Therapy or RET) will have the precise effect of clouding relations between population groups. In the long run it is not the truth that alienates people, it is individuals' diverse irrational perceptions of the same incident - that is to say, the lie - which drives people from each other, isolates and estranges them.

The lie is in all likelihood a function of indoctrination or there is probably at least a positive connection between lying and indoctrination. According to Trümpelmann (1987: 23) indoctrination is an a-pedagogic activity. Still, it is difficult to work in the educational field of a subject such as History without any bias or indoctrination. In this connection Boyce (1967: 20) is quoted to explain: "We cannot be impartial, only intellectually honest, impartiality is a dream, honesty a duty". Total neutrality and impartiality are not attainable in the human sciences, but everyone in the field knows when he is practising the science with as much integrity and respect as possible for him, and also when he sees the frontiers of distortion and dishonesty appear on the horizon. In the final analysis it amounts to a personal decision that the history teacher has to take, with two criteria in mind:

(1)   his or her own conscience
(2)   the documented (and undocumented) sources of experience from which his subject grows

Trümpelmann (1987: 30f) has developed a core curriculum that all South Africans could find acceptable and desirable. His point of departure is that the study of History should prepare pupils for life. As far as South African children are concerned, it is normal that life should involve contact with other population groups. In this respect History can play a particularly important academically formative role. History instruction can lead them to scientific historical inquiry which means, inter alia, "to look at History with empathy, to think perspectively and analyse critically. He [the student] must learn to experience it as a debate between different values and priorities. He must learn to look at truth as objectively as possible, so as to be able to identify his own preconceptions in an attempt to participate in this discussion with

openness, intelligence and in a balanced manner [translation]" (ibid.: 32).

As an example, the theme of "leadership" is raised by Trümpelmann (1987: 33). He proposes that the theme should be handled on the basis of broad political categories and concepts, in a biographical and historical context. He suggests that general criteria for political leadership could serve as a point of departure. The statesman is distinguished from the ordinary citizen by his ability to anticipate, his ability to discriminate between the possible and the impossible, and the ability to keep in contact with his followers, although he may be far ahead of them.

Documents portraying leaders in crisis situations could consequently be given to pupils. Trümpelmann points out that questions such as the following are relevant here. "Is a particular political leader in a given situation a mere politician, or a statesman?" "What is the difference between thinking of the next election and thinking of the next generation?" "Does the leader show vision?" "Has he lost contact with his followers?" (ibid. 1987: 33f).

Smuts's conduct during the strike of 1922 is a telling "concretization of this problem of a leader-in-crisis", while his dilemma during the 1922 referendum in Southern Rhodesia is a portrayal of a leader who was far ahead of his time. Further examples of leaders in crisis situations can also be cited, such as Kruger in October 1899, Chamberlain in September 1938 and Napoleon III during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870.

As far as leadership in pluralistic societies is concerned, Trümpelmann (ibid.: 34) considers that one could refer to a person such as Lincoln, who demonstrated leadership and statesmanship with the abolition of slavery in the USA. He was prepared to become temporarily estranged from his followers and also had to pay with his life for a principle that he found not negotiable.

The handling of contemporary history presents problems in any strongly politicized pluralistic society. Factualness, fairness and empathy are seen as essential elements for dealing with leaders such as Verwoerd, De Klerk, Buthelezi and Mandela in a historically responsible way.

The research by Van den Berg (1987: 25f) embraces, inter alia, the formulation of criteria for comprehensive History curriculum development and its implications for existing syllabi. The following criteria, for example, have been suggested:

- All communities and parties concerned should be democratically involved in the development of the curriculum.

- The History curriculum should give pupils the opportunity to become part of the community in a more meaningful manner.
- Opportunities should be created in the curriculum for pupils to become aware of diversity and conflict in pluralistic societies, with the knowledge that these conditions are not pathological.
- As far as contextualization is concerned, it is important that pupils should take not only local, but also African and international contexts into account when forming a historical framework of reference.
- Pupils should have the opportunity of looking at the past, present and future of mankind in a truly democratic, critical and open-minded manner.
- Differentiation and individualization should be made possible through the curriculum.
- The studying of History should emphasize in-depth inquiry (qualitative insight and understanding) rather than encyclopaedic factual knowledge or broad enquiry.
- History should give pupils the opportunity of acquiring concepts that will equip them for treating ideological trends critically.

Van den Berg (ibid.: 27-30) makes a number of suggestions regarding amendments to the present History curriculum. Only a few of his suggestions will be mentioned in illustration.

- Specific objectives should be set, taking into account the following aspects which are peculiar to History as a subject or discipline:

  - the nature of historical evidence or proof, and of conflicting or contradictory data and evaluations
  - the problem of prejudice and the difficulties associated with historical paradigms
  - historical explanation as a "reducing of uncertainties" rather than the imposition of solutions or "the answers"
  - historical "facts" as a series of accepted judgements

- The problematic nature and complexity of South African history should be accepted, and simplistic bias should be avoided.
- The learning content should be reduced rather than increased, and qualitative work emphasized.
- The curriculum should be more Afrocentric than Eurocentric in nature. There should be a movement away from the study of African history in support of Eurocentric marketing. What should be taught is the intrinsic value of South African and African history and not its relevance from a Euro-Western perspective.

In summary, it can be stated that History is the school subject that currently stands out in the South African context as a particularly sensitive area in a heterogeneous society. When attention is given to critical voices that are raised against the status quo of History teaching, there appears to be much scope for improvement of the situation, in the sense that the one-sided approach to History, as being History in the service of the Afrikaner, must give way to a more balanced multipolar presentation, so that one can get closer to the (still elusive) truth, as perceived by different population and interest groups.

It is clear that, in the politicized South African situation, teaching a sensitive subject such as History cannot reach its full potential from a narrow linear perspective. A broader, more divergent way of thinking and perspective is not only academically desirable, it can also make a contribution to the improvement of mutual understanding between people and groups in this country.

A few comments follow about curriculum development in respect of Guidance in the heterogeneous South African society.

5.3.2 Guidance

Lamprecht (1988: 68f) indicates that, apart from different focal points which exist in the respective education departments regarding Guidance, there is a common trend in all departments - namely that "a high premium is placed on the importance of Guidance in the preparation of pupils for adult life" (ibid.: 68).

This research has indicated a number of important principles, only a few of which will be mentioned here.

- A permanent syllabus should be compiled for Guidance and the current avoidance of a set syllabus should end. The practice of using guides, guidelines, programmes and textbooks rather than a structure created by a syllabus, leaves the guidance teacher with too much scope for individual interpretation, which is often counterproductive.
- Guidance should always be regarded as a speciality field, and should only be undertaken by persons qualified to do so. Although one would fully agree that Guidance should be presented by "qualified persons", in black education in particular the ideal situation and reality are simply not compatible. It is anticipated that for many years to come Guidance teachers in black schools will have to depend on short in-service training courses for "qualification".

- Too much emphasis is placed on pupils' own preferences, interests and personalities during career guidance and orientation. Manpower needs should get progressively greater attention in future, so that a more favourable balance can be achieved between the needs of the individual and those of society. An emphasis on manpower needs can make a contribution to the prevention of unemployment, which can also benefit intergroup relations.
- Lamprecht (ibid.: 77) also points out that specific attention should be given to acquiring a knowledge of and insight into other racial groups, and that pupils should be encouraged to develop a sensitivity and understanding for all racial groups within the RSA. A thorough understanding of each other can be regarded as the key to the long-term peaceful co-existence of the different peoples in the RSA.

Guidance is often highlighted as a facet of South African education that is neglected and not allowed to develop to its full potential.

There is no doubt that Guidance can earn itself a unique position in South African education, from the standpoint that it can operate to defuse conflict and build good interpersonal relations.

Should South Africa, through Guidance, be successful in

- to some extent limiting or preventing unemployment and its "socially explosive" consequences, and
- working constructively at the improvement of intergroup relations,

the country could justifiably be proud of its Guidance initiatives. Unfortunately, the converse is largely the situation at present.

5.3.3 Afrikaans

Strydom (1987: 1-46) has perceptively discussed the teaching of Afrikaans in a multicultural situation. He points out that, in presenting Afrikaans as either the "First" or "Second" Language, the overriding objectives are always the same, namely for the pupil to master Afrikaans over the entire spectrum of proficiency in reading, writing and speaking as well as possible, and at the same time strive towards the educational goal of maturity. Five specific objectives are stated by the Department of Education and Culture, and these are particularly applicable to English, Indian, coloured and black pupils who take Afrikaans as a "Second Language". These objectives are:

- To encourage the pupil to develop an interest in and love of Afrikaans books, so that he will read Afrikaans on his own initiative.
- To teach the pupil to learn the spoken and written language.
- To teach pupils to use Afrikaans spontaneously as a medium of communication.
- To familiarize the pupil with the basic principles of its structure, as a means to using the language correctly.
- To help the pupil to realize the value of Afrikaans as the other official language and cultural medium.

There is currently much debate as to whether Afrikaans will remain an official language in South Africa in the long run, and whether the language will perhaps acquire the status of a regional language in a new political dispensation in South Africa. The fate of Afrikaans will be like that of the Afrikaner identity. Identity and language are dynamic, and are lived. Whatever the status of Afrikaans, its survival as a language depends on the ability of its speakers to adapt to changing circumstances, to live the language and, as far as one's fellow citizens are concerned, to show respect for their languages alongside one's enthusiasm for one's own language.

The objectives to which Strydom (1987: 1-2) refers should be understood within a multicultural context. He points out that there are no "direct instructions" that curriculum developers should apply to a distinctively South African situation. With reference to the work by Kruger (1983: 45) regarding curriculum as a cyclic teaching-learning programme, he mentions some implications which apply from a multicultural perspective.

He firstly points out that, as far as situation analysis is concerned, it is not enough only to determine the expected professional or personal needs of a particular target group with regard to Afrikaans; one must also take into account sociopolitical needs. One can add that more than eight million black South Africans understand Afrikaans, while about three million whites regard Afrikaans as a "second language", apart from the approximately six million South Africans who use Afrikaans as their "first language". It is evident that the teaching of Afrikaans faces a variety of problems and challenges in a changing society. In future the teaching of Afrikaans will run parallel with its marketing as a dynamic communication medium among the inhabitants of South Africa. Afrikaans will grow if it is no longer linked to a narrow exclusive racial approach. In brief, Afrikaans is established as a language and currently enjoys a free-market phase.

Secondly, in the cycle of curriculum development, attention is given to aims and objectives. In

this connection Strydom remarks that a new look needs to be taken at the task of teaching Afrikaans, with regard to the unfolding of the multicultural reality of South Africa to all those learning the language (ibid.: 2). What needs to be recognized here is that a shift of emphasis in the aims of teaching Afrikaans rests in its functional use in the social context.

Thirdly, there is the selection and planning of learning contents in curriculum development. Strydom considers that one would have to determine the extent to which learning contents are a reflection of those matters which are necessary and desirable for, as well as conducive to, harmony in a pluralistic society. In other words: do the selected and planned contents comply with the demands of mutual respect and co-operation between the population groups - the demands that are so essential for the establishment of healthy intergroup relations? Strydom makes a plea for "intercultural reconciliation" in the selection of language contents (ibid.: 33), and feels that the following democratic values should be taken into account in their selection and planning: tolerance, sympathy, justice, accountability, religious freedom, human dignity, co-responsibility, humility, freedom to engage in civilized conflict, etc.

He also points out (ibid.: 23-30) that in the past mistakes have often been made in the teaching of Afrikaans in multicultural South Africa, in the sense that a lack of sensitivity has been shown with regard to, for example, prescribed works. As an example, he cites the fact that the book Van eensame mense by Elise Muller was prescribed for black matriculants for four years until 1985.

According to Strydom (ibid.) it is a simple story of whites in the heart of the Karoo, with a few peripheral background figures:

- the drunken Jakob
- the slavish, mute Katrina
- the old brown woman who grinned "toothlessly" at the new "baas" who came to teach at the school
- the round-eyed children who timidly hold out their tin mugs for a little skimmed milk, and who are then refused a second helping by a menacing horsewhip in a white (Boer) hand, because there are young lambs who also need milk...

The dialogue, too, is very familiar to the Afrikaans [South African] reader: "Maar waar's die ounooi dan?" "Wanneer is die mense hier weg?" "Gistermiddag al kleinbaas", and "baas Jabes is ook netnou verby". "Dit lyk mos of die baas van Skewekraal aan trou dink..."

This type of content, Strydom (ibid.) feels, creates embarrassment and alienation, and a realization of the impact of sociolinguistic insensitivity in Afrikaans instruction, which ought ultimately to involve much more than the mere teaching of grammar and functional communication structures. Strydom adds that the work of Esterhuyse (1986) also clearly indicates how insensitivity is manifested over the whole spectrum of Afrikaans textbooks (ibid.).

Should the multicultural demands in the selection and planning of learning contents be taken into account, suitable learning experiences and opportunities for learning can be offered to the pupils. According to Strydom (1987: 23), care would have to be taken that the "elements" of the learning contents were really experienced as "fundamentals" by the learners. In other words - one would have to establish whether the learning experiences of the pupils gave them insight into the demands, duties and responsibilities that arise in a multicultural society. The question is thus whether Afrikaans is taught not only as a language, but also as an instrument or means of facilitating social integration in a multicultural society.

In the phase of evaluation one must - apart from applying the "conventional" methods of evaluation - also look at the degree to which learners gain insight into the "multicultural constraints" encountered in the teaching of Afrikaans. The teaching of Afrikaans can promote positive attitudes between population groups in this country.

On the grounds of, inter alia, the above-mentioned remarks, Strydom (ibid.: 45-46) makes a number of recommendations, only one of which will be mentioned. He considers that a synthesis should be found between the sociolinguistic problem area in which Afrikaans finds itself, and the psycholinguistic demands that are made in respect of language acquisition. Psycholinguistically, the language contents must be meaningful and relevant for the learner, but sociolinguistic findings indicate that Afrikaans is neither meaningful nor relevant for the greater part of the population. The needs, wishes or desires of the entire Afrikaans-speaking community (not only the Afrikaans-speaking whites) must be taken into account and the selection of contents must also take the user of Afrikaans as a "Second Language" fully into account. The implication is that teaching contents should be stripped of all offensive and ideologically prejudicial elements and rather become filled with democratic, generally acceptable and agreed upon contents.

From Strydom's research (1987) it appears that Afrikaans cannot be disengaged from the sociopolitical context in South Africa. When curriculum development is taking place, therefore, relevant sociolinguistic data must certainly be used. Ultimately, it is not only a question of language acquisition, but also one of meaningful interaction between the

population groups in South Africa.

5.3.4 Extracurricular activities

In South Africa current practice is that the school initiates a curricular programme (in the sense of formal instruction in different subjects), but that the school also accepts responsibility for an extracurricular programme that includes "cultural" and sporting activities. The distinction between cultural and sporting activities is made only on pragmatic grounds because "sport" could also qualify as "culture". The purpose of the extracurricular programme is to promote meaningful use of leisure time and to support the curricular or academic programme of the school. It has become apparent that pupils who are involved in the school's extracurricular programme also fit in much better with the academic or curricular programme.

Since the extracurricular programme is regarded as part of the school's educative activities, it has thus far been dealt with as an "own affairs" matter in South Africa. The cultural and sporting activities of schools have been practised within the context of own population groups up until the late eighties, and still are today. From April 1988 there has been a shift in emphasis, however, in the sense that the management councils of government schools have greater autonomy with regard to taking decisions on extracurricular programmes. Schools' management councils can now decide whether their pupils wish to have multicultural co-operation in the sphere of extracurricular activities, or not. There is thus a possibility of contact between the student councils, art festivals, debating societies and sports teams of the different race groups. Since the 1988 shift in emphasis, sporadic sporting contact has been noted, but thus far contact between pupils of the different population groups is the exception rather than the rule.

The fact is that extracurricular contact offers an excellent opportunity for improving intergroup relations if, in our polarized society, it is accompanied by the necessary sensitivity and sound, practical arrangements. Sport and cultural contact already makes a significant contribution to the improvement of intergroup relations at the adult level. The theatre, television, choir festivals, road running, boxing, athletics and so on successfully help to relax intergroup relations and to make all population groups aware of a South African identity and nationhood. The awarding of Springbok colours is a shining example of this.

It is time for the management councils of schools to take the initiative in stimulating extracurricular contact between population groups. Despite social unrest, calculated risks must be taken in the interests of South African society. The climate in the country has

become one of potential political negotiation and possible reconciliation. This sociopolitical promise can however not be realized if it is not supported by schools and the youth. Parents who rate the interests and future of their children highly will have to work for the improvement of intergroup relations through extracurricular activities.

5.4   SYNTHESIS

In general, curriculum development offers outstanding opportunities for the improvement of intergroup relations. The implementation of the guidelines for curriculum development in a pluralistic society can make a strong contribution to the easing of intergroup relations.

It also seems that curriculum development for specific subjects offers the possibility of becoming acceptable to all population groups, without the essence of the subject contents becoming lost in the process. The emphasis here has fallen on curriculum development for specific subjects in a multicultural perspective. The intention is naturally to emphasize this neglected perspective, without sacrificing the quality or standard of the subject contents.

As far as extracurricular activities are concerned, the time seems ripe for promoting contact between the pupils of the different population groups with a view to improving intergroup relations. Sport and cultural contact has the potential for effecting vigorous · changes to attitudes, if it is managed judiciously and effectively.

The logical question arises as to black, Indian, coloured and white attitudes towards the themes that have been discussed. What do South Africans think and feel about, for example, education norms, curriculum development and extracurricular activities in the scheme of formal education? In order to gain information on this, a countrywide survey was undertaken by the Opinion Survey Centre (OSC) of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). This survey is discussed in Chapter 6.

SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY:

A NATIONAL OPINION POLL

6.1   INTRODUCTION

An opinion poll was conducted countrywide among adult whites, blacks, coloureds and Indians in order to determine the views of South Africans with regard to certain facets of transitional phase education.   The survey was conducted between 11 September 1989 and 4 October 1989. During the sampling conducted by the Institute for Statistical Research of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) 1 500 households from each of the population groups were identified for participation in the survey. The survey among the black population group was conducted in the metropolitan areas of the country, while the other three population groups were involved on a national basis. Ensuring the representativeness of a sample is obviously not an easy matter. However, it can be stated with confidence that in this case the sampling was done in the most sophisticated scientific manner and that a more solid basis for sampling would be hard to conceive.

6.2   STATEMENT OF PROBLEMS AND GOALS

Against the background of the preceding chapters it was decided to include a number of questions in the opinion survey in order to determine the views of the various South African population groups on aspects of education such as forms of education (type of school), curriculum matters, extracurricular activities, standards, the transfer as well as the establishment of a cultural identity, and the financing of education.

Thus the crucial question was the following: What are the views of white, black, coloured and Indian adults on certain aspects of transitional phase education?

On account of financial and practical reasons it was not possible to conduct a comprehensive survey, and an investigation into a limited number of aspects of the views on education had to suffice.

The aim of the opinion poll was to gain an impression of the different population groups' views

on a number of aspects of education.

6.3 DISTURBANCE VARIABLES: MATTERS THAT MIGHT INFLUENCE THE OPINION POLL

The following matters deserve mention, since they could affect the opinion poll and would therefore have to be taken into account in the interpretation of the data.

- A higher rate of non-response was encountered among respondents in the higher socio-economic strata than in the middle and lower socio-economic strata.
- As far as possible every household was visited only once, with the result that interviews were in many cases conducted with a woman who did not work away from home.
- The survey was conducted shortly after the general election in which whites, coloureds and Indians had taken part but from which blacks had been excluded. The reaction of the different population groups to the election campaign, the election itself and related events, might have affected the results of the opinion survey.

6.4 BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

The following biographical data with regard to the respondents in the sample are important:

TABLE 6.1: SEX

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Male	43,0	29,4	39,1	42,3
Female	57,0	70,6	60,9	57,7
Total number of respondents	1 006	1 481	1 218	1 429

TABLE 6.2: AGE

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
18 tot 19 years	3,3	9,1	6,0	6,2
20 tot 24 years	10,2	17,1	11,7	14,6
25 tot 34 years	23,1	25,5	28,3	27,5
35 tot 44 years	23,2	17,2	25,1	25,1
45 tot 54 years	15,8	13,3	12,9	16,1
55 tot 64 years	12,3	10,2	9,8	8,0
65 tot 74 years	9,5	5,7	5,2	2,2
75 years and older	2,6	2,0	0,9	0,3

TABLE 6.3: MARITAL STATE

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Legally married	68,0	34,4	54,1	68,7
Ceremonially married	1,3	9,3	1,8	4,0
Never married	14,7	39,6	28,4	18,2
Widow/Widower	8,1	9,8	9,3	6,3
Divorced	6,1	3,4	4,9	2,4
Living together	1,9	3,4	1,5	0,3

TABLE 6.4: QUALIFICATIONS

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
None	0,1	7,6	4,1	3,9
Gr. 1 & 2, Std 1	0,0	4,1	3,5	1,5
Std 2	0,0	3,8	3,1	2,2
Std 3	0,1	4,0	5,4	1,9
Std 4	0,0	5,6	8,0	3,9
Std 5	0,8	11,6	13,4	6,4
Std 6	5,4	14,5	16,1	15,9
Std 7	3,8	10,0	10,6	7,1
Std 8	22,1	15,2	15,5	17,1
Std 9	7,9	9,3	6,1	9,6
Std 10	30,5	10,3	8,1	19,1
Std 10 & diploma	17,4	3,1	4,9	7,4
B. degree/Honours	9,8	0,7	1,1	3,6
Master's degree	1,3	0,1	0,1	0,3
Doctor's degree	0,6	0,1	0,1	0,1
No response	0,1	-	0,1	-

TABLE 6.5: HOME LANGUAGE

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Afrikaans	58,5	0,1	79,9	0,7
English	38,7	0,1	19,8	92,9
European language	2,1	0,0	0,0	0,2
Oriental language	0,2	0,0	0,0	6,0
Southern Sotho	0,0	17,0	0,0	0,0
Western Sotho (Tswana)	0,1	11,5	0,1	0,0
Polish	0,2	0,0	0,0	0,0
Hungarian	0,1	0,0	0,0	0,0
Northern Sotho/Pedi	0,0	10,9	0,0	0,0
Swazi	0,0	1,3	0,0	0,0
Ndebele	0,0	0,9	0,0	0,0
Xhosa	0,0	22,6	0,2	0,0
Zulu	0,0	31,3	0,0	0,0
Shangaan/Tsonga	0,0	3,4	0,0	0,1
Venda/Lemba	0,0	0,9	0,0	0,0
No response	0,1	0,0	0,0	0,0

TABLE 6.6: INCOME

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
None	1,6	30,3	6,3	2,0
Less than R200	0,2	13,2	7,0	1,5
R200 - R399 p.m.	2,0	12,9	12,7	4,0
R400 - R599 p.m	3,4	14,0	15,0	6,9
R600 - R799 p.m.	2,0	9,3	10,9	8,5
R800 - R999 p.m.	3,8	7,5	10,7	10,0
R1 000 - R1 199 p.m.	4,3	3,0	7,7	10,5
R1 200 - R1 399 p.m.	3,4	1,6	5,6	7,2
R1 400 - R1 599 p.m.	3,5	1,2	3,6	5,7
R1 600 - R1 799 p.m.	2,9	0,6	2,1	3,4
R1 800 - R1 999 p.m.	3,7	0,3	2,1	3,4
R2 000 - R2 499 p.m.	10,3	0,7	3,5	7,4
R2 500 - R2 999 p.m.	7,6	0,3	2,3	4,0
R3 000 - R3 499 p.m.	9,2	0,1	2,0	2,7
R3 500 - R3 999 p.m.	5,4	0,0	0,8	1,5
R4 000 - R4 499 p.m.	8,1	0,1	0,7	1,5
R4 500 - R4 999 p.m.	4,6	0,0	0,3	0,6
R5 000 +	15,0	0,0	0,7	1,9
Refuse to say	5,6	1,2	2,6	8,7
Do not know	3,2	3,7	3,5	8,5

COMMENT: BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

The following comments can be made with regard to the biographical data supplied by the respondents:

1.	As was remarked earlier, owing to the fact that households were as far as possible visited only once, interviews were often conducted with women who did not work away from home. This resulted in a skewness in favour of female respondents that

could prove to be a disturbance variable in the case of the black population group in particular.

2.   Regarding age it appears that more than 40 % of the respondents in all the population groups were between 25 and 44 years old.

3.   Superficially judged it seems as if the 39,6 % of black respondents who had never been married would perhaps be less qualified to comment on the theme of education in a transitional phase. However experience of South African society has taught that a considerable number of this category of respondents could be expected to lead a family life and have children, despite the fact that according to Western custom a "legal" marriage had not been concluded.

4.   The data on qualifications show that in respect of the respondents in the sample whites and Indians were relatively better qualified than coloureds and blacks. This trend is in keeping with the relative quality of education in the different population groups.

5.   As far as home language is concerned, one notices that the white, coloured and Indian respondents fell in the present categories of official languages, while the black respondents could be classified predominantly in the categories Zulu (31,3 %), Xhosa (22,6 %), Southern Sotho (17,0 %), Western Sotho or Tswana (11,5 %) and Northern Sotho or Pedi (10,9 %).

6.   The data on income show that the whites generally fell in the higher income groups, while the Indians, coloureds and blacks (in this order) were less well off.

6.5   OPINIONS OF POPULATION GROUPS ABOUT SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATION

The opinion poll findings with regard to a number of aspects of evolutionary education are reported briefly in the paragraphs that follow.

6.5.1   Type of school

Statement 1
*   Pupils from the different population groups should be educated in the same schools and classrooms.

TABLE 6.7: INTEGRATED EDUCATION

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	19,9	77,3	75,1	62,1
Tend to agree	15,3	13,5	12,3	18,6
Tend to disagree	14,6	3,8	5,2	7,4
Disagree	49,2	5,3	5,9	11,6
No response	1,0	0,1	0,3	0,4

Statement 2

It is essential that pupils from different population groups should be educated in separate schools.

TABLE 6.8: SEPARATE SCHOOLS

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	36,1	23,5	30,6	22,4
Tend to agree	12,6	10,5	13,7	12,8
Tend to disagree	14,3	14,1	13,2	17,9
Disagree	36,2	51,9	40,5	46,7
No response	0,8	0,1	0,6	0,2

Statement 3

People's Education aims at providing education that will satisfy the unique needs and political aspirations of a community and for this reason it should replace the present education system.

TABLE 6.9: PEOPLE'S EDUCATION

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	25,5	52,3	29,3	41,4
Tend to agree	19,7	25,2	17,6	33,7
Tend to disagree	17,7	13,7	16,8	15,2
Disagree	33,2	8,5	28,6	9,0
No response	3,5	0,3	2,4	0,6

Statement 4

• Separate schools for the different population groups will be maintained in South Africa for the next twenty years.

TABLE 6.10: SEPARATE SCHOOLS IN THE FUTURE

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	25,5	26,4	30,5	20,2
Tend to agree	22,3	22,9	21,1	25,9
Tend to disagree	22,7	18,5	18,5	23,8
Disagree	27,1	30,8	25,8	29,6
No response	2,2	1,4	1,3	0,6

COMMENT: TYPE OF SCHOOL

Respondents seemed to be uncertain about the desirability of integrated schools, separate schools or "People's Education". This uncertainty probably resulted from the contradictory feelings and schools of thought regarding education and related matters that prevail in society at the moment.

- Table 6.7 shows that white respondents tended to support separate (own affairs) education at the expense of integrated education. Blacks, coloureds and Indians (in that order), on the other hand, were in favour of integration in schools and classrooms.

- Table 6.8 reflects a certain contradiction in the sense that white respondents were not significantly in favour of or against separate schools (48,7 % in favour and 50,5 % against), and black, coloured and Indian respondents were far more moderate in their rejection of separate schools than is suggested by Table 6.7.

   A possible explanation for this contradiction could be the way in which the two statements were formulated. Statement 1 read as follows (own underlining): "Pupils from the different population groups should be educated in the same schools and classrooms". Statement 2 on the other hand read: "It is essential that pupils from different population groups should be educated in separate schools." Respondents probably thought that the formulation of Statement 1 represented an ideal or desirable situation, whereas the use of "essential" in Statement 2 suggested an imperative. If this difference was responsible for the nuances reflected in the answers to the two statements, one could interpret them positively to imply that South Africans are probably prepared to accept existing trends in education in the short term, but that blacks, coloureds and Indians in particular are hopeful that the present segregation in schools will be phased out gradualy. With regard to the white respondents it could perhaps mean that they considered separate schools desirable, but not essential (for all the population groups in the country?).

- The statement on "People's Education" presented a problem in the sense that respondents probably did not have much background knowledge on the subject and the explanatory remarks contained in the statement may have caused the respondents to agree or tend to agree with it. However, it is also possible that the different population groups felt that a change in the present education system was due and that the unique needs and aspirations of communities had to receive greater attention.

   Although an awareness of the need for a change in the *status quo* of the South African education system could be detected, Table 6.10 shows that more than 46 % of all the respondents believed that separate schools for the different population groups would be maintained in South Africa for the next two decades. The respondents may have felt that despite the opening of certain schools, the phenomenon of separate schools would continue to exist in South African education.

Against the background of these remarks, it follows naturally to examine the respondents' views on parental choice with regard to education in South Africa.

6.5.2 Parental choice

Statement 5
* Parents should be able to send their children to the school of their choice.

TABLE 6.11: PARENTAL CHOICE WITH REGARD TO TYPE OF SCHOOL

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	61,0	71,9	40,2	71,1
Tend to agree	8,4	15,4	5,7	19,8
Tend to disagree	6,2	3,6	6,8	5,1
Disagree	23,9	8,9	46,6	3,8
No response	0,5	0,2	0,2	0,2

Statement 6
* Parents should have a direct say in what their children are taught at school.

TABLE 6.12: PARENTAL CHOICE WITH RESPECT TO CURRICULA

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	48,4	78,0	36,1	65,8
Tend to agree	20,4	15,8	9,6	23,2
Tend to disagree	13,4	3,4	9,9	7,6
Disagree	17,0	2,6	43,1	3,2
No response	0,6	0,1	0,5	0,2

Statement 7

• The parents in a community (and not the government) should decide which pupils should be allowed into schools in that particular community.

TABLE 6.13: PARENTAL CHOICE AT LOCAL LEVEL

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	55,6	52,8	61,4	58,8
Tend to agree	19,1	23,7	16,9	26,3
Tend to disagree	10,7	7,1	7,9	7,6
Disagree	13,4	16,2	11,6	6,9
No response	1,1	0,2	0,6	0,4

COMMENT: PARENTAL CHOICE

The responses to this category of questions clearly revealed the need for greater parental say in formal education. The hesitance detected in the coloured community's responses with respect to school curriculum (Table 6.12) is difficult to interpret and deserves closer examination. Concerning the views of parents in the coloured community with respect to parents' free choice of the type of school for their children (Table 6.11), the question arises whether these respondents did not perhaps fear being crowded out by the other population groups in view of the fact that schools for coloureds had already been opened to all races.

6.5.3 Transfer and establishment of a cultural identity

Statement 8

• The school should strive to preserve the particular group identity of each of its pupils (e.g. Zulu or English).

TABLE 6.14: GROUP IDENTITY

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	51,1	52,6	32,7	53,2
Tend to agree	16,1	20,7	15,6	28,0
Tend to disagree	9,2	13,3	12,7	10,7
Disagree	22,8	13,0	36,6	7,9
No response	0,7	0,3	0,8	0,2

Statement 9

* The culture of each population group is transferred effectively in South African schools.

TABLE 6.15: TRANSFER OF CULTURE

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	32,8	44,8	31,3	25,1
Tend to agree	33,5	28,2	19,4	28,1
Tend to disagree	20,5	16,2	19,7	19,0
Disagree	11,0	10,5	25,1	27,6
No response	1,8	0,3	1,3	0,3

Statement 10

* Schools should cultivate a common South Africanship among all pupils.

TABLE 6.16: SOUTH AFRICANSHIP

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	60,2	64,4	74,0	63,8
Tend to agree	22,5	22,3	15,9	28,2
Tend to disagree	6,8	7,9	3,3	5,0
Disagree	9,6	5,2	3,7	2,7
No response	0,8	0,3	0,9	0,2

Statement 11

Establishing a common South Africanship is possible only in those schools where pupils of all population groups are accommodated in the same classrooms.

TABLE 6.17: SOUTH AFRICANSHIP AND CLASSROOM INTEGRATION

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	31,5	53,8	37,4	47,8
Tend to agree	21,4	24,3	12,3	32,1
Tend to disagree	17,5	11,6	10,7	2,2
Disagree	28,1	10,1	35,2	7,6
No response	1,3	0,3	1,2	0,4

COMMENT: TRANSFER AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A CULTURAL IDENTITY

For the purposes of this discussion it is assumed that there is a strong positive relation between group identity on the one hand and cultural identity and the transfer of such an identity on the other hand. It is also assumed that there is a strong positive relation between a

"common South Africanship" and the establishment of a common cultural identity in the sense that the view of group identity is broadened to make provision for the acceptance of a South African national consciousness.

According to Table 6.14 it appears that most of the white, black and Indian respondents believed that preservation of group identity should be a function of the school. The coloured respondents were clearly divided on this issue. This population group probably rejects the idea of identity since in their minds it is an unfair political and discriminatory label. The question consequently arises whether there are any grounds (apart from colour or race) for identifying a cultural group with a unique cultural identity known as coloureds.

It appears from Table 6.15 that the white and black respondents believed that the culture of the different groups was transferred effectively in South African schools, whereas a clear trend in this regard could not be identified from the responses offered by the coloured and Indian respondents. Investigating their reasonably neutral views should definitely prove to be worth the effort.

Table 6.16 shows that the respondents from all the population groups experienced a need for the establishment of a common South Africanship among pupils. In the case of the white population group it was surprising to learn from Table 6.17 that 52,9 % of the respondents saw integrated education as a means of establishing a common South Africanship.

6.5.4 Curriculum

Statement 12
*   Greater emphasis should be placed on the teaching of the history of all the groups in the country.

TABLE 6.18: HISTORY

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	53,8	73,1	76,4	70,7
Tend to agree	21,8	18,3	13,7	21,4
Tend to disagree	10,0	4,0	2,7	4,2
Disagree	13,1	4,5	4,3	3,4
No response	1,1	0,1	0,7	0,4

Statement 13

Textbooks that offend certain population groups should not be used in South African schools.

TABLE 6.19: TEXTBOOKS

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	44,7	41,2	68,9	56,7
Tend to agree	22,6	23,1	12,7	24,1
Tend to disagree	13,7	17,0	6,2	9,3
Disagree	17,8	18,4	8,7	9,5
No response	1,0	0,3	0,9	0,4

Statement 14

In certain school subjects such as Geography, languages and School Guidance, pupils should get the opportunity to learn more about the cultures of other population groups.

TABLE 6.20: OTHER CULTURES

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	68,1	68,2	77,4	66,0
Tend to agree	20,4	23,0	15,9	25,2
Tend to disagree	5,4	4,8	2,4	5,4
Disagree	5,4	3,9	2,2	3,1
No response	0,7	0,2	0,9	0,3

Statement 15

* Pupils should be informed at high school of the political trends in South Africa.

TABLE 6.21: POLITICAL TRENDS

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	61,9	65,1	71,7	65,1
Tend to agree	18,4	15,0	14,1	20,9
Tend to disagree	7,8	5,7	5,2	7,5
Disagree	11,2	13,9	6,4	6,4
No response	0,6	0,3	0,5	0,2

COMMENT: CURRICULUM

With reference to Tables 6.18, 6.19, 6.20 and 6.21, a general trend towards the support of transitional phase curriculum development with a view to improving intergroup relations is

noticeable.

However from Tables 6.19 and 6.21 it appears that a minority of the white and the black respondents tended to differ on the issues concerned. This phenomenon may possibly be related to the serious polarization between these two population groups in South Africa.

6.5.5 Standards

Statement 16

The standard of education in white schools should be accepted as the standard of education for all schools in South Africa.

TABLE 6.22: WHITE STANDARDS

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	66,4	66,5	43,6	72,1
Tend to agree	9,4	19,0	11,5	6,4
Tend to disagree	5,4	6,8	7,4	4,8
Disagree	17,8	7,5	35,4	6,4
No response	0,9	0,2	0,8	0,2

Statement 17

Academic standards will be affected negatively if pupils from different popuation groups are accommodated in the same classrooms.

TABLE 6.23: INTEGRATION AND STANDARDS

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	38,6	30,7	33,9	19,1
Tend to agree	18,3	22,2	16,1	23,9
Tend to disagree	15,0	18,1	12,2	19,8
Disagree	27,1	28,6	33,8	36,8
No response	0,8	0,3	1,3	0,4

Statement 18

Pupils being educated in the same school and in the same classroom should have something in common. Which of the following would you consider to be the most important factor that they should have in common?

TABLE 6.24: PROMINENCE OF STANDARDS

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Religion	11,1	15,4	25,7	4,8
Language	15,5	26,8	22,9	26,5
Population group	25,7	8,0	3,0	5,7
Academic standards	40,5	36,4	32,1	42,4
No response	7,3	13,3	16,3	20,6

COMMENT: STANDARDS

According to Table 6.22 respondents from the white, black and Indian population groups regarded the standard of education as found in white schools to be worthy of adopting,

whereas the coloured respondents were more divided on the issue.

Divergent views were expressed with regard to the question of whether academic standards would drop as a result of integration at the classroom level (cf. Table 6.23). It appears that the white and the black respondents tended to accept that standards would be affected negatively as a result of integration, whereas the coloured respondents were divided about this statement and the Indian respondents tended to disagree completely.

Table 6.24 nevertheless shows that all the population groups considered high academic standards to be essential. The black, coloured an Indian respondents also gave a high prominence to language. A certain section of the white respondents rated population group to be important, whereas this factor was considered to be of minor importance by the black, coloured and Indian respondents. Another interesting fact is that, compared with for example the Indian and the white respondents, a considerably larger group of the coloured respondents regarded religion as important.

The responses to Statement 18 should be interpreted with particular care since the percentages do not represent a hierarchy of priorities. Table 6.24 only reflects the respondents' views on one ("the most important common") factor.

6.5.6   Extracurricular activities

Statement 19
*   Contact between pupils across the colour line, such as during choir festivals, drama presentations and art exhibitions, is desirable.

TABLE 6.25: CONTACT IN RESPECT OF CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	47,3	74,3	77,9	76,0
Tend to agree	23,5	18,7	13,8	19,1
Tend to disagree	10,4	· 3,7	2,5	2,2
Disagree	18,0	3,1	3,6	2,4
No response	0,6	0,1	0,7	0,3

Statement 20

*   There should be sports contact at the school level between pupils of the different population groups.

TABLE 6.26: SPORTS CONTACT

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	49,5	81,8	83,7	80,8
Tend to agree	20,6	13,3	10,6	15,7
Tend to disagree	10,1	2,2	2,3	1,5
Disagree	19,3	2,6	2,1	1,7
No response	0,4	0,1	0,5	0,2

Statement 21

*   Youth leaders of different population groups (for example school prefects) should regularly have joint debates on subjects such as youth leadership.

TABEL 6.27: CONTACT IN RESPECT OF YOUTH LEADERSHIP

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	51,4	68,1	76,9	59,4
Tend to agree	22,6	21,4	15,2	27,5
Tend to disagree	8,2	6,1	3,0	7,6
Disagree	16,2	4,3	1,7	5,0
No response	1,4	0,2	0,8	0,5

COMMENT: EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

It appears from Tables 6.24, 6.25 and 6.26 that the vast majority of respondents from all the population groups were in favour of contact between pupils of the different population groups as fas as extracurricular activities were concerned. Only a minority of the white respondents (between 24,4 % and 28,4 %) differed from this viewpoint, whereas the corresponding percentages of respondents from the other population groups were relatively small (smaller than 12,6 %).

Thus it appears that generally speaking, South Africans are in favour of contact across the colour line as fas as extracurricular activities are concerned.

6.5.7 Financing

Statement 22
• Schools accommodating pupils from different population groups in the same classrooms should be financed in the same way as government schools.

TABLE 6.28: UNIFORM FINANCING

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	48,9	69,2	42,5	81,3
Tend to agree	18,5	19,5	6,5	15,1
Tend to disagree	12,1	6,4	7,3	2,5
Disagree	19,0	4,8	42,4	0,8
No response	1,3	0,1	0,6	0,2

Statement 23
• Parents should make a bigger financial contribution to their children's education.

TABLE 6.29: PARENTS' FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	31,4	53,4	32,1	29,7
Tend to agree	·28,5	25,7	19,9	30,1
Tend to disagree	18,3	7,2	16,9	15,3
Disagree	20,3	13,5	30,1	24,5
No response	1,5	0,3	0,2	0,4

Statement 24

* Schools for different population groups should be financed in a uniform way.

TABLE 6.30: PARITY OF FINANCING

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	63,0	72,1	81,0	67,6
Tend to agree	19,1	17,6	9,5	19,5
Tend to disagree	7,0	4,5	2,7	6,0
Disagree	10,1	5,6	5,2	6,6
No response	0,7	0,2	0,6	0,2

COMMENT: FINANCING

The majority of the respondents apparently believed that uniform financing of different forms of education was desirable. Regarding the equal financing of education in "integrated classrooms" and in "government schools", coloured respondents were divided on this issue,

whereas the white respondents in turn did not support the idea of uniform financing as strongly as the black and the Indian respondents in the sample. There is no obvious explanation for this response pattern and the matter would have to be investigated further.

All the population groups tended to support the statement referring to parents' bigger financial contribution to their children's education, though a reasonably strong minority view that was not in favour of increased financial contribution could also be noted. This minority trend can probably be related to economic problems in South Africa as well as to the fact that the government is considered to be chiefly responsible for the provision of education.

6.5.8 Career orientation

Statement 25
* School education makes adequate provision for preparing children for the world of work.

TABLE 6.31: CAREER ORIENTATION

	% White	% Black	% Coloured	% Indian
Agree	21,4	50,3	33,7	33,4
Tend to agree	19,9	24,2	15,1	28,6
Tend to disagree	25,0	10,2	18,0	15,6
Disagree	32,4	15,2	31,8	22,1
No response	1,3	0,1	0,4	0,3

COMMENT: CAREER ORIENTATION

Reasonably divergent views were expressed in this regard. The question arose whether the respondents were adequately informed on the necessity of career-oriented education. Unlike the white and the coloured respondents, the majority of the black and the Indian respondents believed that formal education made adequate provision for preparing pupils for the "world of

work". The responses could also imply that South African society still valued academic-formative education highly at the expense of technical and career-oriented education.

6.6 SYNTHESIS

Certain trends regarding a number of aspects of transitional phase education which could be noted from the opinion poll conducted among members of South African society are summarized below.

*   With regard to type of school, it appears that the white respondents in the sample tended to support separate or own affairs education, whereas black, coloured and Indian respondents appeared to be in favour of integrated forms of education.

*   It also appears that the majority of the respondents from all four population groups believed that parents should have a greater say in the education of their children. The coloured respondents, however, were divided on the issue of free parental choice with regard to schools.

*   With respect to the transfer and establishment of a cultural identity, a clear need for the establishment of a common South Africanship among all pupils was identified among the respondents from all the population groups. The white, black and Indian respondents also felt that the cultural identity of the different groups had to be transferred in the schools, but the coloured respondents were divided on this matter.

*   Regarding the curriculum, it was evident that the respondents strongly supported changes to the curriculum that would result in improved intergroup relations.

*   Academic standards in the schools were valued highly by members of all the population groups.

*   As far as extracurricular activities are concerned, the vast majority of respondents from all the population groups indicated that contact across the colour line should be encouraged.

*   Concerning financing it appears that the majority of respondents supported the principle of the uniform financing of education, and that they believed that parents themselves should contribute more to the education of their children.

- The white respondents, as well as the coloured respondents to a smaller degree, apparently believed that the education offered at present was not career oriented, whereas the black and the Indian respondents appeared to be satisfied with the career orientation of current education.

Against the background of this opinion poll and the information contained in the preceding chapters, the final chapter deals with possible alternatives with regard to the evolution of ecudation in South African society.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION, FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1   ORIENTATION

Against the background that

•   schools are today the focal point of political and ideological conflict in South African society, and

•   the fact that the system of education is characterized by segregated subsystems based on segregation, division and segmentation in separate communities in South African society, the question arose as to whether the system of education and educative teaching could be changed so that education could contribute towards improving intergroup relations.

The purpose of the research was therefore to

-     formulate guidelines for helping to improve intergroup relations through education;
-     identify what the various views on the subject have in common with regard to what constitutes an acceptable system of education;
-     formulate guidelines for reducing both repressive and revolutionary stress within schools and their immediate environments, and
-     formulate guidelines for using education to promote a common national identity among all population groups.

The achievement of the above objectives is hampered by the fact that thinking on education and education itself have to some extent become enmeshed with ideology. While realizing that this research endeavours too, was influenced by ideological nuisance variables, a conscious attempt was made at all times to respect scientific principles by meeting, in particular, the demands of objective consideration, systematics, ordering, methodology and contextual validity.

As far as the methodological approach is concerned, an attempt was made; against the background of existing approaches to education in a multicultural society, yo design and apply

transitional phase educational criteria that are valid in the South African context. These criteria are the result of a fundamental analysis of a developing educational scenario that is promoting intergroup relations in South Africa. On the basis of these criteria it was endeavoured to evaluate current and possible future trends in South African education.

7.2 FINDINGS

7.2.1 Findings on approaches to education by the multicultural South African community

It was found that, although the dominant pattern of education currently involves strong elements of classical pluralism and monocultural education, there is a gradual movement towards a changed and dynamic pluralism involving multi-ethnic, intercultural and multicultural forms of education that can be discerned in private schools. For the purpose of this investigation these trends will be referred to by the term "transitional phase education". Transitional phase education is defined as deliberate and planned efforts to effect dynamic change in education in order to improve intergroup relations and to promote democratization.

7.2.2 Findings on educational criteria for the applied transitional phase

When transitional phase educational criteria were applied to the current educational scene a multishaded picture emerged, which was fully reported on in Chapter 4. Only the main trends will be highlighted here: three of the current forms of education in South Africa will be dealt with, namely own affairs education, "People's Education" and integrated education.

- Own affairs education has the advantage that it makes provision for the transfer of culture and the establishment of a cultural identity within the context of the particular group's mother tongue and religion. The disadvantages attached to own affairs education within the context of transitional phase educational criteria include the following:

- Equal educational opportunities and equal educational quality are not feasible within the own affairs dispensation.
- Freedom of choice and parental say are largely inhibited in this form of education at present.
- Career-oriented (technical) education has not yet come into its own.
- Antiracism is an ideal that is difficult to achieve since the system has a racial basis.
- Contact between the population groups cannot be achieved because no substantial

provision has been made for this.

- As far as standards are concerned, there are glaring differences in quality which go hand in hand with the inequalities that exist in the system of educational provision.
- Not enough emphasis is laid on establishing a cultural identity in the sense of creative acculturation and creating a common South African nationhood.

- "People's Education" has the potential advantage that it is community based and that it aims to meet the needs of a disadvantaged sector of South African society. Basically however "People's Education" is a resistance movement that has undisguised socialist political motives. As a form of education it has little relevance in international and national terms, either as a philosophy or a form of education. It is for example clear that even if the word "democracy" is used liberally in "People's Education" documents, it does not have the meaning generally applied to it in the Western World.

  When transitional phase educational criteria are applied to "People's Education", it becomes evident that the radical nature of this form of education has revolutionary rather than evolutionary objectives. From the perspective of improving intergroup relations through education, "People's Education" shows no promise.

- Integrated education appears to fully meet transitional phase educational criteria. In integrated schools conscious efforts are made to improve intergroup relations through equal quality education, antiracism, contact, equal standards and the establishment of a common culture. In short, integrated education helps attain a South African identity in an atmosphere of positive intergroup relations.

  It should however be pointed out that this form of education is at present exclusive and expensive and that it serves only a small proportion of all South African pupils. The number ratios between the pupils of the different population groups in such schools are controlled and there is therefore no question of free participation in education.

In conclusion it therefore seems that

- the *status quo* cannot be maintained in education; and that
- none of the existing forms of education can prevent or solve the acute problems concerning intergroup relations and a common identity in South African education.

7.2.3 Findings on curriculum development from the perspective of transitional phase education

History, School Guidance and Afrikaans received special attention with specific reference to curriculum development in these culturally sensitive subjects. Extracurricular activities also received some attention. At all times the aim of improving intergroup relations and the establishment of a broadened South African identity was kept in mind.

* History was regarded as an extremely sensitive subject as far as curriculum development was concerned. Although the history of all population groups in the country (seen also from the perspectives of the different population groups) should obviously feature in the curriculum, this is not the case at present. Instead the approach is often onesided and linear: South African history is for example taught from the point of view of the Afrikaner only, which is unacceptable to non-Afrikaners. An approach to History in South African curricula based on divergent perspectives can contribute a great deal to improving intergroup relations and promoting accountable historiography and the teaching of history.

* In the curriculum development of School Guidance attention should be given in particular to the manpower needs of the country, so that unemployment and the conflict potential it causes can be combated. It is also evident that the curriculum can be developed to improve intergroup relations constructively. School Guidance is currently largely neglected and the opportunities that exist with regard to curriculum development are not used.

* Afrikaans and its curriculum development and teaching cannot be divorced from its sociopolitical context in South Africa. Linguistic data and respect for all population groups should be taken into consideration in all attempts at curriculum development. However it appears that these requirements are not being met at present.

* Extracurricular activities pre-eminently create opportunities for improving intergroup relations through "cultural" and sports contact between the pupils. These opportunities however are not at present being utilized, as these activities are being dealt with in monocultural contexts.

7.2.4 Findings of a national opinion poll on some aspects of South African society

From the opinion poll on some aspects of education in a changing South African society, a

number of trends emerged that will subsequently be summarized briefly.

- As far as <u>type of school</u> was concerned, it seems that the white respondents tended to support separate education or own affairs education, while black, coloured and Indian respondents appeared to be in favour of integrated forms of education.

- In addition the majority of the respondents in all the population groups felt that <u>parents should have a greater say</u> in their children's education. "Coloured" respondents were however divided on the issue of free parental choice with regard to schools.

- As far as <u>culture transfer</u> and <u>culture creation</u> were concerned, there was a clear need among the respondents in all the population groups to establish a common South Africanship among all pupils. The white, black and Indian respondents also felt that their own cultural identity should be conveyed to the pupils in their schools, while the "coloured" respondents were divided on this issue.

- As far as the <u>curriculum</u> is concerned, it is clear that the respondents felt throughout that there should be changes in curriculum development that would lead to an improvement of intergroup relations.

- All the population groups placed a high premium on <u>academic standards</u> in schools.

- As far as <u>extracurricular activities</u> were concerned, the vast majority of the respondents in all the population groups felt that contact across the colour bar was desirable.

- With regard to <u>financing</u> it appears that most of the respondents were in favour of uniform financing, while it also seems that the majority of the respondents felt that parents themselves would have to contribute more to their children's education.

- The white and coloured respondents (to a lesser extent) felt that education was currently not <u>career oriented,</u> while the black and Indian respondents felt that education was in fact career oriented.

7.3   RECOMMENDATIONS

It is clear that the changes currently under way in South African society have not left

education untouched, and that the *status quo* cannot or should not be maintained in education. In the own affairs system of education particular note is taken of diversity or variety but a common identity is not given adequate attention. On account of the alienation and polarization that have set in between the South African population groups, there is now an urgent need for transitional phase education in the country so that intergroup relations can be improved and identification with a common South African identity and a new national awareness can be promoted.

Against this background some recommendations have been made on the South African education system, curriculum development and extracurricular activities.

7.3.1 Recommendations concerning the South African education system

These recommendations are provisional and even speculative, since recommendations concerning any education system should necessarily take the following matters into account:

* It should be possible to accommodate the system of education within the existing political model.

While there is currently a movement in the direction of negotiation to establish a new political dispensation in South Africa, there is no certainty about future political structures. The recommendations that are currently being made will have to be considered once again in future when the new political dispensation is taken into account.

* Recommendations with regard to the system of education should be economically feasible.

Had it for example been possible for the present government to introduce financial parity in the different population groups' own affairs system of education, the government would already have done so.

Any new recommendation would therefore have to take the financial realities with regard to state spending into account.

* The system of education should be widely accepted by the "consumers" of all population groups.

The rejection of the present system of education by a large section of the South

African population creates an untenable situation that can no longer be afforded.

(1)   A central department of education with relatively independent regional directorates of education and relatively independent school communities

This recommendation implies the establishment of a central (federal) department of education serving all population groups which will be mainly responsible for administering the federal education budget in the apportioning of funds to the relatively independent regional directorates of education.   The policy guidelines according to which the central federal department of education will function, entail, among other things, the following:

-    The protection of individual and group rights by a bill of rights
-    The elimination of discrimination on the basis of race, colour, language, sex and religious convictions
-    The acknowledgement of democratic decision taking, parental choice, religion and language freedom
-    The establishment of equal educational opportunities and quality of education for all South African pupils

As far as the functioning of this central department of education is concerned, the following "typical" functions are envisaged:

-    The acknowledgement of the relative self-reliance or independence of the regional directorates of education as well as of those of school communities
-    The determining of national educational standards, examining, certification and core curriculum development
-    Dealing with teachers' basic conditions of service

The regional directorates of education should manage the provision of education in the different regions. The educational needs of the people living in the regions should be provided for as far as possible. In consultation with the parent communities of the schools in a particular region education will be managed under the guidance of a director of education and a directorate including representatives of all population groups (also those of minority groups).

(2)   The opening of schools

It is recommended that all government schools be opened in a new political dispensation,

subject to the following conditions:

- The preference of the local parent community should be taken into consideration.
- The pupils should meet the set academic and technical standards, so that they can benefit from the education offered in the school concerned.
- The pupils should have the required language proficiency to make possible meaningful education and learning in the school concerned.
- The pupils living in the natural feeder area of the school should be accommodated in the school concerned.

(3)   The privatization of schools

It is recommended that parent communities who prefer to do so be allowed to establish private schools by means of realistic subsidizing. It will for example be necessary to increase the present maximum subsidy of 45 % considerably to make it possible for the less advantaged and the middle-class parent to send his children to a private school.

(4)   Funds for government schools and private schools

It is recommended that in-depth research be conducted on the financing of education, so that realistic recommendations on funding can be made.

It seems at present that basic education, in other words the first six years of a child's educational career, will have to be subsidized fully so that every pupil can acquire basic literacy and independence.

In addition the possibility will have to be investigated of gradually scaling down the subsidizing of all forms of postbasic education to a workable subsidizing level. Parents will therefore have to make a greater financial contribution.

One will have to look anew at the subsidizing of private schools. Private schools are currently not an option for less advantaged and middle-class parents, unless their children have been awarded study bursaries.

An educational foundation or trust should be established to generate funds for South African education. South Africa as a developing country should, apart from local contributions by the government and the private sector, have a far more favourable position for negotiating

international funds than was the case for example a decade ago.

In conclusion it is noted that the recommendations on the system of education, with specific reference to open schools and private schools, are made in an attempt to improve intergroup relations. The opening of schools will be inevitable and desirable in a new educational dispensation. However it is evident that sectors of the white population group in particular find the opening of schools unacceptable and that all the population groups to some extent tend to accept that separate schools will continue to exist for (at least two) decades in South Africa. Therefore there is a need for segregated schools: taking this need into account can contribute to the elimination of conflict potential particularly among whites - hence the recommendation affecting private schools.

7.3.2 Recommendations on curriculum development

At all levels of curriculum development - in other words from the central (federal) department of education down to the classroom - the guidelines for curriculum development should apply with a view to improving intergroup relations (compare Chapter 5). It is also recommended that such guidelines be taken into consideration in teacher training.

When undertaking curriculum development the following guidelines should for example be taken into account:

* The development of positive feelings and attitudes towards each ethnic group's own group, but also towards other ethnic groups

* The elimination of stereotypes and prejudices against other ethnic groups

* Understanding phenomena such as cultural pluralism, racism and polarization in the community

* Stimulating conversation and critical thinking on complex societal problems against a historical background

* Developing a vision of a changing, better society

* Integrating academically formative and technical contents so that career orientation can be promoted.

In culturally sensitive subjects such as History, explicit improvements of intergroup relations are possible and essential. With regard to less culturally sensitive contents, as found in Mathematics, implicit improvements in intergroup relations (through modelling and functional education) are also possible and essential.

7.3.3 Recommendations on extracurricular activities

From the opinion poll reported on in Chapter 6, it appears that all the South African population groups were in favour of contact across the colour bar in the field of extracurricular activities. In practice little is done in this regard at present.

In view of the fact that parent communities can already decide, through management councils, against which schools they wish to participate and with which school communities they wish to liaise, there is no official reason why pupils from different population groups cannot participate jointly and also compete against one another in extramural activities.

"Cultural" and particularly sports contact can be a most effective means of improving intergroup relations and of countering negative communicative phenomena (such as negative stereotyping). The successful removal of dividing lines between the population groups in sports participation between adults in South Africa has demonstrated the potential sport as a means of improving intergroup relations.

Avoiding extracurricular contact between the pupils of different population groups because there are fears, uncertainties and prejudices in South African society, has a negatively reinforcing effect. It is essential, precisely at this stage, to promote contact through extracurricular activities.

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