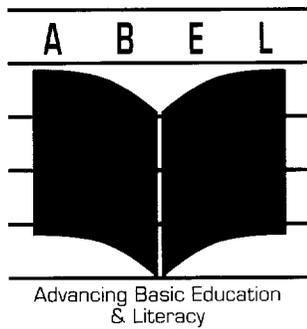


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ESAT SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL SURVEY  
1990/91

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November 1991

**E.S.A.T. SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL SURVEY 1990/91**

**THE EDUCATION SUPPORT AND TRAINING PROJECT  
UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
SOUTH AFRICAN MISSION**

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**NOVEMBER 1991**

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E.S.A.T. SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL SURVEY 1991

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## E.S.A.T. SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL SURVEY 1991

### 1. THE BRIEF

The 1991 Socio-Educational Survey was conceived as an "... updated Socio-Educational Survey of South Africa ..." for the approximate period February 1990 to October 1991. Its broad purposes were to (1) inform disbursement of USAID funds for 1991 and (2) to provide basic data for the PESA (Primary Sector Education Assessment) that was to start during the latter half of the year.

### 2. THE FORM OF THE SURVEY

This updated survey will consist of four sections. In the first section the analytic framework that underlies the survey will be discussed.

The second section will contain an analysis of the following developments in politics and education during the period under review:

- I. Political Developments during 1990/91.
- II. Educational Developments during 1990/91.
- III. Educational Initiatives and Organizations in Need of Funding.
- IV. General Conclusion.

The third section will contain an annotated bibliography of important literature that appeared during the past year.

The last section will contain relevant Appendixes.

### 3. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The analytical framework that underlies this report is based on the view of a South African society in transition. The movement away from Apartheid is not occurring through incisive revolutionary change, but is a process of drawn out negotiation. Because of the non-revolutionary nature of the transition, the broad nature of the post-transitional society, and especially its political regime and educational arrangements, are as yet undecided.

The framework is further based on acceptance of the inseparability of education and politics. Contrary to the traditional claim of Afrikaner politicians and Christian National educationists, the history of this country shows that education policy and its outcomes originate in the political domain. Conversely, post-1976 South African educational history clearly shows how political goals and their outcomes can be mediated by actions in schools, colleges and universities.

The framework therefore suggests that during this investigation of the political transition in the period February 1990-October 1991, we should be continuously mindful of their educational impacts. Investigations of educational developments should therefore also take into consideration their political origins and political and educational outcomes.

Following the formulation of Swilling<sup>1</sup>, the major socio-educational actors are taken to be the State, Capital, and Civil Society.

The convergence and divergence of the goals and actions of the State, Civil Society and Capital, and the political and educational processes they set in motion make the current phase of the transition highly dynamic. The political and educational outcomes of the transition will however depend on the relative strengths and weaknesses, goals, and actions of these actors. These will be traced and analysed below.

## I POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS 1990/91

### I.1 Introduction

The opening up of the political process that began in 1990 thrust the State, Civil Society and Capital into new relationships that were probably unimaginable in 1989. With Mandela's release these actors came to accept that the future political, economic and educational arrangements would result from a "... tendential change rather than an historic break ..."<sup>2</sup> The "Year of Reckoning"<sup>3</sup> would be concluded around the tables of constitutional negotiation and not by force of arms.

The essential feature of political activity during the past year has predictably been the preparation for constitutional negotiation. This stage of the transition is strongly conditioned by national and international events which in turn impacts on the relative strengths and strategies of the following actors in the State, Civil Society and Capital.

### I.2 Major Political Actors

#### I.2.1 South African Government (SAG) and the National Party (NP)

The De Klerk reform initiative received a major public relations boost with the President's much publicized Manifesto for the New South Africa speech during the opening of the 1991 parliament.<sup>4</sup> This speech promised wider political

participation, progress in education, provision of shelter, an equitable economic system, peace and security.

The South African government was further strengthened by acceleration in the lifting of economic, trade, sport and cultural sanctions. Various international heads of state visited the country, and De Klerk himself undertook a number of overseas state visits. At the same time the SAG has successfully repulsed pressures for the internationalization of the transition.

Among its traditional white constituency the National party moves with confidence, secure in the knowledge that the Right Wing will probably be unable to draw enough votes to weaken it significantly. It is now attempting to establish itself among potential black voters, and has almost wrested control of the "coloured" House of Representatives from the Labour Party. It has also established a number of "coloured", Indian and even African branches.

The SAG and the NP also suffered important setbacks. The biggest damage to them resulted from the Inkathagate scandal. From newspaper reports it is clear that this event exacted high political costs in diminished credibility of the De Klerk reform initiative. Traditional international sympathizers were agast at the revelations that the SAG funded Inkatha.<sup>5</sup> Some called for the dismissal of the Ministers implicated in the scandal.<sup>6</sup>

Internally, the black oriented press was extremely critical of the scandal.<sup>7</sup> The Afrikaner press was predictably much more lenient on the government.<sup>8</sup> De Klerk's handling of the subsequent press conference on Inkathagate was generally favourably received internationally<sup>9</sup> and among South African businesspeople.<sup>10</sup>

The ongoing township violence, and the Inkathagate revelations strengthened the pervasive belief that the South African Government is involved in it. There is a generalized belief that the State is unable or unwilling to extricate itself from Civil Cooperation Bureau-type activities, Hit Squads, and a Third Force that fans the flames of this violence. This has done deep damage to De Klerk's credibility among sections of the black community. Among urban blacks in the PWV area, De Klerk's trustworthiness for instance, has dropped from a high of 68 percent 1990, to a low of 43 percent in 1991.<sup>11</sup>

The VAT strike which will be discussed in more detail under the activities of COSATU was the latest event that led De Klerk from the moral high ground that he started to occupy with Mandela's release to a position of almost equal strength with the black opposition.

### I.2.2 African National Congress (ANC)

Just like its NP opposition, the ANC has been alternately weakened and strengthened by a number of internal and

international events during the period under review.

The accelerated lifting of trade, economic, sport and cultural sanctions has deprived the ANC of one of its most potent weapons. ANC strategists concede that calls for the continuation of sanctions will be ineffective, strategically counter productive, and that new forms of influence have to be developed.

Especially until its July National Congress in Durban, the ANC was plagued by internal weaknesses. Its organization was weak, and links between its head office and branches tenuous. Africans remained its main constituency; it could make but small advances into the "coloured", Indian and White sections of the voting public.

The ANC was further under pressure to develop policies on a great number of burning issues - land, economics, education, health, at a time that it would have wanted to concentrating on organization building. It refused to be rushed into negotiating positions before its policy development was well under way. That it has been able to bring out significant policy proposals for discussion must be seen as a sign of fundamental strength.

The ANC was strengthened by its July National Congress in Durban. This Congress infused clarity of leadership and purpose, as well as organizational strength into the

organization. The election of Cyril Ramaphosa of COSATU as Secretary General will strengthen its negotiating, organizational and administrative capacities.

The recent election of Dr Allan Boesak as Western Cape Chairperson may draw a greater number of "coloureds" into the organization. ANC advances<sup>12</sup> on the Labour Party, harshly criticised by many, is also directed towards incorporating bigger sections of this important constituency in the Western Cape into its ranks.

The ANC's prominence in the sporting arena strengthens its image enormously. Mindful that sport sanctions, like economic, trade and cultural sanctions cannot be maintained indefinitely, it has sanctioned a number of international tours, and has facilitated the unification of various sporting codes.

The Patriotic Front Conference held in Durban during the last quarter of this year further strengthened the ANC. The ANC deliberately retarded the negotiation process until that this conference could be held, and for very good reasons. Participants made substantial progress on the issue of unity that was widely perceived as extremely important.<sup>13</sup> Through this Conference the ANC moved closer to the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and a number of other current and potential allies. The importance of this event should not be underestimated, although the late withdrawal of AZAPO

tarnished the event, and further strife among participants may occur.

The greatest strength of the ANC lies in its historic roots within the vast masses of the African oppressed. Mandela, as its leader, brings to the organization statesmanship and legitimacy that transcends any other political organization. A recent poll among urban Africans in the PWV area found the ANC to be political home of most of them, with 90 percent of respondents claiming to trust its leader.<sup>14</sup>

### I.2.3 Inkatha (IFP)

Inkatha has always aspired to a political stature equal to that of the South African Government and the ANC, in spite of its limited support among South Africans. It appears to have achieved this goal.

Many commentators<sup>15</sup> have expressed the opinion that it is its propensity for and use of violence that has given Inkatha its stature. There is research evidence that Inkatha is in fact responsible for much of the township violence that wracked the Natal, PWV and Western Cape regions during the past year.<sup>16</sup> The presence of hundreds of armed Inkatha supporters during the recent signing ceremony of the National Peace Accord does nothing to dispel this notion.

Inkathagate damaged the political credibility of the

organization and its leader enormously. At this point only four percent of urban Africans in the PWV area trust Dr Buthelezi, the organization's leader.<sup>17</sup>

#### I.2.4 White Right Wing (WRW)

The events of February 1990 predictably caused an increase in White conservative and reactionary sentiments. These whites find themselves in about 40 organizations representing what could be called 'Ultra-conservative' and 'Conservative' factions. The Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging are the most prominent representatives of these two factions.

The Right Wing is split on future political strategies. The recent censure by the Conservative Party of leading members who advocated the view that it should participate in the multi-party negotiations shows that this split exists not only in the Right Wing in general, but more importantly, within parties itself.

The voting strength of the Right Wing appears to remain small, and will probably not increase to present a significant challenge to the National Party<sup>18</sup>. The electoral defeats suffered by the Right Wing in the Umlazi elections in 1990, and the Maitland elections in 1991 gives evidence of this. As black majority rule however approaches, Right Wing sentiments may strengthen again, and may translate into losses for the National Party.

The Right Wing has been weakened by, among others, the lifting of sanctions and the increased accessibility of foreign capitals to the South African Government. These events have taken away much of the motivation for the laager mentality that benefitted the Right Wing.

Right Wing capacity for violence, and their willingness to use it should however not be underestimated, since individual organizations appear to be well organized, and extremely well armed.

The political divisions in Right Wing ranks limits their ability to stop the accelerated integration of the educational systems in the country.

#### I.2.5 Democratic Party (DP)

The Democratic Party has taken a position of facilitator of the interaction between the ANC and the SAG where such facilitation advances their own liberal political objectives. Politically it stays weak, and it stays vulnerable to the NP which now follows many of their policies. During the last week they have lost a municipal election in Houghton, a traditionally safe white-liberal DP seat.

At its annual general meeting during the last week, the DP accepted a proposal that a new South African Constitution be drawn up by an elected body.<sup>19</sup> With this proposal the DP offers both the ANC and the SAG a compromise, further

strengthening their facilitative role. At the same meeting, however, tensions between small pro-ANC and pro-State factions within the DP has become more public.

#### I.2.6 Azanian People's Party (AZAPO)

AZAPO has always positioned itself to the left of the ANC, and has rejected the idea of an interim government. AZAPO was, with the PAC and the ANC, co-hosts of the Patriotic Front Conference until it demanded that all organizations invited to the conference had to withdraw from State structures. A few days before the Conference AZAPO withdrew as co-host, and did not attend the conference.

AZAPO is still a relatively small organization without much popular standing.

#### I.2.7 Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)

The PAC has, since it was formed from a break-away section of the ANC, always moved on the left of the ANC. It has historically been weak in relation to the ANC, and has suffered internal problems of factionalism, regionalism and tribalism.

Its one-settler-one-bullet slogan has been perceived by many as totally out of line with the realities of the transition.

The PAC originally rejected the ANC's call for an interim government. It has however co-hosted the Patriotic Front

conference with the ANC, and seems set to join in the constitutional negotiations.

#### I.2.8 Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)

As the largest trade union federation in South Africa, Cosatu's position has been enormously strengthened by a number of internal events that it either initiated, or participated in. It appears brimming with vitality, and has strong administrative systems and programmes to identify and rectify possible problems in its national operations.

The positive effects of the election of Cyril Ramaphosa to the national executive of the ANC has already been noted above. Through this same event, however, COSATU is extremely well positioned to influence the political and economic policies of the current and any future State.

COSATU has been facilitating the Code of Conduct for the Police and Defence Force, and helped to organize the National Peace Accord. Through this activities it has made itself almost indispensable in the current transition and to any future State.

The VAT strike of 5-6 November 1991 must rank as COSATU's major success in the economic arena. The strike was organized to oppose the unilateral manner with which the SAG implemented the new system of Value Added Taxation. Another goal was to win the COSATU the right to co-determine the restructuring of

the economy. The strike was massively supported, with more than 3,5 million workers across the country joining the 2 day general strike.<sup>20</sup>

Through the strike the federation showed in no uncertain terms that if it wishes to, it can bring the economy to a standstill, and that it is an economic and therefore political force to be reckoned with. Although the effect of the strike on the implementation of VAT is still an outstanding issue, the SAG is considering giving COSATU a say in the further restructuring of the economy.<sup>21</sup>

### I.3 Social Impact of Transitional Politics

It is clear is that large sections of the supporters of major actors have been left behind by the rapidity of events of the transition. The ability to make the transition from opposition to negotiation at the leadership level was the result of informed decision making, but not so on the ground. This has left grassroots supporters confused, anxious and often belligerent. The SAG and the NP, through their dominance of the mass media have been in a better position than the black opposition. Public debate on Afrikaans and English radio, and on television has kept white voters better informed than future black voters.

The violence resulting from developments in the political impacts has an extraordinary social impact. The lives of millions of black South Africans are clearly disrupted and

often threatened. We also detect an increased criminality, often occurring violently. This has also started to spread to White residential areas.

A further important social result of the transition is the greater willingness among black oppositional groupings to resist State attempts at incorporation, while engaging it at the local and regional levels. Organized groups operating in areas of service provision at the local government level, education, sport, are staking out claims and building constituencies with vigour and pragmatism.

#### I.4 Educational Impact of Transitional Politics

Under pressure from parents, students, the prospect of unemployment, and an estimated 4 million youth belonging to the 'Lost Generation', education is increasingly being seen in terms of its potential for economic access, social advancement, and client-demand. For this reason politicians are being forced to release education from narrow party-political considerations.

There is widespread consensus among political and education organizations that, due to the changed political context, black students should be left to their books to learn and pass their examinations. This holds significant implications for post-transitional education arrangements. Taken to the extreme it may lead to the acceptance of education that allows social mobility without political empowerment. The principles of People's Education to promote

economic access and empowerment through system reconstruction therefore continues to be relevant<sup>22</sup>.

Notable exceptions to the decoupling of politics from education are SADTU's campaigns for recognition by the Department of Education and Training and the NECC's campaigns for the establishment of Parent-Teacher-Student Organizations (PTSA's).

Finally, education also has become indelibly marked by the violence that characterizes the transition. Children have become inured to scenes and results of violence. As research points out for Natal, violence at schools is endemic, and that it "... does not merely affect education, but has become institutionalized in the very education system itself."<sup>23</sup>

### I.5 Conclusion

It is clear that the South African government has lost sole control over the political process. It has been forced to share control over the Police, Defence Force and the economy with Capital, the ANC and its allies. Successful challenges to its strategy of "... centrally managed incorporation of opposition ..." noted by Morphet in the 1990 survey means that it is not any more in the position to move at its own pace on matters of its own choosing.

A demythologised ANC also had to face the reality of politicking in the extremely hostile environment controlled by

the SAG, the South African Policy Force and the Defence Force.

The ANC and SAG find themselves fairly evenly matched at this time.

## II. EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS 1990/91

### II.1 Introduction

The Hartshorne framework for analysing the interplay between politics and education remains useful for the purposes of this survey. It proposes three bands of educational activity. Band 1 refers to educational activity as part of constitutional negotiations. Band 2 refers to the activity of non-governmental organizations involved in education. Band 3 refers to the state education system as it functions on the ground.

### II.2 Educational Activity in Band 1

Education will not be an issue at the national constitutional negotiations. Both the ANC and its opposition have however expressed their goals for a post-transitional educational arrangement in a number of reports and discussion documents. The SAG generally wants an equitable education system containing own-group education options.<sup>24</sup>, while the ANC calls for an integrated state system of democratic education.<sup>25</sup> These documents and reports will form the negotiating positions of the SAG and ANC.

### II.3 Educational Activity in Band 2

Band 2 contains the activities of non-governmental organizations involved in education. It also represents a space in which formal and informal education negotiation between the State and its opposition occurs. Activities in

this band are located in the political, education policy, curriculum, service delivery facilitation, and service delivery domains.

### II.3.1 Band 2: The Political Domain:

#### II.3.1.1 The Joint Working Group (JWG)

The JWG was initiated by the ANC, and consisted of government and ANC delegations led by De Klerk and Mandela respectively. It was an attempt by the ANC and educationists to force the State to alleviate the most critical shortages in black education by supplying desks and text books as a matter of urgency.

It is clear that the JWG meeting did not lead to the speedy results for which it was primarily constituted. Five months after the initial meeting the State had delivered very little of the equipment and books needed made learning for most black students possible.<sup>26</sup>

The JWG does however represent the structural and procedural model for future education negotiations. As such it is part of a negotiating trend (multi-party, highly publicized negotiations focussing on a specific sector of social life) that started with the National Peace Accord. The JWG is especially important to NGO's. It gives them a platform at which to put to political formations the educational interests of their clients, and the educational requirements to serve these interests.

### II.3.1.2 The Proposed Education Summit

In spite of the poor results of the activities of the Joint Working Group, the State, organizations in Civil Society and Capital will hold an Education Summit later this year or early in 1992<sup>27</sup>.

### II.3.2 The Education Policy Domain

#### II.3.2.1 The Education Renewal Strategy (ERS)

The Education Renewal Strategy is a comprehensive SAG policy proposal for a post-Apartheid education system through "... short and medium term managerial solutions ..."<sup>28</sup>. It will represent the SAG's negotiating position during educational negotiations, and from debates in Parliament it is clear that the SAG will attempt to implement these recommendations irrespective of the criticisms that have been leveled at both the ERS process and recommendations.

The ERS discussion document makes 65 proposals and recommendations, of which the most important are (1) establishing a non-racial and equitable education system (2) promoting national unity through education (3) creating a central education department with regional authorities (4) certificating non-formal education (5) using distance education in teacher training, preschooling and literacy education (6) rationalizing tertiary education (7) increasing the vocational emphasis in secondary education (8) introducing stricter admission requirements at tertiary levels (10) allowing flexible student movement among universities and

between universities and technicons (12) developing a national pre-primary strategy (13) using market forces to determine teacher salaries (14) increasing the responsibilities of school management councils and communities (15) developing general policy for norms and standards for education financing.(16) obtaining more economic teacher/classroom ratios, and (17) making optimal use of vacant or underutilized education facilities.

The ERS has been extensively critiqued and vehemently criticised.

### II.3.2.2 Responses to ERS

#### II.3.2.2.1 PRISEC

As PRISEC itself notes,<sup>29</sup> the ERS reflects much of PRISEC's input. PRISEC supports most ERS proposals, such as on freedom of association (though not legally enforced), regional education departments, shared responsibility, distance education in teacher education and Math and Science, bridging courses at primary school entry level, and allowing market forces to influence teacher salaries. It warns about the top-down management approach that pervades the ERS, and strongly disagrees with the ERS contention that the state should not be the primary provider of preschool education.

#### II.3.2.2.2 Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA)

The TLSA<sup>30</sup> is strongly critical about the ERS. It points out that ERS stress on payment-for-education will cause

social stratification along class lines (which will replicate the current race stratification).

It attacks the vocationalism that the ERS emphasises, observing in it the same intentions of the discredited De Vos Malan, Eisellen, and De Lange Commissions. It sees education under the ERS being driven solely by the demands of Capital, and expects future academic streams to consist mainly of the children of the privileged.

It rejects the ERS notion that reduced schooling could be remediated by nonformal education.

Other TLISA criticisms deal with the application of market forces to teacher salaries, the correspondence which it expects between the proposed single education department and the current Department of National Education for Whites, and the absence of educational philosophies more appropriate to a post-Apartheid situation.

#### II.3.2.2.3 South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU)

SADTU<sup>31</sup> points out that the ERS stresses diversity in South African education. It expects weaknesses in the proposed decentralization, since not all school districts will have the same financial bases. It faults the ERS for deviating from its own ideal of equality of education. It also notes the absence of proposals to repair the damage of Apartheid education to those disadvantaged by it.

#### II.3.2.2.4 The African National Congress (ANC)

The ANC<sup>32</sup> is concerned that blacks will be disadvantaged further by the implementation of the ERS. It notes the absence of reparation, and that the vocationalism expressed in the ERS has failed internationally. It cannot see how the ERS will lead to democratic and empowering education for all.

#### II.3.2.2.5 The Urban Foundation (UF)

The Urban Foundation<sup>33</sup> sees the ERS as an attempt to increase the efficiency of the education system by changing its management practices.

In contrast to the ERS, it believes that education and training as part of a programme of national development, and does not observe the same view point in the ERS. It is convinced that implementation of the ERS will not lead to the necessary restructuring of the education system.

The UF doubts the legitimacy of the ERS, and therefore its usefulness. It proposes the creation of some sort of educational forum which, among others would address immediate grievances, reparation for past disadvantage, and democratic decision making with regard to resource distribution.

#### II.3.2.2.6 Forum for the Advancement of Adult Education

The FAAE notes both positive and negative aspects of the ERS<sup>34</sup>. It criticises the development process for not including credible alternative educators, and finds the

research process itself questionable. Adult education also does not get the attention it deserves. The most important criticism deals with the absence of a development perspective in the report. The proposed unification of education, and the revitalization of education institutions are regarded as positive aspects of the ERS.

#### II.3.2.2.7 An Assessment of the ERS by the Socio-Educational Survey Team.

The most important recommendations of the ERS have been noted above. The ERS is an important document because it sets out a coherent policy addressing the issues of a unitary education system, adult literacy, use of mass media for learning, and community centres for educational purposes.

The ERS is however also flawed in a number of ways.

It is ahistorical and apolitical. It does not, for instance, locate the current education crisis in the past practices of skewed resource allocation. Nor is there any evidence that ERS developers have linked the current education crisis to historical Apartheid political ideology and racial Capitalism.

Their effects may be exactly contrary to the goal of education reconstruction. Its recommendation for the devolution of power to the lowest levels, for instance, will give parents of a particular school a deciding voice about

admissions and curricular policies of the school. In this way it will leave the continuation of racism and skewed resource distribution that characterises current education intact for a long time.

Its contention that the current curriculum is "... basically sound .." reflects a cynical disregard of the historical opposition to the content, education experiences, and educational results of Apartheid education. Its call for the current high standards (in White education) to be maintained, since " ... the whole community benefits from it ..." smacks of paternalism of the worst kind.

ERS further does not take cognizance of the nongovernmental aspects of the education context. Although it is clear that the state does not have the finances nor cost-effectiveness and efficiency expertise to resolve the education crisis, the ERS does not significantly include the use of nongovernmental organizations into its plans.

The proposals and recommendations contained in the ERS do not represent renewal except in the most superficial ways. These recommendations will not lead to reconstruction of South African education, for the sake of which all assumptions, practices and results have to be critically scrutinized. In stead of it being an attempt at renewal, ERS may in fact be a recipe for the consolidation of Neo-Apartheid in education.

### II.3.2.3 The National Policy Investigation (NEPI)

NEPI is a research project of the National Education Coordinating Committee. It explores education policy options from the democratic perspective. There are 12 research groups developing policy proposals in diverse areas of education. It is expected to bring out a draft policy document by the end of 1991 and final policy proposals by the end of 1992.

NEPI will inject a normative dimension into the current education policy debate. Its legitimacy will be high because of its noted academics, its research foundation, and the extensive consultation between education theorists, NGO's and State education practitioners.

NEPI presents educational policy development by those in opposition to the SAG. As a contestant of SAG policy proposals, for instance the ERS, NEPI's main weakness lies in the fact that by the time the constitutional negotiations will have progressed substantially, its policy proposals will still be in a formative stage.

### II.3.2.4 Open White State Schools

The State, under pressure to allow pupils of all races into previously Whites-only schools, allowed individual white schools to admit black pupils under three models.<sup>35</sup> This represents a significant change in State education provision policy.

Schools opting for Model A have to close down completely and be re-established as private schools which will receive a 45 percent subsidy of operating costs. Model B schools would continue as before the change, but may formulate their own admission policies. Model C schools would be state-aided schools receiving a subsidy of 75 percent of their operating costs. Schools may change only when at least 80 percent of their parent bodies voted in formal polls, and when 72 percent of these favoured the change.

Model B and C schools would still be Christian National schools, and mother tongue language instruction would remain. To stay under control of the White education department, at least 50 percent plus one of its pupils have to be white. By about April 1991, 223 white schools out of a total of 2537 have started to admit black pupils under these models<sup>36</sup>. By February 1991 about 5 000 black pupils had been admitted to such schools<sup>37</sup>

The educational impact of open White State schools movement has to be seen in relation to DET's need of about 150 000 spaces, and the about 130 000 vacancies that exist at white schools.<sup>38</sup> Open white state schools have clearly not significantly alleviated the needs of black pupils.

#### II.3.2.5 COSATU Human Resources Investigation

The COSATU Human Resources Investigation<sup>39</sup> is the trade union federation's attempt to develop education policy in the

areas of adult literacy and worker education. Its policy proposals will attempt to harness the resources of the state, NGO's and Capital to increase the general education and skill level of workers.

COSATU notes employer resistance against worker education, and a lack of coordination between formal and worker education systems. It is also concerned with the high illiteracy rates in the country in general, and among its members in particular.

COSATU proposes that formal education and worker training should be linked to the restructuring of the economy. In view of long term skill and human resource development needs, formal education should also be free and compulsory to the highest level. COSATU proposes the formation of a National Training Board-type organization be able to develop regulations enabling free movement between formal and worker education. Workers should also be able to acquire workplace skills along alternative routes.

COSATU is investigating the possibility of setting up Distance Education schemes for adults.

## II. 3.3 Band 2: The Curriculum Domain

### II.3.3.1 A Curriculum Model of Education in South Africa

In November 1991, the State Bureaucracy, through its Committee of Heads of Education Departments, issued A

Curriculum Model of Education in South Africa. Accompanied by well-placed publicity, the State proposed a model which would create equal opportunities for all students, recognize diversity of languages and religion, and align educational content with individual social, economic and human resources needs. While the document reflects some detailed comparative research and clear improvements on the rigid Christian National education model, it is likely to be critiqued by progressive education movements for the undue emphasis on vocational education, the lack of an effective consultative process, and the lack of concrete recommendations into an effective curriculum implementation process, given the deep structural inequalities of schooling.

#### II.2.3.2 The People's Education Committee

People's Education has long been the NECC's most important project. At the 1990 NECC National Conference a permanent People's Education Committee was established to plan programmes to further popularize and implement People's Education<sup>40</sup>. During 1991 various workshops were held and an Education Charter developed. An Education Charter campaign has since been started with the aim of soliciting popular views on a post-Apartheid education system.

#### II.3.4 Band 2: Major Actors in the Service Delivery Facilitation Domain

##### II.3.4.1 The Independent Development Trust (IDT)

The IDT was established to disburse R2 billion of SAG funds for development, and attempts to promote education development as funder, policy advocate and catalyst for further funding<sup>41</sup>.

IDT's priorities are in school building, educare and preschool provision, literacy, Math and Science teaching, Teacher upgrading, and academic support and development at the tertiary levels. Its school building programme has become especially noteworthy. It also attempts to attract overseas funding in the form of loans, and grants.

IDT has facilitated the formation of a national preschool and educare coordinating structure among its grantees. Its teacher upgrade projects will also include the managerial skills of principals.

In regard to academic support it aims to develop psychological, ability and performance testing programmes that might identify the most promising students. This will probably be a contentious issue.

IDT has also co-funded NGO participation at the JWG.

#### II.3.4.2 KAGISO TRUST

Kagiso Trust focuses on facilitating development. It thus wishes to move away from its historical position of only conduiting funds. It is therefore involved in focused human

resource development and the provision of scholarship funds.

As far as its scholarship portfolio is concerned the Trust is attempting to revolve its resources through a new loan component. It decided on this course of action when it concluded that funding for South African projects will decrease substantially in the near future.

Kagiso sees the need for, and plans to increase its involvement in developing black administrative skills, career counselling, teacher upgrading and rural outreach programmes. It further wishes to increase its funding of preprimary and educare teacher preparation.

KAGISO has discontinued its funding of literacy programmes, and will also not build schools.

#### II.3.4.3 The Urban Foundation (UF)

The Urban Foundation has continued to direct resources at preschool education, teacher development, innovation in Science and English teaching, and materials development.<sup>42</sup> It is also involved in classroom building programmes.

In the policy domain the UF has since established a policy development arm, EDUPOL. Edupol focuses on policy development relating to teacher development, education governance and education resources. It also emphasizes teacher education policy development. Through Edupol it

develops position papers on issues within its scope of interest.

#### II.3.4.4 The Education Foundation

The Education Foundation developed from the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, and is based in Natal. It is involved in establishing Education Boards in Natal-KwaZulu, school electrification, and establishing community colleges.

In July 1991 it started EDUSOURCE, whose activities will include research, publishing and the development of an education database. It has been involved in the Education Reconstruction Model, a computer spreadsheet that may be used by policy makers to project the effects of their decisions. Edusource will be formally launched in January 1992.

#### II. 3.4.5 The Private Sector Initiative (PSI)

PSI is planned as a funding agency which will distribute upwards of R500 million. It has links with the Urban Foundation. It was supposed to become operative in 1991, but will now start its operations during 1992.

#### II.3.4.6 The Private Sector Education Council (PRISEC)

PRISEC consists of five of the most important local private sector organizations. It attempts to influence the state to make its education policy developments will be congruent with their own goals and needs. Its main activity has been to develop position papers on educational issues. A

current paper deals with community colleges of education which was also proposed in the ERS document.

In a position paper issued in August 1990 PRISEC advocates the proposals towards the creation of a single education ministry. For pre-tertiary education a single coordinating education department (to be called the Department of National Education) without ethnic divisions is proposed. This would use the existing education departments as infrastructure. Proposals are also made for a unified system of post-secondary education. In these proposals PRISEC emphasises the following: regionalism, devolution of decision making to the local community, acceptance of communities to develop their culture through the school system when they can pay for it, privatization, unified planning of post-secondary education, extension of technical college sector, and increased interaction between the private sector and institutions providing technical education. These proposals agree to a large extent to the PRISEC's response to the ERS.

#### II. 3.4.7 COSATU

COSATU's involvement in education policy development and advocacy in basic adult education has already been noted.

It also plays a major role in the NECC, assisting its democratization, restructuring and the strengthening of the NECC's internal organization.

COSATU also facilitated the teacher unity talks that led to the formation of the South African Democratic Teacher Union.

Among others, it is investigating the establishment of an Adult Basic Education Foundation and a Distance Education College for adult learners.

#### II. 3.4.8 The National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC)

The NECC is a front organization for students, academics and workers. It provides political support for its affiliates and facilitates general education development.

Until recently the NECC focused its energy on attempts to improve aspects of the current education system. With the creation of the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) and the Peoples' Education Commission, the NECC increasingly targets macro-system change for a post-Apartheid education system.

In 1992 the NECC will continue its Intensive Learning Campaign (ILC)<sup>43</sup> to assist Black matriculants with examination preparation. It will also continue its People's Education Programme through its Education Charter Campaign. Thirdly it will continue its highly successful Back to School Programme.

In view of the relatively poor performance of the ILC, it may be useful for the NECC to investigate the factors which would make the campaign more effective. This is because although the ILC was originally a response to a crisis, matriculants will probably need this kind of assistance for a number of years in the future. Perhaps the ILC could also be conceived of more clearly as one that targets examinations, and which focuses more narrowly on examination preparation.

The work of the NECC needs to be facilitated through support in the following areas:

- \* The NECC sees a need to establish an Information Unit to service the information needs of its affiliates.<sup>44</sup>

- \* It also finds itself constrained by an unavailability of equipment for producing and mass distributing media. The situation at the regional level is apparently even more serious than that at the national level.

- \* The NECC has also identified a need for intra-organizational education and management training.

- \* Intensive Learning Campaign

- \* People's Education Programme

- \* Back To School Programme

#### II. 3.4.9 The South African Democratic Teacher Union (SADTU)

SADTU resulted from the unification of a number of smaller teacher bodies. Its relationship with one of its unification partners, the "coloured" Cape Teachers Professional Association (CTPA) has been stormy, but seems set to improve significantly during the next year.

SADTU is concerned with both the professional and union interests of its members. Its major current initiatives are

gaining State recognition, and developing the professional capacity of its members. At this juncture it is active in increasing its political capacity.

\* SADTU plans to bring out a journal for teachers.

\* It also plans initiate teacher upgrading through inservice programmes.

#### II.3.4.10 The ANC

The ANC has intervened in education at two levels. As its Discussion Document on Education shows, it regards education deliberation among its rank and file as extremely important, and spends a lot of energy and time in this worthwhile activity.

Second, it seeks to intervene through NEPI and associated Educational Policy Units in the design, advocacy and implementation of education policy for reconstruction.

#### II.3.4.11 The Independent Examinations Board (IEB)

The IEB has been set up as a company not for gain. It is involved in examination administration, curriculum development and school leaving certification in consultation with State and non-state organizations.<sup>45</sup> In 1989 it reported that its funding is secured until 1991.

The IEB administered a pilot examination in English in September 1990. From its evaluation of the results of this examination it concluded that it is possible "... that a single examination can cater for a wide variety and range of candidates ..."<sup>46</sup> It furthermore planned to administer

examinations in English and Mathematics for standards 7 and 8 in 1991, and will administer its first national matriculation examination in 1993.

The IEB also established a Council for Curriculum Development to focus on aspects of its own work. As part of this project it holds colloquia and publishes a newsletter.

### II.3.5 Band 2: The Service Delivery Domain

#### II.3.5.1 Introduction

The above-mentioned organizations are most often involved in preparing the parameters and conditions of service delivery, They may thus be said to facilitate the delivery of services by the smaller NGO's those organizations described below. The service delivery domain seems to be highly energised and with a lot of optimism, often in spite of many problems and shortcomings. Smaller service delivery NGO's, especially those operating from a perspective in opposition to the State, make the difference where it matters. They are also financially vulnerable too often.

In the following discussion and analysis, these organizations, their activities, challenges and funding needs will be done by sector.

#### II.3.5.2 Sector 1: Educare and Preschooling

In spite of internationally accepted research evidence<sup>47</sup> of the importance of educare and preschooling to the person,

the economy and ultimately the State, the current State does not view the provision of educare and preschool education as a priority. DET has for instance decided not to build any more preschools.<sup>48</sup> Lategan's analysis of the demand for educare and preschooling however shows the enormity of the need. About six million children are disadvantaged to such a degree that they will probably be academically unsuccessful without this service.

Organizations such as Grassroots, Entokzweni, ELRU, CHIPROS, TREE, BELC, Small Beginnings, Ntaitaise and PEPPS are therefore providing utterly critical services of provision, policy development and advocacy. In the light of their own perceptions<sup>49</sup> of their impact in relation to existing need, they need to be supported to levels that they can accomodate.

These organizations need assistance with the following programmes that they have either started already, or are planning:

- \* Establishing a self-evaluation ability among small organizations that to inform them of the impact of their programmes.
- \* Developing a general research capacity to base their programmes on what is known and done nationally and internationally in their field.
- \* Developing a knowledge base about the context of needs, costs, collegial organizations, established practices and emerging innovations.
- \* Extending their services into rural areas of the Northern Transvaal, Namakwaland, Eastern Cape and the Karoo.
- \* Establishing regional consortia for the purposes of networking, lobbying, funding management, resource pooling and sharing, and technology development.

- \* Building a strong national networking structure from bodies such as the Constitutional Steering Committee for a United Preschool Association of South Africa (CSCUPSA).
- \* Strengthening intra-organizational management practices.
- \* Adding basic health education to their programmes.
- \* Providing educare education to parents and extending home-based educare and preschooling.
- \* Securing financial security for themselves. At the time of the Grassroots interview, for instance, the organization only had secure funding for the following six weeks.
- \* Massively extending their current training programmes for educare and preschool workers.

#### II.3.5.3 Sector 2: Primary Schooling

In the light of the large numbers of children who we know do not go to primary school, NGO's in this sector can service only a miniscule portion of the need. Similar activities are however especially critical in squatter communities (whose numbers can be expected to grow) since the State is apparently not prepared to provide education services to these children.

PEPPS establishes and operates primary schools in such areas in the Transvaal, and needs assistance with

- \* management skills
- \* broadening their curriculums
- \* exposing their personnel to comparable experiences.

#### II.3.5.4 Sector 3: Secondary Schooling

There are two types of NGO secondary schools, elitist non-racial private schools, and the mostly black community private schools. Most of their budgets go into physical facilities, teacher salaries, equipment, and operating costs.

PACE in Soweto, FUBA, Ikemeleng, and Qhakaza Mission are important community private schools. In the light of the dismal performance of DET students, the achievements of these schools are outstanding.

It is clear that there will always be a need for private schooling. Assistance for community private schooling versus that for the elitist variant should however be determined on the basis of students' ability to pay for it. Students attending elitist schools are mostly able to pay for this extremely expensive service, and should be assisted as little as possible. On the other hand, students attending the community schools are often hard pressed to pay for their schooling, and should therefore receive maximum assistance.

Community private schools need, to varying degrees, assistance with

- \* staff development.
- \* management training.
- \* enrichment materials for teachers, such as study guides.
- \* instructional and learning equipment.

#### II.3.5.5 Sector 4: Adult Basic Education

About 70 percent of South Africans are illiterate. Organizations such as READ, ALP, Montague-Ashton Community Service, NLP, ECALP, CEP and PROLIT that formed the National Literacy Co-operation<sup>50</sup>, are making significant impact in an area from which the State shys away.

Operation Upgrade is an adult literacy project which not only teaches illiterates, but also trains specialist teachers to write material for neo-literates as well as self-help books for them. The last two activities respond to a need identified by government literacy officials. The project organizers regard their activities as fairly successful.

Adult literacy organizations have to realize that since the State has to become involved in Adult Basic Education for significant success in this crucial NGO activity, their capacity for policy development and advocacy may be as important as their service delivery.<sup>51</sup>

They also realize the need to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of their services, and to consolidate their legitimacy by moving away from "... narrow party political affiliations ..."

These organizations need, in varying degrees, assistance with

- \* staff development
- \* exposure to the rich heritage of ABE internationally through visitation and research
- \* organizational development
- \* institutionalizing their courses at teachers colleges of education
- \* research into and development of literacy models appropriate to the South African context
- \* financial security

### II.3.5.6 Sector 5: Teacher Education and Upgrading

The poor formal qualifications and concomitant low instructional skill levels of many black teachers are well known. Programmes and organizations such as ELET, PROMAT, TOPS, SADTU, and the activities of the FAAE are therefore obviously important and need to be supported. Promat's<sup>52</sup> success seems to depend on the high skill levels of their instructors, the internal motivation of their students, and time on task<sup>53</sup>.

These organizations, in varying degrees, need assistance with

- \* staff development
- \* management training
- \* teaching multilingual groups
- \* networking
- \* financial security

As in the case of the educare and adult basic education sectors, this sector also needs assistance in setting up a national data base.

#### II.3.5.7 Sector 6: Science, Math and Technology Education

The underrepresentation of blacks in Science and Mathematics courses at school, and in science based occupations has received some research attention<sup>54</sup>.

Organizations and programmes such as PROTEC, SEP, ITEC and PSP therefore play an small but important role in distributing scientific knowledge and skills among students, and instructional skills among teachers.

These organizations need to be supported in their efforts to obtain

- \* secure funding
- \* a research base for technical education
- \* management training
- \* staff development
- \* teaching and learning resources development

#### II.3.5.8 Sector 7: Materials Development

The importance of this area of NGO activity may be judged from the large number of organizations involved in it, SACHED, ELTIC, Education Service Forum, Vumani, Independent Education Board, Learning Nation, Learn and Teach, and the Materials Development Project at the University of the Western Cape are leaders in this important field.

Two other developments in this sector is important. The first is that major commercial publishers have also started to produce alternative materials. The second is that at private and state colleges of education, staff are being encouraged to

produce alternative materials.

Problems which this sector experience, and which funding assistance would alleviate are funding assistance:

- \* the incompatibility of newly prepared materials and official syllabi
- \* presenting the alternative materials to teachers
- \* getting teachers to use alternative materials creatively
- \* networking to share and pool experiences and techniques
- \* becoming aware of who does what in this sector
- \* researching the effect of the materials on learning and teaching

#### II.3.5.9 Sector 8: Rural Education

The existence of the education "urban-rural divide" in need and resource allocation is well known, and very well documented<sup>55</sup>. Farm schools of rural areas are where the majority of South African children do not get educated. These are the ones to which both the State and NGO's have given least attention.

This is also the area in which paternalism and dependency creation clearly has to make way for strategies of radical empowerment by organizations such as BELC, Kagiso, Grassroots, Primary Education Forum, Midlands Farm School Project and its Farm School Trusts, and others.

In July 1991 a Rural Networking Conference was held to address the question of how state education and welfare departments, universities, unions and education NGO's may

intervene. From this conference it is clear that USAID may support

- \* an information support programme through the creation of a rural education data bank
- \* an Education Bank to provide central funding and ensure the distribution of resources to those in greatest need
- \* policy development and advocacy projects
- \* research programmes into service provision and its sustainability
- \* developing instructional packages to help train rural communities to lobby effectively on their own behalves
- \* educating rural trainers

#### II.3.5.10 Sector 9: Career Education

Career education organizations such as CRIC, CC, CIC, and EIC prepare their clients for work. Whereas they were originally formed as crisis organizations offering career guidance for unemployed youth, they now see themselves as sustainable organizations with a development focus. They are therefore inclined to be proactive by identifying needs, conducting research, and implementing viable responses in consultation with clients. They also have an action research component to their service delivery. They also see policy advocacy in the field of career guidance as an important challenge.

The organizations above have formed a coordinating body, the South African Vocational Guidance and Educational Association (SAVGEA).

CRIC is involved in the following new initiatives:

- (1) Future Link, which attempts to establish links between students and their potential employers. Students and their teachers work at these firms during holidays. This is comparable to U.S. programmes.
- (2) Enterprize education, in which they attempt to stimulate entrepreneurship.

#### II.3.5.11 Issues Facing Educational NGO's

1. Clarifying their position towards a future state.
2. Continuously realizing the implications of the inability of the current state to deliver educational services for their own activities.
3. Pressurizing state education resources in their direction, while keeping their own content, methodology and management.
4. Developing national and regional networks and coordinating bodies for their activities.
5. Investigating the incorporation of established and often conservative welfare and charitable organizations into their networks.
6. Establishing a research culture in their areas of operation.
7. Developing skills for attracting funding.
8. Extending their training roles.

### II.4 Band 3: The State Education System and its Adjuncts

#### II.4.1 Introduction

The South African Government has continued to resist pressures to integrate the 16 ethnic education departments, even as it appears to be in a state of paralysis in the face of the crisis. For this reason the crisis continues, especially in African and "coloured" education.

#### II.4.2 System Performance

#### II.4.2.1 Education Financing

The South African education system stays incapable of providing equal education to its clients. State financing of education has dropped by six percent in real terms, in spite of a 14 percent increase needed to accommodate a 4.4 percent pupil increase. This needs to be evaluated in the light of the fact that in 1990 325 000 new pupils entered the system<sup>56</sup>, while African education in the self-governing territories experienced a 6.6 percent increase in pupil numbers.

The State appears to be willing to allow blacks to give meaningful input into the distribution of DET resources.<sup>57</sup>

#### II.4.2.2 Matriculation Results

The White and Indian systems continue to massively outperform those for "coloureds" and Africans. In 1990 DET experienced its worst matric pass rate ever. Only 36 percent passed, while 7,8 percent obtained matriculation exemptions. For White, Indian and "Coloured" education comparable figures were 94,2 (42,9), 95 (45.5) and 79,4 (57,6) percent respectively.<sup>58</sup>

A study by Dlamini<sup>59</sup> on the origins and mechanics of malpractices during DET matriculation examinations traces the politics of these examinations and describes the malpractices during their writing and marking. This study confirms that these malpractices are real, extensive and deep rooted. It also poses broad ranging political and education policy

questions about examinations in the context of the total education system.

#### II.4.3 Open White State Schools

As was noted above, open white schools have absorbed an insignificant number of black pupils. About 5000 black pupils are at white State schools.<sup>60</sup>

#### II.4.4 Private Non-racial Schools

Open private schools are, as Morphet noted in the 1990 Survey, fully viable, but so expensive that they can accomodate only children of the black and white elite. According to Moulder<sup>61</sup>, these schools also get a larger part of State funding than even White State schools.

Private non-racial schools can never be a sensible answer to the problem of educational provision in South Africa. The demand for it will however remain strong, as the black systems run down.

E.S.A.T should consider the relative benefits of assisting this type of secondary schooling versus that of assisting private community schooling.

#### II.4.5 Teachers

Teacher morale in black education still remains low. Black teachers stay under attack from authoritarian principals, the absence of a learning culture among students,

and the general dissolution of their systems. Due to these factors, and under the influence of SADTU, they can be expected to become more willing to act on their grievances. "Chalk Downs" and marches on departmental offices are getting more prevalent, even among the traditionally conservative "coloured" teachers and teacher educators.

Teacher education at the college level will become more important in the future, especially in the light of future emphasis on primary education. For this reason there is a need for colleges of education to prepare their staffs to help their students acquire new educational philosophies, instructional methodologies, student evaluation strategies, and research skills.

#### II.4.6 Universities

Universities continue to be adversely affected by State cuts in their budgets, and black universities suffer most from these cuts. The black student populations of white liberal universities continue to climb steadily, with observable effects. The current SRC president at UCT is a black person. These universities have also found it necessary to implement Support Programmes for their students.<sup>62</sup>

The number of black researchers, most of whom are found at university, is still relatively small. This is a concern for two reasons. Black education is historically under-researched, so that what we know about the schooling of our children is totally inadequate. Post-Apartheid education will

also present teachers and learners with new contexts, new challenges, and new opportunities. White teachers will have to teach black learners, classes will probably be much bigger so that large-group instruction will be indicated, to name but a few. Thus the normal school systems of instruction, learning, discipline, examination, control, and administration will undergo deep changes. We have to know how these changes affect the emotions, cognitions and work satisfaction of teachers and learners alike. This will need a programme of research use paradigms more suitable to reconstruction. Universities represent on set of institutions where attempts can to be made to increase the number of black researchers, their technical research capabilities, and appropriate research paradigms.

#### II.4.7 Issues Facing State Education

The following issues challenge State education:

- \* Loss of legitimacy and authority.
- \* Providing quality education equally to all its clients.
- \* Providing educational experiences relevant to the future of its pupils.
- \* Acting on its inability to provide many educational services efficiently and cost-effectively.
- \* Defusing contentious issues.
- \* Consulting meaningfully with non-State stakeholders in education.
- \* Providing education in squatter communities.

### III. ASSESSMENT OF IMPLICATIONS OF POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL

DEVELOPMENTS FOR E.S.A.T.'S FUNDING STRATEGIESIII.1 Introduction

As noted earlier, the systems and actors for education policy development, service delivery facilitation and service delivery itself are in place. No major actors of the status of those discussed above will probably appear during the transition. Service delivery organizations can however still be expected to proliferate.

This recommendations in section should be considered together with more detailed analysis of the needs and funding opportunities in the Service Delivery Facilitation and Service Delivery Sections above.

I wish to especially focus USAID's attention to the importance of research in the reconstruction of education. I concur with Evan's assessment of the dearth of research skills among blacks not only at the university level, but more especially at the teacher education and school levels. As reported above, a number of NGO representatives have also voiced the need to increase their own research capabilities. Sustainable reconstruction will need prudent teaching and learning decisions at the college, school and classroom levels. These will be most useful when based on survey, experimental and quasi-experimental, ethnographic, and action reseach at the lowest possible levels. If USAID is interested in multiplying the effects of its assistance, it could either

initiate or strengthen research programmes which target research on teaching, learning and teacher education. USAID could therefore investigate setting up a (1) South African Research Institute for School Research and a (2) South African Research Institute for Teacher Education.

### III.2 Level 1: Smaller Grants

This level entails disbursing smaller grants for urgent projects. In the sections on Service Delivery Facilitation and Service Delivery the following programmes and initiatives across education sectors have been noted:

- \* information distribution
- \* data gathering and electroning storage through data banks
- \* intra-organizational management improvement projects
- \* network-formation and extention
- \* personnel visitation among projects
- \* instructional package development
- \* conferencing
- \* printing and publication
- \* research capability

To the extent that it will increase the capacities and multiply the effects of these organizations, they appear to be worthwhile small grant projects for E.S.A.T.

### III.3 Portfolio of Projects

I only know the portfolio of projects from what I have

read from the 1990 Survey. It appears that E.S.A.T. should continue to fund its portfolio of projects but insist on their cost-effectiveness and sound management. A empathetic but "hardnosed" attitude seems to be called for.

#### III.4 Level 3: Larger Grants

To a large extent the IDT, SADTU, NECC, and NEPI represent the cutting edge of education innovation in the transition. They will largely influence the post-transitional education system in South Africa. They represents relatively large-scale attempts to intervene in education by establishing systems of policy development and advocacy, consultation and the funding of services. These organizations and the systems they have tried to develop are now mostly in place, and their scale of operation and service delivery is currently at issue.

USAID's current funding involvement in them should therefore be continued and expanded to the extent that it will allow them to increase the scale of their service provision.

#### IV. FINAL CONCLUSION

This Survey has identified and analysed the political and educational developments during the 1990/91 period in the South African transition. It has especially focused on the important non-governmental actors in the educational field, and identified some of their ideals, needs, challenges and opportunities.

The basic conclusion was that attempts at education

change is being made through (sometimes acrimonious) negotiation, together with dedicated and extraordinary effort at the point of delivery. In the light of these events, E.S.A.T is thus advised to continue its current funding strategies.

This Survey has been informed by input from many organizations and individuals. I thank them for that. Special thanks also goes to my assistants Joseph Diphofa and Khotso De Wee who I am sure will become significant contributors during the future development of South African education.

To the extent that this report might stimulate debate and disagreement in the interest of advancing the education of South Africa's learners, its purpose will have been achieved.

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**APPENDIX A: ACRONYMS USED IN THIS SURVEY**

SAG	:	South African Government
NP	:	National Party
ANC	:	African National Congress
IFP	:	Inkatha Freedom Party
WRW	:	White Right Wing
DP	:	Democratic Party
AZAPO	:	Azanian People's Organization
PAC	:	Pan Africanist Congress
COSATU	:	Congress of South Arican Trade Unions
JWG	:	Joint Working Group
ERS	:	Education Renewal Strategy
PRISEC	:	Private Sector Education Council
TLSA	:	Teachers' League of South Africa
SADTU	:	South African Democratic Teachers Union
UF	:	Urban Foundation
NEPI	:	National Education Policy Investigation
IDT	:	Independent Development Trust
PSI	:	Private Sector Initiative
NECC	:	National Education Coordinating Committee
IEB	:	Independent Examinations Board
LP	:	Labour Party
VAT	:	Value Added Tax
PWV	:	Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging Triangle
NGO	:	Non-Governmental Organization
ELRU	:	Early Learning Resources Unit
BELC	:	Border Early Learning Centre
PEPPS	:	Programme for the Establishment of Pre-primary

and Primary Schools

CSCUPSA : Constitutional Steering Committee for a United  
Preschool Association of South Africa

READ : Project Read

ALP : Adult Literacy Project

NLP : National Literacy Project

ECALP : Eastern Cape Literacy Project

PROLIT : Project Literacy

SEP : Science Education Project

PSP : Primary Science Project

SACHED : South African Committee on Higher Education

SAVGEA : South African Vocational Guidance and Education  
Association

CRIC : Careers Research and Information Centre

CIC : Career Information Centre

EIC : Education and Information Centre

TCC : Tembisa Careers Centre

CC : Career Centre

**APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW DATA**

Interviews and questionnaire surveys were conducted with the following individuals between August and November 1991:

Prof. Johan Muller, UCT

Prof. Tony Morphet, UCT

Mr Eric Atmore, GRASSROOTS

Mr Phillip Balie, GRASSROOTS

Mr Tahir Salie, CRIC

Mr Joe Adams, KAGISO

Ms Glennifer Gillespie, IDT

Prof. Jane Hofmeyr, UF

Dr Monica Bot, EDUSOURCE

Mr Ismail Valli, SADTU

Mr Mel Holland, NECC

Ms Matshidiso Napo, Council for Black Education and Research

Mr Nick Taylor, Wits EPU

Mr David Enza, Operation Upgrade

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1. Ardington, E. 1991. The Crisis in Rural Education.  
CSDS, University of Natal: Durban.

This paper gives an account of the shockingly deep crisis in rural education in Natal, and serves to re-emphasise the urgency of State and NGO intervention in the education of rural black children. The author points out that the State accepts no responsibility for the provision of rural education, but that without major state efforts the crisis can only deepen. NGO's have also only quite recently become significantly involved in rural education. The crisis in rural education is so big, and State involvement so crucial that NGO's will have to attempt to empower rural parents and students to effect massive State involvement in education.

2. Evans, I. The Racial Question and Intellectual Production in South Africa. Perspectives in Education, Vol. 11, No. 2, 21 - 25, 1990.

In this paper Evans addresses the marginalized position of black South Africans in education research, and argues forcefully that steps need to be taken to allow blacks to become more prominent in shaping debates around, and programmes for reconstruction of education. He traces the history of black education marginalization and proposes that universities especially have to change internally to redress the problem. Evans has been criticised on various aspects of his paper. His basic concern, however remains valid. Although the number of black researchers is steadily improving, and their research is starting to impact deliberations on education reconstruction, both are still relatively insignificant in the light of the need for research input by blacks, not only at the macro policy development level, but especially at the micro-schoolbased level.

3. Hallows, D. 1991. A State of Anticipation: Transition and Development in South Africa, and the Challenge to Career Centres. CIC: Durban.

This wide-ranging report attempts to identify strategic options for career centres, taking into account their missions and histories. It does so by locating career centres squarely in the context of political, economic and education developments. The report is especially important for its identification of issues that face all non-governmental organizations. Its holistic consideration of the context, challenges and opportunities of career education centres is an important standard for all NGO's when they consider their options in the reconstruction of South African society.

4. Hartshorne, K. 1990. African Primary Schooling in the 1990's. HSRC Threshold Working Party: Pretoria.

The author argues that the provision of primary education for all children should become an urgent state priority. Such education should be characterized by high quality, and should be relevant to the needs of its clients. For this to occur, the problems of authoritarian management, low teacher morale and inadequate facilities and equipments need to be addressed. The author stresses the role of non-governmental organizations in non-state attempts to reconstruct South African education. Hartshorne has had a long relationship with African education, and his insights into the state education bureaucracy, the manner in which DET operates, and the nature of African education makes this paper an important one. His contention that planners should look outside of the state system when they consider the reconstruction of South African education underlines the perception that the state is incapable of undertaking this task. Although African education quite clearly needs most attention, this discussion suffers from the separation of the education of African children from that of the rest of South African's children.

5. Independent Development Trust. 1991. Developing an IDT focus: Toward Compulsory Primary School Provision of Quality for All. IDT: Cape Town.

In this document the IDT sets out a number of ways in which a National School Building Trust might provide some of the +-1350 school buildings needed for African education. A central characteristic is community involvement in the funding, building and operation of the school. Novel concepts are providing two administration blocks per school, building schools near thoroughfares, building multi-purpose school halls, and in the light of the DET situation, electrifying the schools. Scenarios developed by the Urban Foundation are used to project the number of schools that can be built with the funding available. Only a minimum of 30 and a maximum of 85 schools can be built using these schemes. This makes clear

that the IDT effort can only ameliorate the schools crisis. Until the State begins to provide schools as part of its regular budget, the schools crisis will continue. This document also sets the precedence whereby black communities, economically most disadvantaged by Apartheid, have to take over a function that belongs to the State.

6. Narsoo, M. Civil Society - a Contested Terrain. Work in Progress, 76, 24 - 27. 1991.

Like Swilling, Narsoo is concerned about the State, Capital and Civil Society and their relationship during development initiatives in the future. He notes the imbalances between the power of the State, Capital on one hand, and that of Civil Society on the other. He is not convinced that a great number of strong and independent of organizations in civil society will necessarily ensure the best interests of the common South African. It is only now that civil organizations are changing from resistance to reconstruction, this change will be difficult, and the a democratic State will have to assist this process. The State will need to mediate the power of Capital in the interests Mof the poor, rural, women, the small and the local.

7. Nkomo, M. (ed). 1990. Pedagogy of Domination: Toward a Democratic Education in South Africa. Africa World Press: Trenton, New Jersey.

This collection of essays by alternative educators attempts to give an overview of historical and current aspects of South African educatio, and also attempts to reflect on an appropriate post-Apartheid education system. It is wide-ranging both in the sweep of time it considers, and the problems it addresses. It gives an idea of the concerns, assumptions and strategies that alternative educators consider most appropriate to educational deliberations during this time of transition. It is an important book for students, researchers and policy makers, and will no doubt inform general thinking about education policy in the future. It also needs to be followed up by more in-depth analyses of the same topics, especially from the stand-point of developing practical educational programmes based on them.

8. Nzimande, B. and Thusi, S. 1991. 'Children of War': The Impact of Political Violence on Schooling in Natal. Education Projects Unit, University of Natal: Durban.

This study gives a sobering account of how school children in Natal have experienced the political violence that has plagued that province. It also documents the role of the Kwazulu DEC in the violence. It concludes that Inkatha has become enmeshed in the violence, that most students in their sample have lost a colleague in the violence, and that the horrific psychological trauma suffered by these children will affect not only their schooling but their adult lives, and that of the South African nation for a long time to come. The study concludes by presenting strategic options by which the NECC can address the violence. This study is extremely important in that in its documentation of the effects of political violence in the lives of children, it works not on the national level, but on one below that. The scale of the violence indicates that this situation can be addressed only by a legitimate democratic State. Many more studies, about this and other problems of South African education are needed. This should occur not only at this level, but also at the level of the individual school and classroom.

9. RSA Policy Review. Literacy broadens horizons. Vol. 4, No 2, March 1991.

This article describes government contributions to non-formal education and adult literacy mainly for black South Africans. Also reports a number of stumbling blocks in efforts to provide adult education. The projected illiteracy percentages of 0,72 (Whites), 7,59 percent (Asians), 15,5 percent (Coloureds) and 33,05 percent (Africans) gives an estimation of the scale of the problem, and the efforts described in the article give an indication of the ahistorical and apolitical paucity of government response to the problem. It gives no intimation of an innovative approach to the problem of illiteracy, and it is clear that if the State bureaucracy attempts to address this problem alone, the problem will worsen steadily.

10. Swilling, M. The Case for Associational Socialism. Work in Progress, 76, 20 - 23. 1991.

Swilling's original formulation of the State, Capital and Civil Society as essential social actors has been widely appropriated by alternative educators and other social commentators. In this essay Swilling argues that, in a future socialist South Africa, statism needs to be exchanged for associationalism if the creative energies of its citizens are to be liberated. The state is not equated with the public

good, which now resides in politically independent organizations functioning at the local level of civil society. These organizations would then influence the State through local government structures, while simultaneously limit the dominance of Capital. The relation between organizations of civil society and the present and future state is being debated among many non-governmental organizations at this moment, so that the issues that Swilling raise are both topical and important. Swilling rightly warns against an uncritical acceptance of the dominance of the State over the affairs of civil society, but also proposes that civil society guards its own position against encroaches by both the State and Capital. The question needs to be asked to what extent this is possible, given the power imbalances between it and the State and Capital, and the extent to which an independent civil society can really ensure the best interests of its members. White South African history shows that the extent to which the State identifies its own interests with that of civil society, and the resultant interdependence, gives rise to a powerful force for social upliftment and political empowerment.

11. Steinberg, C. and Suttner, M. (eds) 1991. Never too Old to Learn. LACOM/Learn and Teach: Johannesburg.

This book does for adult basic education what A State of Anticipation attempted for career education. It is a solid and indepth collective effort by Lacom, SACHED, English Literacy Project, and Use, Speak and Write English representatives to systematically consider what can be done to address the immensity of the illiteracy problem. The contributors attempt to learn from international attempts to provide adult basic education on a mass scale, and identify a number of policy options. Perhaps the most important conclusion of this group, and one that is shared by NGO's in other education sectors such as educare and preschool education is that problems of this massive scale cannot be solved without the systematic involvement of the State.

12. Wolpe, H. Some Theses on People's Education. Perspectives in Education, Vol. 12, No. 2, 77 - 83, 1991.

The author discusses three theses on education in order to re-emphasise tenets of People's Education which retain their significance during this time of transition. He concludes that the 1986 NECC view that the relation between education and the wider social system depends on the natures of society and of the education system, and the struggles waged in both has retained its validity and should form the basis of NECC attempts to influence the educational transition. This article is a timeous reminder of the dangers of straying, during the current transition, from the basic assumption that underpinned the war against Apartheid education. The programmes of organizations such as the NECC,

National Literacy Co-operation and SAVGEA show that NGO's are aware of this danger. The extent to which they will be able to resist pressures to depoliticize education in order to secure funds for their continuous operation makes this a moot point.