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Inequalities in the Educational Systems in South Africa

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INTRODUCTION

The problems in South Africa began with the first white settler staking his claim to the land. Behind him came thousands more with similar intent, each demanding a little more. The infiltration of Europeans into South Africa not only stripped the indigenous people of their land but of their entire way of life. Gradually, all freedom was lost and the Africans became controlled and exploited by these settlers. Two centuries and several wars later, the whites had formed their own nation here on the African's land and began establishing institutions and laws to maintain their control.

The educational system was a primary institution of control. It offered separate education for the races, which is the root of separatist policy of the apartheid system. Each race was instructed not only in different disciplines, but in different ideologies describing the way the "world" operated. Rather than focusing on curriculum to enhance development, the syllabus in black school districts stress the importance of law and order. These children are given a very limited view past the boundaries of South Africa. The "races" education was not even operated by the same education department. This illustrates that black and white education is not operating on the same level, nor is it striving for the same ends. As a result the white education system was far superior and prepared

the students for a dominate position in society. Black students, on the other hand, were deprived of the basic skills they needed to get ahead in the world. They were socialized to accept the system and were not given the educational tools they needed to debunk the system as they grew and realized the injustices.

After setting the stage with a brief history of apartheid and the govenment's intents behind this system of government, this paper will focus on the development of black education of the primary and secondary levels. Upon presenting a pre-capitalist picture of education, the inferior quality of black education will be examined by using statistics and facts. This ensures a more complete comparison between the black and the white school systems. Secondly, educational reform movements and resulting system changes will be followed. However, it will be kept in mind that such movements are merely an arm to the overall push to end apartheid. Therefore, aspects of the entire movement will be mentioned, but the focus will remain on educational aspects. Finally, an analysis will be presented as a possible model for a future educational system to benefit all children of South Africa.

METHODOLOGY

Data and Variables

Data collected to analyze various aspects of the South African educational system was compiled from the South Africa

Institute of Race Relations and the Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation.

Variable and Measurement

The variable used is the educational system for native Africans in comparison to its white counterparts. The indicators of this comparison include the student-teacher ratio between the race's schools, the government expenditure on the different school systems, and the literacy rates of the black population as a result of its caliber of education.

Methods of Analysis

The method of analysis used to explore the problems and progress of black education will be in the form of a historical analytic analysis. Here, history, reformation movements, and resulting changes will be followed. The conclusion will include an analysis of the system as it exists and a proposal for possible alterations to improve the education of pupils.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Dutch Colonialism

The roots of South Africa's social injustices lie in the original policies laid down by the Dutch colonists who basically controlled the colony from 1652-1806. The first settlers arrived in 1652 to establish a half-way station for the Dutch East India Company. They seized what is now Cape Province in order to form a port to replenish ships on their way to Asia, thereby to reduce trading costs. White farmers

used black slave labor to harvest the land around the port to keep the station more self-sufficient. This is first evidence that colony policy from the beginning was focused on meeting the needs of capitalist gain regardless of its costs.

British Colonialism

In 1806 British Colonialism was introduced into the area. They seized the Cape from the Dutch to guarantee the security of Britain's sea-going trade with India. With British colonization, the social structure of the colony changed. Slavery was abolished by 1838 and there was a relaxation of market controls, which under Dutch rule was forcing European farmers to previously uncolonized areas to escape Dutch control. The aim of this British policy was to foster the development of commercial farming to pay the costs of maintaining the colony. The black labor force, however, remained tightly controlled. The Dutch farmers (Boers) were displeased with these new policies and also sought escape control by pushing further into the black settlements. At this point, there was not only tension between the British and the Boers, but also between the Europeans and the Africans who were struggling to hold on to their land. The expansion of colonialism brought them to armed conflict. Since the Europeans had more advanced weapons, the Africans were forced to accept the ever expanding European presence. Eventually the traditional societies became dependant on European goods and trade. In this sense, they were gradually being incorporated

into the colonial society mainly through trade networks.

Up to this point the various African traditional societies, although some had been pushed off their southern land, were able to retain much of their culture and autonomy in means of production and government. However, they were not unaffected by century of trade with the capitalist colony. These societies retained their basic freedoms and grew powerful militarily. By the end of the 19th Century, however, this was no longer the case. (1)

Onset of Mining and Industry

The discovery of diamonds in Johannesburg and Kimberley in the mid 1860s and 1880s caused complete social upheaval and transformed the political make-up of the region. The British interest in their colony transformed virtually overnight. The colony went from an unimportant burden to the mainstay of British imperialism. Between 1868 and 1881 all the previously independent African societies were hastily conquered and incorporated into colonial rule. The British also sought to steal the independence of the Boer republics surrounding the colony. This movement caused the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 resulting in British victory where all present day South Africa was incorporated into four British colonies. These were finally united in 1910 and the white colonists were given internal self-rule, leaving the blacks once again without political rights (2).

The development of mining altered the way of life in South

Africa. Towns grew up around the mines and demanded an increase of goods and services. Mining led to the formation of new social classes. The mine owners needed plenty of both skilled and unskilled labor, but with the high cost of production this labor needed to be cheap. At first skilled labor was imported from the West. These workers demanded high pay and formal unions to ensure it. Owners looked to Africans for cheap unskilled labor, which required doing the heavy work where little training was necessary. To meet the growing needs of cheap labor, the government devised methods to draw the blacks from their communities to work. At the time most Africans were living subsistence lives and had no need for wage-labor. A method the government applied to force them into the job market was the institution of taxes. The mines then adopted a migrant labor system for these new workers. They believed migrant workers could be paid less because they had homes to go back to, and their families in the country were self-supporting.

In this period, the working class became divided along the lines of color. The differences between the white skilled and black unskilled workers was that the white workers had more bargaining power because of their unions and because they were free to work and live anywhere. Black workers, on the other hand, being migrant workers were controlled in where they could live and work, and since they were unskilled they were easily replaceable. Therefore, their rights were severely limited.

These differences in opportunities and rights eventually found their way into law, keeping the industry operating on this basis.

Following the Anglo-Boer war, there was a large migration from rural to urban areas. This coupled with a post World War II industrial and mining boom that demanded an increase in semi-skilled and skilled labor saw the rise of blacks seeking these higher positions. As a result, the races for the first time began competing for the same jobs, and black workers were organizing into unions, which brought on a surge in African militancy.

Emergence of Modern South African Policies

In this context of heightened class struggle, divisions among the ruling United Party emerged on how to deal with these new "racial" problems. This allowed the newly formed Nationalist Party to gain power. In the national elections of 1948 the NP won support from four central groups enabling them to oust the United Party's majority. The NP promised farmers, who controlled a large sect of the voting power, measures to get general control over African workers. A second element in the NP alliance were white industry workers, who were guaranteed rigid color bars to protect their positions against the black semi- and skilled labor. The third element of the 1948 allegiance was the petty bourgeoisie who supported exclusive racial policies because they felt threatened by rising mass struggles and the economic advances of the black

proletariat. A final member of the NP coalition were the Afrikaner finance, commercial and manufacturing capital owners, who needed Afrikaner nationalist control over the economic apparatus of the state. By these four groups banding together they elected the party into office that would institute their needs into law. These demands together formulated what was to be the original apartheid laws (3).

For the NP the apartheid policy was the solution to the 'racial' problems of the nation. They could then legally separate the races in all spheres of life, maintaining the ideology of white supremacy. During the period between 1949 and 1955 the basic laws of apartheid were passed. Among these were racially discriminatory land laws, laws controlling the movement and settlement of blacks, laws excluding Africans from representative institutions of the state, and security laws, which restricted any unwanted movements of the blacks (4).

All of these laws are essentially measures to ensure a high level of exploitation of the black labor force. A series of laws that stand out as maintainers of the apartheid system are the educational laws. The difference in the way the races are educated socialized into the students and, thereby the population, the legitimacy of the apartheid policies and laws. Without the educational structure as it exists, the people would be able to learn equal skills, have equal jobs, and question the system as a whole. At this time it is necessary to follow the history of the manipulation of the African

population through the apartheid educational system and the effects it has had on the people.

PRE-COLONIAL AND COLONIAL EDUCATION

When Dutch settlers entered and established themselves in South Africa, most formal educational endeavors for both races were in the hands of the church. Almost all the students at this time were white. Black children were being largely educated informally within their community. At this time there were violent struggles between the indigenous peoples and the white settlers over land and resource rights. The whites did not yet have substantial control over the development and lives of the native peoples.

Impact of British Colonialism

In 1815 the British took control over the region in hopes of establishing a permanent settlement. They took more interest in controlling the native people than the Dutch, who basically just wanted to get them off the land. Urban areas were rising and many Western institutions were becoming dominate players in the region. A primary one of these were the missions who were setting up schools on the frontier. The British were interested in using education as a way to spread their language and traditions throughout the colony. These schools taught basic reading, writing, and arithmetic skills. Generally speaking, most African people did not attend school

regularly if they attended at all. Those who did attend the missionary schools usually only received elementary level education. Secondary and higher education was reserved for the privileged few, usually whites.

After the Anglo-Boer war, the triumphant British administration took over the education of the territory. Education was instrumental in restoring social order in the white community following the social upheaval caused by the war. White education was made free and mandatory. This was done out of concern for the poor white children whose families were flocking to the cities in search of work. The responsibility of black education continued to be left to the church where it remained for the next 50 years.

Mission education was the dominate education system for blacks up until it was abolished by the apartheid regime in 1953. Although mission schools provided almost all schooling of black children, the schools had little respect for local African culture and history. This type of material was absent from the European curriculum. In a sense, this curriculum was the closest to being equal to the typical white education, but its negative view of African cultural aspects was psychologically unhealthy for the black children's pride of their people and their feelings of self-worth. Mission schools were also based on Christian values. They taught obedience, patience, humility, and the value of hard work. Critics argue that this helped prepare students for a subordinate role in

society, degrading traditional values in favor of these. They assert that mission schools contributed to broader social inequality by offering low level education. It should be kept in mind, however, that mission education was the same for whites and blacks. Although there were less black students, those attending received basically equal education.

THE INSTITUTION OF APARTHEID EDUCATION

The educational system remained in this format until the Nationalist Party began instituting apartheid policies to preserve the status quo. The Nationalist Party's first objective was to install various apartheid policies, among these were policies on separate education (5). When the NP came to power in 1948 it sought to take the education of blacks away from the missions. They believed that mission schools were installing too much confidence in the children (6). The NP wished to gain control of the educational ideology apparatus, by forming a policy of education which was compatible of the Afrikaner ideology. A committee called the Eiselen Commission was employed in 1949 to formulate a specific educational blue print for Africans. On September 30, 1953 the then Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd unveiled the essence and purpose of this 'Bantu Education' during a Parliamentary debate.

"Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere

in which they live. . . . Education should have its roots in the Native environment and Native community. . . . The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community. . . . There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labor. . . . For that reason, it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community while he can not be absorbed there. Up till now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and partially misled him by showing him the green pastures of the Europeans but still did not allow him to graze there." (7)

Thus Dr. Verwoerd made it clear that his intentions in Bantu education were to preserve the status quo and keep the indigenous people as under class citizens. In addition to this, it was to limit the black's knowledge to their Bantu culture. This was done to ensure that the black population will operate only within their communities and not disrupt the social hierarchy of the entire nation. They believed that since people can not live in the same spheres they must not be educated in the same spheres. As a result the school system in South Africa was designed to keep population groups separate. It was in the overall plan for the social, economic, and political development of the Apartheid system (8).

The Bantu Education Act

The Bantu Education Act marked the beginning of Apartheid education and went into effect in 1953. It said that all schools for Africans had to be registered with the government. As a result, almost all mission schools were forced to close their doors or comply with government regulations. Night schools for laborers were also forced to close (9). This gave the government a monopoly on the education system enabling them

to formulate the way people thought. Education was used as a tool of socialization, legitimizing the concept of white minority rule.

In the early years of Bantu education there was a great increase in the number of African students attending school. However, this is compared to the very few that were enrolled before. The drop-out rate was high, and the majority did not stay longer than four years. Until the 1970s approximately 70% of the students were in the first four years. Overall the population still received very little education.

Resistance to Bantu Education Act

The Bantu Education Act was not widely received by teachers, parents, and students alike. A sizable movement surfaced against the Act in 1954. Although the widespread opposition was led mainly by African students, it was the teachers organizations who got it underway. Teachers were displeased about the larger class sizes and longer hours they would be expected to work. They did not want to be government employees and their salaries would not improve. They called on parents and students to resist the new system. These militant teachers were dismissed, but their legacy of opposition lived on.

The students took up where the teachers left off, although they did for different reasons. Their protest was that Bantu Education was an effort by dominate white groups to arrest the development of Africans and to ensure perpetual peonage. They

understood that the government wanted them to develop their cultural patterns, but they also believed the government was interested in producing a semi-literate labor force to sustain the economy. The real skills Bantu Education was teaching only amounted to what was needed to be a unskilled or semi-skilled laborer. They realized that this was not the same level of education the whites were receiving.

The students and teachers were not the only ones who objected to the new form of apartheid education. Churches objected because they believed that it was education for subordination and it denied blacks the right to participate as equals. The churches saw no easy solution concerning what to do with the mission schools. If they complied with the government restrictions thereby implementing Bantu Education themselves, they would lose support of blacks who despised the system and the white liberals who funded them. If they were to close down, many students would be without schooling, and teachers would be out of work. Some churches struggled with this dilemma, while others immediately gave up, but all were eventually closed down.

National Party's Justification of the Law

The Nationalist Party has since sought to justify Bantu Education with the theory that it is important to make the educational system relevant to the cultural and economic circumstances. It was argued to be a positive system by saying:

"the school belongs to the community . . . is staffed by teachers from the community, and is concerned with the welfare of the particular people it serves . . . it has been accepted that the diversity of the peoples of South Africa . . . requires schools specifically designed to serve these disparate peoples according to their needs and circumstances."(10)

They went on to assert that if students are not taught in their mother tongue, they will be slow learners and not enthusiastic about their education. This progressive child-centered theory was the basic rhetoric for apologists of the system (11).

Assessment of Bantu Education

Although it may be positive that students are learning their heritage and doing this within their own community and context, it is important that they are exposed to ideas and systems outside the boundaries of South Africa. The white children are exposed to a wide range of ideals. The all white curriculum may not be the best for black children, but a balance between their own cultural education and a solid progressive education would be closer to the ideal. The blacks have never wanted separate education. The underlying complaint in this struggle to resist the education system has been their resentment of having no control or say in what they and their children are being taught. They have never been allowed to participate in defining their needs or designing their own policies in education.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF THE SCHOOL

The Bantu Education Act did more than force schools to register with the government. The Nationalist Party had taken complete control over every aspect of a child's learning. There was virtually no sector of education that the government did not have a hand in. The NP succeeded in removing all liberal influences in order to shape the black conscious to accept their place in the world (12). The system is geared to satisfy the examiner. Children are drilled to remember the "correct" answer. This process teaches them what to think not how to think. A result of this scenario is the production of docile, unquestioning individuals. They are taught that the way to survive is to keep with the herd, to conform (13).

Teachers and Administration

Government control begins at the top with administration and teachers. The administration of all schools are primarily white. Teachers are appointed by the authorities. They are employees of the government set to carry out apartheid policy and act according to the government's code of behavior. Therefore, the teachers have very little freedom of speech. Teachers in black schools can even be fired for having the "wrong" attitude. Because of this, their every action and thought is constrained. These restrictions apply to white as well as black schools. Teachers in white schools are no more free to teach what they like than if they were in a black school. Those who oppose the government restrictions would be fired and possibly black listed, preventing them from ever

again teaching in South Africa. This prohibition of teachers to fully express themselves forces them to be robots for the government by covering up societal truths, which deters the children's understanding of the world (14).

A second factor that robs students of a quality education is the discrepancies in the race's student teacher ratio. As table 1 illustrates, the number of students per teacher is vastly different in a white classroom than a black classroom. This divides the teachers' attention leaving little time for individual assistance and impairs development in troubled areas. Additionally, the teacher's workload keeps them from assigning challenging homework because of the limited grading time.

Table 1 Student - Teacher Ratio in South Africa, Selected Years

YEAR	AFRICAN	WHITES
1971	58:1	20:1
1976	52:1	20:1
*1980	47:1	19:1
1983	43:1	18:1
1988	41:1	16:1

(Source: South African Institute of Race Relations)

*The 1980 statistics do not include illiteracy in the homelands.

Fortunately, the trend has seen black school's classrooms becoming gradually smaller. It should be noted that in 1980 the statistics of student-teacher ratio in African classrooms did not include the homelands. For this reason it is

impossible to make an accurate comparison of classrooms. The omission of homeland statistics could account for the seeming improvement in the level of black education. This is not necessarily the case. Homelands are known for having even poorer school districts than in the rest of South Africa (15). By leaving their statistics off the record, the entire system looks better on paper than is actually the case. In comparison to white schools, the black school substantially trails behind in quality with their large, impersonal classrooms. A primary reason for this problem is the lack of classrooms and other facilities available in African schools, which on a basic level results from lack of sufficient funds in these districts.

The Syllabus

Official government inspectors travel from school to school examining schedules and syllabi. They order what work is to be done in school and in which order. Different subjects have different time limits according to which race is learning it. For example, legislation mandated that African children were to learn vernacular instruction at the primary level, and math and science were specifically to be de-emphasized (16). Additionally, the goals of the curriculums varies with the races. For instance, white children are expected to have a knowledge of the earth and its people, and understanding of the population groups in South Africa, and an understanding of international relations and problems. Black children's social

studies, on the other hand, stress knowledge about their own community, to be loyal and cooperative members of this community, and to learn about "larger" things later on. (17). The syllabuses are so packed that teachers have no time to teach anything on their own.

Textbooks

The textbooks used are written by white officials and are full of contradictions and myths. One of these myths is the "Empty Land Theory" which says that all races arrived in South Africa at the same time. The myth goes on to say, "we notice, therefore, that a very large portion of South Africa fell into the hands of the Europeans by virtue of first occupation, conquest, or purchase." (18) Textbooks in black schools never blame the state of affairs on anyone. They claim it "just happens that way." Social studies books make no reference to black resistance, political activity, or leadership, nor the illegality of such activity. White history texts also operate on myths. Among these are that South Africa is a White man's country, and they are on a mission from God to maintain white supremacy. Another principle is that the most important "quality" of a human is his racial group, thus, racial mixing is immoral. The students are taught straight from texts that operate according to these assumptions. The texts take up all the time so there is very little room for discussion. The teachers' authority is not questioned (19).

Government Expenditure

An additional indicator of the inferior education for Africans in South Africa is the proportion of government expenditure on the races in the schools. First of all, education for the whites in the primary and secondary levels are free and mandatory. This is not so for the African children. For this reason there is a much higher percentage of white children in school than black. Forcing Africans to pay for their education keeps many out of the school system. Taxes are levied in townships to families with children attending school, and parents are required to pay for the books and writing materials needed. These added expenses are free for whites because the government covers these expenses. As table 2 shows, there is a huge gap in the amount Pretoria spends on black education than on white.

Table 2 Government Expenditure on the Races Per Capita, selected years

YEAR	AFRICAN	WHITE
1990/1991	R268	R1193
1980/1981	R139	R913
1947/1975	R34	R580

(Source: South African Institute of Race Relations and Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation)

Since African schools receive less government funds, they have problems with shortages of classrooms, insufficient

teaching aids, and low teacher wages. The low wages issue is an area of deep resentment. African teachers were to teach only in African schools, and their salary was to reflect the district in which they taught. As a result, a teacher in a black school would receive considerably less than his white counterpart. This has been problematic even recently. In 1990 when teacher's strikes against low pay paralyzed many schools. (20) Therefore, the lack of funds for African education not only keeps students out of the system, but limits their learning potential by not providing adequate facilities in which to learn.

School and Labor Behavior

A final purpose of Bantu Education is to teach the children the 'proper' way to behave. In school they are expected to behave as they will once they enter the wider society. Children's lives at school are highly controlled. For instance, they are told to wear uniforms, to be prompt, and polite. Thus, their appearance and behavior is dictated to them. After spending a number of years at school, they are likely to expect and accept additional control over their lives from the authorities on the job when they leave. T h e rules of good behavior are very similar to positive attitudes of laborers. Their respect for rules of morality and civic consciousness actually mean respect for the socio-technical division of labor and ultimately the rules of order established by class domination. A primary goal of Bantu Education was to

develop black children into a productive labor force. Through this education, the state has succeeded in the forming of pro-status-quo social relations. Here, state power, the division of labor, and everything else that is based on class and racial criteria is justified by the dominate ideology as taught in the school system (21). This argument is strengthened by the fact that working class schools are the most authoritarian of all schools in South Africa. Thus schools play a dominate role in determining social classes and preserving the social hierarchy (22).

EDUCATIONAL UNREST

The Rise of Black Consciousness

Early in the 1960s several events occurred that aroused the desire for an ideological movement to unite the blacks. First, was the virtual decolonization of Africa, which question white power's invincibility by illustrating that the indigenous people were fully capable of self-government. There was a recognition that whites were not naturally conquerors and by working together, blacks could realize greater autonomy over their lives (23).

A second event was the banning of the African National Congress, which left the African population without any viable means of protest and internal opposition. Into this power vacuum stepped white liberals, to lead the anti-apartheid

movement, but they did not have the support of the masses. The activist whites were believed to be more interested in rhetoric than action. Blacks desired a more effective leadership to bring the movement together (24).

Finally students were becoming increasingly aware of education's role as sustainer of the apartheid system, and its power of socialization of children. Bantu Education focuses on keeping the children racially separated and passive. Therefore, in the late 1960s a search had begun to find an ideology that would bring solidarity to the blacks. Steve Biko illustrated the problem. " . . . [W]e had to solve the question of how a new consciousness could take hold of the people. The government controlled the schools. There was a low output from the schools as far as black consciousness was concerned (25)." Because of the problems that he saw he formed the South African Student Organization (SASO), which was a non-white organization that was breaking away from multi-racial groups because they felt black students must think for themselves.

The SASO was based on an ideology called Black Consciousness (BC). BC sought to develop a culture of the oppressed as a means of transforming the whole society into a new and superior ethnical order. This is not to devalue the African heritage, but to integrate it into a wider intellectual construct. This movement was to embrace all peoples in the same exploitative situation as the blacks (26).

SASO as a non-white organization was called racist by critics. The organization was not racist. It merely held that in order for blacks to stop depending on whites, they had to become active on their own. Biko asserted that "[b]lacks were having a problem because the only people speaking up for them were white. As long as there were white spokesmen there would be no black ones (27)." For this reason whites were not permitted in the group.

Black Consciousness was the primary ideology that began the student movement to end apartheid. Using this new ideology student groups like the SASO made efforts to incorporate all aspects of society by broadening their goals. BC was an ideology that was absorbed by many activist groups at the time. Together they worked to raise black consciousness and seek reforms in education and other sectors of the apartheid system. It is important to remember that in this period protests were a part of a larger political struggle. Education was one of many issues.

Problems Mounting to the Soweto Massacre

Economic expansion and increasing industrialization caused the white owned industries to demand more skilled black laborers. As a result, in the early 1970s the government was compelled to lower the standard for students to enter high school. This led to the flooding of black students into the secondary level of education. Since the government made no compensation for the increase in enrollment, the classrooms

were sorely overcrowded and the quality of education was lowered even further. An additional strain to the system was the announcement in 1976 that the Afrikaans language was to be employed to teach math and social studies in the schools (28). There was widespread opposition to this legislation. It was opposed for educational and political reasons. On June 16, 1976 15,000 African students began a peaceful march in Soweto to protest the instruction of Afrikaans in their schools. The police opened fire marking the beginning of the Soweto uprising (29). Within a week official statistics reported 140 dead, 1000 injured and 908 arrested, and the unrest spread to other townships (30).

The student activism mounting to this had been simmering for several years concurrent with a rise in labor unrest and the growing influence of the Black Consciousness organizations. At this time, there was an explosion of pent-up grievances, like the government bill stripping urban blacks from having South African citizenship and assigning them to homelands. They were being made foreigners in their own country. This prevailing feeling of alienation and insecurity prompted them to take to the streets (31). The announcement of the Afrikaans language policy had been the final straw (32).

The police's violent reaction came quickly. They maintained a presence in the township as the instability continued for months. By 1977 all BC organizations had been banned. Bantu Education played a large role in the uprising,

but there were many other underlying factors. Among these were the poor economy, high black unemployment, and distress with the apartheid laws (33).

Resulting Changes and the De Lange Report

The government made nominal changes in the education system following the unrest of 1976-1978. They abandoned the regulation that Afrikaans was mandatory in schools and changed the title of the Department of Bantu Education to the more palatable title of Department of Education and Training. Certain aspects of teacher training were also up graded, and some private schools were allowed to integrate. These reforms were intended to pacify the rebellions, but proved insufficient to do so (34).

Student resistance continued throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s with the formation of several student groups dedicated to the break down of apartheid laws and education inequality. Confronted by resistance from such groups and a hostile international environment, the government commissioned the de Lange Committee in 1980. The committee conducted an investigation into education in South Africa, and made recommendations for an education policy. Among the many recommendations for a new educational system were proposals for a more comprehensive system of mass schooling with one education department for all groups. They suggested that pre-primary and primary school was to be made free and mandatory for all children. Additionally, they wanted uniform

curriculum, syllabus, and textbooks for all races (35).

The Government's Response

The de Lange committee report was released in early October 1981, and the government simultaneously issued a white paper (policy paper) that endorsed a list of general principles for educational policy set forth by the committee. However, the government's white paper also stipulated a number of chilling reservations. They determined the 'moral' character of education would be adhered to, in addition to the principle of instruction in the mother tongue. The white paper also recommitted government policy to retain separate departments of education. These reservations resulted in government rejection of about half of the de Lange report (36).

Some positive elements emerged from the de Lange report. By 1986, the government spending on black schooling rose dramatically. Although the racial disparities in expenditure per pupil remained quite high. Private schools of higher education were encouraged to partake in limited desegregation. Technical colleges were created and business employee-training courses were promoted through tax breaks. The government's mixture of reforms of the system and rejections of the reform proposals reflected continued uncertainty and lack of agreement. This disunited movement in the government left many basic grievances about black education unaddressed (37).

Student Response

Student activists groups rejected most government reforms.

They saw these as patronizing 'carrots' that were coming too little and too late. They said the regime had no chance of buying its way out of trouble (38). Student groups were becoming increasingly militant. School boycotts started in 1983, were initially undertaken in support of calls for reform of the black education system. Their demands were remarkably similar to the unaddressed demands of the 1976 Soweto uprising. These included an end to Bantu Education, proper school facilities, free textbooks, and the reinstatement of dismissed teachers. In 1984 students began linking their demands to the broader political grievances sweeping through the entire black community. They concluded that meaningful improvements in black education must be preceded by major changes in the apartheid system as a whole. This emerging assumption prompted them to adopt the slogan 'Liberation First, Education Later' (39). It got to the point where the school boycotts were no longer a tactic, but a test of loyalty to the revolution. For this reason the boycotts were violently enforced. Students who crossed the boycotts were considered traitors and were persecuted and sometimes killed. By the end of 1985, students had stripped the state of control of the schools rendering them inoperable.

Moderate Black leaders such as Desmond Tutu, have opposed the continuation of the school boycott saying that this will damage the educational prospects of the youths irreparably. Tutu, among others, has called for a return to the classroom

and the strikes to end (40).

The government's response to the black political organization and violence was extremely repressive and indiscriminately violent. Military troops were brought into the townships late 1984 and became a permanent feature of policing operations. They randomly persecuted Africans at will without any indication of discipline from the government (41). Those 'citizens' wishing to complain about police brutality must register their allegations with the police force, itself. This way the force can launch an 'investigation' on itself. Of course the township residents distrusted the police and were reluctant to come forward to stop the injustice. In February 1986 it was disclosed in Parliament that out of 500 complaints against security forces only one policeman had been convicted and seven subjected to disciplinary action. The citizens are then left with no where to go in order to protect themselves and regain stability in their lives.

CONCLUSION

The legacy that the inferior education system has left on the African population is a high level of unemployment, as much as 41% in some areas (42). A possible reason for this could be the high illiteracy rate. Table 3 illustrates the level that the education system has failed black South Africans.

Table 3 Illiteracy rates in South Africa for the Population Groups 1960-1980

YEAR	AFRICAN	WHITE
1960	62.5%	1.9%
1970	51.8%	.9%
1980	33%	.7%

(Source: South Africa Institute of Race Relations surveys)

In looking at these figures it is obvious to see that the system is not doing its job in teaching the people skills they need to survive. It should be noted that the 1980 figures do not include the homelands, which would make African illiteracy rates even higher. Their omission makes it rather difficult to do a true comparison, but enough information is available to see a trend. This trend shows that white South Africans are much more fully prepared to enter the work world with that qualifications to obtain meaningful employment. Native Africans, on the other hand, come out of their school system ill-qualified to do more than manual labor. Regardless of a person's occupation, basic reading skills are necessary just to operate in a capitalist society. The illiteracy rates reflects the level of dependence the Africans have when maneuvering in society.

An additional indicator of the education system's success rate is the percent of students passing their final examinations which enables them to receive their high school diplomas. In 1991 the Department of Education and Training announced that only 39.2% of 287,666 black candidates passed. This is in contrast to 97% of white candidates passing. These statistics further illustrate the fact that white students are

receiving better educations. There were several reasons cited for this. One being white's smaller classes and better qualified teachers. An additional reason was the teachers in black schools inability to get through the material covered on the test because of strikes and other political unrest. Regardless of the reasons, the fact remains that African students are lagging behind in both scores and opportunities (43).

With all the violence in black South Africa during the 1986 state of emergency and thereafter, mere survival has taken a primary place among the people's goals. Education has taken a back seat. It is the young who are the militant ones. They are angry with the older generation's complacency and are looking to change the social order themselves. It was shown that areas with the highest level of unrest are the ones with the most pupils failing their final exams. For example, in 1991 the examination results were the lowest in the townships of Soweto and Alexandria where political protest was the highest. Here, only 31% passed; this was an improvement over the 1990 scores where only 26% passed (44). Therefore, the first step to give youth a good education is to implement a new and just system of government. This way the violence will cease as the black majority becomes invested in the nation and their communities' progress. Everyone could then concentrate on higher aspirations.

The plan behind the black education system of apartheid has failed. Its goals were to develop a passive and complacent black population. However, since the entire political system has deprived black South Africans of every basic right and freedom, they are then left with no alternative but to violently dismantle the system. The educational structure that was striving for complacency has had an opposite effect. It has pushed the students further from where the government them wanted to be. As a result, the students have sought and received an informal, yet very powerful education from the activist groups surrounding them. These groups, operating on Black Consciousness-like ideologies, have encouraged the students to realize their potential in order to take control of their lives. In this sense, there are three educational systems in the nation. In addition to the ones designed for the white and black children, there is the underground anti-apartheid network inspiring the youths by showing them what life could truly be and by urging them to strive for the changes that will take them there.

With the crumbling of the apartheid system in recent years, policies for a completely new educational system should be under investigation in search for models that would be best for the children. The policy makers for this new system should be the individuals who have been working to organize the resistance movements. These are the people who genuinely know what the African students need to advance in the society. This

is the way for the population to empower themselves and determine their destination for further development.

END NOTES

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