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2

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BANTU EDUCATION AS A REFORMIST STRATEGY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATE

PLEASE NOTE:

This paper is the product of the **Research on Education in South Africa** (RESA) project into **Economic Change, Social Conflict and Education in Contemporary South Africa** which has been conducted over the past three years. The paper presents a summary of one section of the research. A full report of the results of the investigation is presently in preparation.

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BANTU EDUCATION AS A REFORMIST STRATEGY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATE

1. Introduction: The Changing Nature of Bantu Education

In virtually every analysis of Bantu Education written to date Bantu Education has been treated as an unchanging mechanism of white domination and Verwoerd's notorious speech in introducing the Bantu Education Act of 1953 has been accepted as setting a programme that has continued to be implemented over three-and-a-half decades.

This paper will show that the Bantu Education system is a more complex system of repression and over the last decade has become an essential ingredient in the repressive reformism of the regime.

2. Enrolments

2.1 Growth in enrolments

Since the introduction of Bantu Education in 1953 there has been a spectacular growth in the number of African pupils enrolled in school.

Table 1
African Pupils (in '000s)

	Primary	Secondary
1953	852.0	30.7
1955	970.2	35.0
1960	1452.3	47.6
1965	1833.0	65.6
1970	2615.4	122.5
1975	3378.9	318.5
1980	4063.9	774.0
1981	4229.6	829.7
1982	4391.1	912.5
1983	4546.3	1001.2
1984	4699.2	1096.7
1985	4820.1	1192.9

(Source: Verwey 1980-84; 1970 & 75 from Blignaut; 1953-1965 from A R de Lange; 1985 figure from Carstens).

Primary school enrolments more than doubled by 1965, nearly doubled again by 1975, and then increased more slowly in the decade 1975-85, so that by 1985 the total primary school enrolments were about 45% higher than ten years earlier. These increases occurred without the general introduction of compulsory education in African schools. By 1984 compulsory education to Std 2 was only in practice in 308 African schools, involving only 3.2% of all primary school pupils and 2.6% of all pupils.

Secondary school enrolments show a similar dramatic increase. They too had more than doubled by 1965, and between 1965 and 1975 they increased sixfold; in the decade between 1975-1985 the rate of increase had been somewhat slower, but it is still a dramatic growth with the 1985 total around four times the size of the 1975 total.

2.2 School enrolments and population

One result of this growth in enrolment has been an enormous increase in the proportion of young people in school. In 1950 only 32.9% of people aged between 5 and 19 were in school. This increased to 45% in 1960, 54.2% in 1970, and most significantly, 83.1% in 1980 (Pillay, p 6).

2.3 Enrolments by school phase

While these increases are dramatic and significant because of the implications for the growth of literacy and for the increase in the numbers of skilled workers, they should not obscure the basic pattern of enrolments which has been, and remains, heavily weighted to lower primary enrolments. While large numbers of pupils have progressed beyond Std 2, a major proportion of pupils still leave school after only four years and many fail to complete even the first two standards.

In 1985 the regime estimated that 22.17% of all pupils would leave school illiterate without completing SSA, although some of these might return after a few years, 27.28% of pupils would complete junior primary school and be semi-literate, and 50.55% would leave school literate having completed senior primary school or beyond. However, the proportion of pupils completing higher primary school and lower secondary school has increased significantly. But although the rise in the number of senior secondary school pupils has been dramatic, these pupils still represent a tiny minority of all pupils. In 1985 only 12.48% of all pupils completed Std 10.

It can be seen that in the early 1960s higher primary, lower secondary and senior secondary enrolments actually fell as a proportion of lower primary enrolments; the 1955 level was regained by 1965, and from that date the proportion of higher primary and secondary enrolments has increased. But by 1985 a majority of pupils continued to remain in the lowest grades, with just under half progressing to complete primary school. A little more than a quarter of pupils entered lower secondary school, and less than 10% went on to senior secondary school.

Table 2
Higher primary and secondary enrolments as a percentage of lower primary enrolments

	Higher Primary Std 3-5	Lower Secondary Std 6-8	Senior Secondary Std 9-10
1955	32.7	4.5	0.3
1960	33.0	4.2	0.2
1965	34.6	4.5	0.3
1970	38.7	6.0	0.5
1975	42.8	12.3	1.2
1980	43.2	22.8	4.5
1985	47.3	28.3	8.1

(Source: derived from the tables in section 4)

2.4 Why have enrolments increased?

2.41 The aspirations of African parents

Although Verwoerd in 1953 emphasised that there would be no education for Africans beyond a very basic level, this speech was designed to placate the National Party constituency among the white working class, who feared job competition from educated and skilled Africans, and among white farmers who feared educated Africans would leave the land and jeopardise their labour supply. Although funds for Bantu Education were limited, the regime did not prevent African parents keeping their children in school and indeed as the ideology of separate development was elaborated in the 1960s self-financed and locally-managed schools for Africans were encouraged and subsidised.

In the 1950s and 1960s the growth in enrolments is largely the result of the mass concern of the people with acquiring education for their children, often at great financial cost. The preponderance of enrolments at lower primary level reflects the great difficulties of parents in keeping children in school for more than four years when every extra wage earned, even by young children, was essential to household survival.

2.42 The growing demand for skilled labour

From the late 1960s and early 1970s the regime became increasingly concerned with the provision of more highly-skilled African labour, partly in order to administer and develop the bantustans, and partly to meet the growing demand of the corporate sector for a more differentiated labour force. More funds were made available to Bantu Education; simultaneously there were wage increases for African workers, removing some of the pressures for young people to go out to work. It is from this period that the significant increases in higher primary and secondary enrolments date.

2.43 Winning hearts and minds

After the uprising of 1976-77, the regime was concerned both to repress future rebellion in schools and to use schools in order to create a larger skilled, professional and managerial class of Africans both inside and outside the bantustans with a stake in the apartheid system, a class which, it was believed, would be more politically compliant and which would assist in imposing political order. Thus there has been a phenomenal growth in secondary school enrolments, particularly in senior secondary enrolments. These pupils' education is largely financed through bursaries provided by the regime, although the corporate sector, both local and foreign-owned, has also contributed significant funds.

3. The quantum leap in secondary and tertiary education

The regime believed that skilled workers and an educated African middle class would bolster it politically, contribute to economic growth and thus help secure a climate of economic and political stability. Huge resources have been invested in secondary and tertiary education and enrolments at this level of education took a quantum leap from the mid-1970s, although the mass of school leavers remained semi-literate.

3.1 The growing proportion of pupils who reached Std 10

In the 1950s and 1960s very few pupils reached Std 10 and very little money was invested in senior secondary education for Africans. However, by the mid-1970s this was changing dramatically:

Table 3
% of pupils enrolled in Std 1 reaching Std 10

1953-64	0.8
1955-66	1.1
1960-71	1.7
*1965-75	3.0
1970-80	9.5
1975-85	12.0

*The total of years in schooling was decreased by one year in 1975; Std 6 was not taught twice in the vernacular and English/Afrikaans as it had been.

(Sources: Derived from Statistical Yearbook 1964, DBE 1965, 1968, 1973, 1977, and SA Statistics 1986)

It can be seen that compared to 1965 three times the number of pupils who were in Std 1 in 1970 reached Std 10 a decade later, and that the proportion had increased by a third by 1985, although it still remained small overall.

An even more dramatic increase can be seen in the proportion of pupils who reached Std 10 having enrolled in Std 6.

The table shows that in the 1950s and 1960s a tiny percentage of pupils who

enrolled in Std 6 reached Std 10. This percentage began to increase in the 1970s, but made its quantum leap in the 1980s, when NEARLY HALF the pupils who enrolled in Std 6 reached Std 10.

Table 4
% of pupils enrolled in Std 6 (Form 1) reaching Std 10

1953-57	3.7
1955-59	5.4
1960-64	5.4
1965-69	9.1
1970-74	13.6
1975-79	*10.23
1980-84	37.65
1981-85	39.39
1982-86	43.18

*The figure for this year is artificially low because Transkei enrolments were excluded in that year.

(Sources: Statistical Yearbook 1964; DBE 1965, 1971, 1977 Annual Report; figure from DBE 1977; SA Statistics 1986 Verwey & Carstens)

3.2 Matriculants

Table 5
African matriculation results

	Matric pass without exemption	Matric pass with exemption	Total matrics
1953	157	175	332
1955	191	274	465
1960	118	279	397
1965	504	323	827
1970	1741	1104	2845
1975	3015	3686	6761
1980	16203	6447	22650
1981	22220	6803	29023
1982	26954	7005	33959
1983	31687	8128	39815
1984	32221	9727	41948
1985	28741	9958	38699

(Source: 1953-1960 from DBE 1973; 1965 figures from DBE 1965; 1970-1980 from Pillay p 19; 1981-1985 from Carstens and Verwey)

The matriculation examination has for decades been used as the most important

test of academic skills and the entrance qualification to the skilled, professional and managerial labour market. In the 1950s and 1960s only a handful of Africans wrote this exam, the majority gaining matric exemption and entrance to university. In the 1970s and 1980s this picture has changed. More than ten times the number of pupils passed matric in 1985, compared to 1970. However, the large decline in the proportion of pupils gaining matric exemption must be noted. It appears that the mass of Std 10 pupils are being directed into skilled artisanal, clerical and lower-grade professional work (like teaching and nursing), while only a minority are equipped for university entrance and higher level professional qualification.

3.3 Tertiary education

3.31 University education

The figures for African university enrolment show similar large increases, doubling by the mid-1960s, doubling again by 1970, and then increasing more than four-fold in the decade 1970-1980, and more than doubling again in the five years 1980-1985.

Table 6
University enrolment: total number of African students

1955	1521
1960	1792
1965	2634
1970	4609
1975	9181
1980	18720
1981	20681
1982	24426
1983	33361
1984	40850
1985	49164

(Source: Pillay p 21 for 1970-1980; 1960-65 from SA Statistics 1986; 1955 figure from Statistical Yearbook 1964. SAIRR for 1981-85)

The pace in the increase in university enrolments is most marked in the decades that the regime has felt most threatened, the 1970s and 1980s, and has placed most stress on the need for the development of an African professional and managerial class to contain the political demands of the masses.

3.32 Tertiary vocational training

Much slower growth can be seen in the number of enrolments in tertiary vocational training in the 1970s, possibly reflecting extensive on-the-job training and

opposition from the white working class which has long dominated skilled artisanal work. It is difficult to compile comparative material for the 1980s because all available statistics exclude the TBVC bantustans.

Table 7
Enrolment in tertiary vocational training

	Trade vocational and technical training	Teacher training	Total vocational training
1953		6344	
1955	2237	5899	8136
1960	1734	4292	6026
1965	2730	4548	7278
1970	3652	7548	11200
1975	4607	15563	20170

(Sources: SA Statistics 1986; 1953 figure from SA Statistical Yearbook 1964)

3.4 Some results of increases in senior secondary and tertiary education

The growing numbers of Africans with matric, tertiary vocational training or university education have had marked political consequences.

While in the 1950s national organisation of opposition to apartheid was hampered by difficulties of communication, in the 1980s the growing number of highly educated organisers has provided valuable expertise to the mass democratic movement and considerably contributed to the development of organisations on a national level.

The growth in literacy has led to a mass readership developing for the alternative press, community and trade union newspapers, and opposition journals and newspapers with national distribution.

The increase in a highly educated section of the African population, many employed in the bantustan civil service, has brought challenges to the old chiefly power bases of the bantustan leaders and made for a highly volatile political situation in those bantustans.

The education struggle in the 1980s has focused not only on a thorough-going critique of Bantu Education in terms of its inadequacies in finance and curriculum, but also on demands for a new kind of education, linked to the national liberation struggle, democratic in content and organisation, grounded in popular demands for education.

This shift in emphasis and widening of education demands appears to have emerged out of the debates and discussions of senior secondary and tertiary level students, a numerically and politically significant group in the 1980s.

4. School enrolment by sex

The tables in this section highlight some important differences in the enrolment patterns of boys and girls. While boys outnumber girls in enrolments in lower primary school and have done so for decades, girls consistently outnumber boys in higher primary and lower secondary school. Boys used to form the majority of pupils in Stds 9 and 10 (senior secondary school), but from 1980 girls reached parity with boys, and in subsequent years outnumbered them. The reasons for these differences in enrolment pattern require further research.

4.1 4.1 Boys outnumber girls in lower primary school (SSA to Std 2)

Table 8
Enrolment by school phase and sex ('000s)

	Male	%	Female	%Total	
1955	365.4	50.0	365.7	50.0	731.1
1960	559.6	51.1	535.7	48.9	1095.3
*1965	684.0	51.4	647.1	48.6	1331.1
1970	967.9	51.4	917.0	48.6	1884.9
1975	1214.7	51.3	1151.1	48.7	2365.8
1980	1450.6	51.1	1386.6	48.9	2837.2
1981	1523.2	51.4	1437.7	48.6	2960.9
1982	1555.4	51.1	1486.7	48.9	3042.1
1983	1605.5	51.0	1541.2	49.0	3146.7
1984	1650.3	51.1	1578.0	48.9	3228.3
1985	1675.2	51.2	1597.1	48.8	3272.3
1986	1700.2	51.2	1617.5	48.8	3317.7

*1964 figure

4.2 Girls outnumber boys in higher primary school and lower secondary school

Table 9
Enrolment by sex in lower secondary school: Std 6-Std 8 ('000s)

	Male	%	Female	%	Total
1955	108.5	45.4	130.6	54.6	239.1
1960	169.7	47.0	191.3	53.0	361.0
*1965	220.5	47.4	244.6	52.6	465.1
1970	346.9	47.5	383.1	52.5	730.0
1975	481.0	47.5	532.0	52.5	1013.0
1980	586.5	47.8	640.2	52.2	1226.7
1981	604.2	47.3	671.9	52.7	1276.1
1982	630.1	46.7	718.9	53.3	1349.0
1983	664.9	47.5	734.7	52.5	1399.6
1984	701.3	47.7	769.6	52.3	1470.9
1985	740.6	47.8	807.2	52.2	1547.8
1986	781.8	48.0	846.6	52.0	1628.4

Table 10

Enrolment by sex in lower secondary school: Std 6-Std 8 ('000s)

	Male	%	Female	%	Total
1955	15.5	47.5	17.1	52.5	32.6
1960	22.1	48.6	23.4	51.4	45.5
*1965	28.5	49.0	29.7	51.0	58.2
1970	51.5	45.5	61.8	54.5	113.3
1975	130.3	44.7	161.0	55.3	291.3
1980	286.1	44.3	359.8	55.7	645.9
1981	297.2	44.0	377.7	56.0	674.9
1982	320.2	44.0	407.4	56.0	727.6
1983	354.5	44.2	447.2	55.8	801.7
1984	384.1	44.2	484.3	55.8	868.4
1985	413.1	44.6	513.7	55.4	926.8
1986	439.3	44.8	540.5	55.2	979.8

*1964 figure

4.3 The changing pattern of senior secondary enrolments

Table 11

Enrolments by sex in senior secondary school: Stds 9-10 ('000s)

	Male	%	Female	%	Total
1955	1.6	80.0	0.4	20.0	2.0
1960	1.9	73.0	0.7	27.0	2.6
*1965	2.7	73.0	1.0	27.0	3.7
1970	6.2	68.0	2.9	32.0	9.1
1975	16.6	60.8	10.7	39.2	27.3
1980	63.9	49.9	64.1	50.1	128.0
1981	71.9	44.7	89.1	55.3	161.0
1982	84.4	45.6	100.5	54.4	184.9
1983	91.0	46.0	108.6	54.0	199.6
1984	104.2	45.7	124.0	54.3	228.2
1985	121.0	45.5	145.2	54.5	266.2
1986	141.5	45.5	169.8	54.5	311.3

*1964 figure

(Sources for all tables in this section: 1955 & 1960 figures from Statistical Year-book 1964; 1965 figure from South African Statistics, 1970; 1970 & 1975 figures from SA Statistics 1986; 1980-84 from Verwey; 1985-6 from Carstens)

5. Bantustan policy and schooling

The bantustans have played a crucial role in the expansion of primary and secon-dary education. From 1970 the majority of primary school enrolments have been in the bantustans, while the vast majority of secondary school enrolments have

always been in the bantustans and the proportion of secondary enrolments outside the bantustans has been falling since 1975. By 1985, 70% of primary school children and nearly 73% of secondary school children were enrolled in schools in the bantustans.

Table 12
Primary enrolments by region ('000s)

	Non-bantustan	%	Bantustan	%	Total
1953					852.0
1955	537.1	56.9	406.9	43.1	944.0
1960	762.0	52.3	696.0	47.7	1458.0
1965	887.5	48.4	945.5	51.6	1833.0
1970	1044.4	39.9	1571.0	60.1	2615.4
1975	1263.8	37.4	2115.1	62.6	3378.9
1980	1307.0	32.2	2756.9	67.8	4063.9
1981	1364.0	32.2	2865.6	67.8	4229.6
1982	1415.5	32.2	2975.6	67.8	4391.1
1983	1406.6	30.9	3139.6	69.1	4546.2
1984	1422.8	30.3	3276.4	69.7	4699.2
1985	1431.9	29.7	3388.2	70.3	4820.1

Table 13
Secondary enrolments by region ('000s)

	Non-bantustan	%	Bantustan	%	Total
1953					30.7
1955	14.5	41.5	20.5	58.5	35.0
1960	22.7	48.2	24.4	51.8	47.0
1965	23.9	36.4	41.7	63.6	65.6
1970	42.9	35.0	79.6	65.0	122.5
1975	96.7	30.4	221.8	69.6	318.5
1980	211.9	27.4	562.1	72.6	774.0
1981	226.0	27.2	603.7	72.8	829.7
1982	255.1	28.0	657.4	72.0	912.5
1983	273.3	27.3	727.9	72.7	1001.2
1984	301.5	27.5	795.2	72.5	1096.7
1985	325.0	27.2	867.9	72.8	1192.9

(Source: Verwey 1980-84; 1970 & 1975 calculated from Blignaut tables 3.2, 3.1 & 3.4; totals 1953 & 1965 from A R De Lange; non-bantustan primary and secondary enrolments 1981 & 1982 from SA Digest Feb 26 1982 p 9; 1985 figures from Carstens; 1955 figures from Horrell (1963); 1960 figure from SAIS; 1955 figure calculated from SAIRR 1957-8; 1960 figure calculated from Horrell (1964); 1965 primary figure calculated from DBE 1967 and SAIRR 1968; 1965

1965 secondary figure calculated from SAIRR 1966. Before the 1970s it is difficult to find exact figures for the bantustans; the figures here have been worked out from regional figures.)

5.1 Schooling and the growth in bantustan population

The high proportion of school enrolments in the bantustans is partly the result of the growth in bantustan population. The population of the bantustans has increased nearly threefold since 1960, while the non-bantustan population has grown by only one-and-a-half times its 1960 size as a result of very stringent influx control, forced removal and the redrawing of bantustan boundaries.

To underscore its policies of separate development in the 1960s and 1970s the regime decreed that all expansion of higher primary and secondary education would take place in the bantustans, partly as a means of forcing people into bantustans to get schooling. From the mid-1960s, the expansion of secondary school education in the bantustans was used as a form of influx control. Children sent to school in the bantustans often found it difficult to claim urban residence or work rights.

5.2 Building up the bantustans' infrastructure

Another part of the regime's strategy in expanding African educational provision in the bantustans was as a means of building up the infrastructure of schools and colleges in the bantustans, thus increasing their chance, it was believed, of being accepted as 'national states'. In addition, a civil service, educated in the bantustans able to administer the 'nation states', became central to attempts to defuse wider political aspirations in the late 1960s and 1970s.

5.3 Education in the bantustans: the need for the expansion of the education struggle

To date the major part of sustained militant action against Bantu Education has taken place in non-bantustan secondary, and to some extent primary, schools. Students in these schools are linked to civic associations, street committees, the UDF and the NECC and have been courageous in their defiance of the regime and creative in their development of people's education. However, they are not the majority of pupils.

Although there is far less information about the bantustans it appears it has not been easy for students to organise and campaign in these areas and that wider community links have been less strong. The repression is acute in the bantustans and, with the exception of the Eastern Cape bantustans, all have youth groups, organised by the ruling parties in the bantustans, often based in schools, who will terrorise progressive students. An important task in the education struggle is developing the campaign for people's education and organisation around education in the bantustans.

6. Financing Bantu Education

6.1 Spending on African education

The table shows the total spending by the regime on African education since 1953.

Table 14

Spending on African education, 1953-1985 (R-million)

	Total expenditure	Expenditure in constant 1975 value of the Rand
1953	16.0	32.8
1955	15.8	36.0
1960	19.5	38.8
1965	24.9	46.6
1970	66.3	86.2
1975	160.2	160.2
1980	553.0	302.8
1981	737.1	359.6
1982	929.0	398.0
1983	1173.3	447.5
1984	1342.3	458.4
1985	1816.0	533.6

(Source: Total expenditure 1953-65 from Horrell (1968), 1970 figure from Blignaut; 1975 figure from Rourkens De Lange; 1980 figure from Verwey; 1981-82 figure from SAIRR and BENSO; 1983-4 figure from SAIRR; 1985 figure from Carstens; 1953-75 constants from Rourkens De Lange; 1980-85 constants calculated from index of changing value of the rand in SA Statistics 1986)

It is clear that in the 1950s and 1960s there was hardly any increase in spending despite the expansion in enrolments. In fact the per capita educational expenditure fell in the 1950s and early 1960s and only started to rise at the end of that decade.

In the 1970s and 1980s, there have been dramatic increases in the amounts the regime spends on African education. From the mid-1960s, the level of education finance began to rise and the per capita pupil expenditure **more than doubled** between 1965 and 1970. Just before the Soweto uprising the total spending on African education was NEARLY FIVE TIMES as great as it had been in 1960. The substantial increases in finance for Bantu Education of the decade 1965-1975, however, appear minimal when placed next to the increases of the following decade. Total spending has increased nearly tenfold, although if inflation is taken into account the increase is four times the size of the 1975 expenditure. While these increases in spending are dramatic and indicate a new approach to African education, they still fall far short of the amounts needed to provide even

universal primary school education.

Table 15
Expenditure on African Education per Pupil, 1953-85

1953	17.08
1955	15.68
1960	13.60
1965	12.70
1970	47.64
1975	50.00
1980	87.27
1981	111.36
1982	125.93
1983	164.00
1984	214.00
1985	293.86

Sources:
1953-65 from Horrell, p38; 1975 figure from SAIRR (1976) and Carstens 1985; 1980-82 from SAIRR (1983); 1983-4 figure from SAIRR (1984); 1985 figure from Carstens.

6.2 Bantustan Spending on Education

The dimensions of bantustan spending on education can be gauged from the following tables. Many bantustans spend more on education per capita than is spent outside the bantustans, although a number spend significantly less. However, in 1985 there was a huge increase in the per capita amounts spent on education in the DET region outside the bantustans.

Table 16
African Education in Independent Bantustans 1980-1985

	Transkei	Bop.	Venda	Ciskei
1980	102.00	80.00	114.00	106.00
1981	113.00	97.00	138.00	133.00
1982	147.91	173.28	115.81	146.49
1983	171.97	245.64	180.00	187.93
1984	175.77	284.84	252.00	214.98
1985	270.57	277.13	343.99	329.04

Source: 1980-81 JS; 1983-4 from SAIRR (1985) p.368; 1982 figures and 1983 figures for Transkei and Bophuthatswana from SAIRR (1984) p.649; 1984 figures for Venda and Ciskei and 1985 figures calculated from SAIRR 1985 and Carstens 1986).

Table 17
Per Capita Pupil Expenditure on Education by Non-Independent Bantustans 1980-1985

	KwaZulu	QwaQwa	KwaNdebele	Lebowa	KaNgwane	Gazankulu
1980	75.00	111.00	77.00	67.00	88.00	95.00
1981	92.00	172.00	124.00	81.00	112.00	96.00
1982	126.00	182.28	122.45	122.70	129.00	127.07
1983	129.17	217.08	112.80	133.60	132.00	145.18
1984	149.36	276.13	169.22	135.97	165.46	220.02
1985	198.42	344.29	180.97	186.08	203.17	265.15

Source: 1983 and 1984 figures from SAIRR (1985) p.368; 1982 figures from SAIRR (1984) p.649; 1980 and 1981 figures from BENSO 1982; 1985 figures calculated from SAIRR 19855 and Carstens 1986).

Table 18
Non-Bantustan Expenditure per Pupil on African Education 1953-1985

1970	*17.97
1975	40.00
1980	78.00
1981	140.00
1982	118.00
1983	146.00
1984	167.00
1985	411.00

* Figure for 1969-70. Figure for 1970-71 not available.
Source: 1970 figure Blignaut Table 1.2; 1975-84 WUS; 1985 figure calculated from SAIRR 1985 and Carstens 1986).

6.3 Expenditure on Bantu Education as a Proportion of Total Government Spending

The growing importance attached by the regime to the use of the education system to create the conditions of political stability is evident from the figures on spending on African education as a proportion of total government spending.

From Table 19, it can be seen that African education, once a minimal item of expenditure in the regime's budget, is now an item of considerable importance. In 1985/6 and 1986/7 the regime spent more on education for all 'races' than it spent on the SADF, although the total spending on all repressive forces (police, prisons, military, security service) still outstrips education spending.

Table 19
Expenditure on African Education as % Total Government Spending 1953-1985 (R-millions)

Spending	Education Spending	Total Govt. % total govt. spending	Education as
1953	16.00		0.57
1955	15.80		0.49
1960	19.50	655	3.00
1965	24.90	653	3.80
1970	66.30	1993	3.30
1975	160.2	5157	3.10
1980	553.00	11542	4.80
1981	737.1	14394	5.10
1982	929.0	18132	5.10
1983	1173.3	21481	5.50
1984	1342.3	25357	5.30
1985	1816	31144	5.80

Source: 1953 figure from Bunting; 1975 figure calculated from Blignaut 1.1 & 1.3; 1980 and 1981 figures from Shindler; 1955 figure derived from totals for 1958-9, 1960 figure derived from totals for 1961-2: SAIRR (1965) p.242; 1970 figures calculated from Blignaut and Nattras, p.233; 1982-85 figures from Carstens 1986 and SAIRR 1983-5; 1965 figure from SAIRR 1965 and 1966 and SA Reserve Bank Quarterly Bulletin. Total government spending 1980-85 from SAIRR 1980-86.

6.4 Spending on African and White Education

The increase in finance for African education has partly taken place because of a decrease in the proportion of state funding for white education. While in absolute terms more money is still spent on the education of the numerically smaller white population, the proportion of state finance for white education has declined from 67% of all educational spending in 1975 to 52% in 1985. The proportion of all educational funds spent on African education has increased from 17% in 1975 to 31% in 1985. The changes in educational legislation and policy made in the wake of the 1984 Educational Affairs Act removed the white population's right to free education, while expanding provision for free stationery and text books for all African schools, in response to one of the demands of COSAS. Perceptions of decline in white education have been a major political issue taken up by the very far right parties like the Conservative Party and the HNP in poorer white constituencies.

6.5 Administrative Mechanisms of Financing Bantu Education

The initial stage of financing of African education was extremely meagre. It was carried out in accordance with strict principles of racial segregation and in accordance with beliefs in African self-advancement. This contrasts markedly with the current thinking on advancing large amounts for African education through the central revenue funds and using general revenue to establish a common administrative structure for certain features of the education system for all 'races'.

6.5.1 Limited Revenues for Bantu Education in the 1950s and 1960s

As a result of the Exchequer Audit Amendment Act of 1955, a Bantu Education account was established which was to be the only source of official finance for African education. The revenues paid into this account came from:

i) Four-fifths of the general poll tax paid by Africans.
ii) A fixed contribution from the general revenue account of R13-million.
iii) Receipts from boarding fees, school feeding schemes etc run by individual schools.
iv) Occasional advances from parliament to meet the deficits on this account. In 1963-4 the contribution from African general tax was increased to the total amount of tax paid.

6.5.2 Limited Finance: How did they pay for the expansion of enrolment?

This very limited financing remained the mechanism of finance until 1970. How, then, was the huge increase in school building and school enrolments of the middle and late 1960s carried out?

Partly it was possible because of the mass recruitment of less qualified women teachers, a conscious strategy to keep down costs; partly also it was financed through double session teaching in schools, which reduced the need to pay for extra buildings and extra staff. But mostly it was financed by African communities and who paid a section of their rent in townships towards the construction of schools, who undertook the building of schools in bantustans, raising the funds themselves, who employed extra teachers charging a direct fee to the parents. Parents had responsibility for buying all books for their school-going children and children had to carry out the jobs of cleaners and caretakers in their schools.

6.5.3 Manoeuvres to Secure more Finance

Only towards the end of the 1960s did the regime consider that the Bantu Education Department should begin to contribute to the expansion of African education. More funds were made available through DBE borrowing from the general revenue account and responsibility for the pay of senior bureaucrats in the DBE was removed from the Bantu Education Account to the Consolidated Revenue Fund (Finance Act of 1968).

By 1970 the amounts owed by the DBE to the consolidated revenue account were so large that the contribution of the Consolidated Revenue Fund to the Bantu Education Account was increased to R17-million. In 1969 the Bantu Taxation Act reduced the amount of poll tax paid by each African, but increased the amount of income tax, thus somewhat increasing the revenues available for the Bantu Education Account. Local authorities were given a wider brief for imposing levies on township tenants for school buildings.

6.5.4 Financing Educational Expansion in the Bantustans

Substantial funds were made available to bantustans for the financing of education and the costs of building all schools in the bantustans were no longer to be borne by the Bantu Education Account and were to be financed from a grant-in-aid from the DBE to the SABT. Additional funds were also made available direct to bantustan ministries and administrative staff were seconded to them from various sections of the civil service.

6.5.5 Increasing Finance for Massive Expansion: the 1970s and the 1980s

However, all these piecemeal attempts to make more funds available to African education obviously could not secure expansion on the scale the regime came to require economically by the 1970s and to consider politically essential by the end of that decade. In 1972 the Bantu Education Account Abolition Act abolished the account and wrote off its debts to the consolidated revenue fund. Henceforth, African education was to be financed out of general revenue. This legislation paved the way for the considerable growth in spending in the next decade and a half. Finance for African education henceforth came not only out of the funds voted to the Department of Bantu Education (later DET), but also from the finances of bantustans, military expenditure, and in the 1980s from the considerable funds made available, sometimes by secret financial votes, to the Joint Management Committees (JMCs).

6.6 Phases of Increase in State Finance

There are two phases of increase in state funding for African education: the late 1960s and the later 1970s.

6.6.1 Phase 1: Increasing Finance and the Creation of a Differentially Skilled Labour Force

The first concerted effort to increase the finances available to African education is linked to demands for a more skilled workforce, particularly in the bantustans, but also in non-bantustan urban areas. A generally higher level of numeracy and literacy was required of some workers, which on-the-job technical training schemes could not supply. The provision of finance for the education of a section of workers, however, should not obscure the fact that large numbers of workers

had — and continue to have — minimal schooling or are illiterate and unskilled. Education, like housing and access to the urban labour market — has been used in an attempt to divide the African workforce and to differentiate between skilled and unskilled workers.

Phase Two: Paying to Win Hearts and Minds

In the second period, after the Soweto uprising, it has been important for the regime to continue financing African education at a higher rate because of economic demands for a more skilled black workforce and the corresponding political belief that skilled workers create economic growth which is itself considered a condition of political stability. But it has also become increasingly important for the regime to use education as a direct means of 'creating social stability'.

In the context of the development of the 'Total Strategy' and the regime's attempt to co-opt significant sections of the black population, educational advancement and meeting certain limited demands of a section of the people are of great importance to the regime. The role of the military, both in suppressing popular opposition and in providing funds for education and additional teachers, is also crucial. However, the inadequacies of Bantu Education that increases in funding have so far not been able to eliminate, and the long history of opposition to the Bantu Education system, have not enabled the regime so far to succeed in its co-optive strategy.

7. Administration

7.1 Centralisation and Administrative Control

The Department of Bantu Education, established in 1953, combined centralised bureaucratic control over educational planning, examinations and registration of schools with regional directorates controlling teachers and inspecting schools and local school boards and school committees managing schools, employing teachers and planning and carrying out the building of new schools.

7.2 Local Management to the mid-1970s

In bantustans the school committees consisted of two members appointed by the Secretary of Bantu Education and five members appointed by the tribal authority or the chief (two to represent the chief and three to represent the parents). In urban townships outside bantustans the school committees consisted of two nominees of the local Bantu Commissioner, two nominees of the Secretary of Bantu Education and four elected representatives of the parents. The school boards, which employed the teachers, were made up of nominees of the tribal authority in rural areas and nominees of the Secretary of Bantu Education and the Bantu Commissioner in urban areas with the parent members of school committees electing four members of the board in their area. It can be seen that the considerable decentralisation did not entail any great democratisation as control of school

committees and boards remained with the bantustan authorities in rural areas, and to a lesser extent, with the local Bantu Commissioners in urban areas.

It was precisely the susceptibility of township school committees and school boards to popular pressures and demands that led to the virtual collapse of the system in 1976-7, when a large number of school boards and committees resigned in protest at the actions of the DBE in that year. When the DBE was restructured according to the legislation of 1979, school boards and school committees in urban townships had their powers drastically curtailed and provision was made for the minister to assume their functions if he deemed it necessary.

7.3 Administration in the Bantustans with 'Self-rule' and 'Independence'

In the bantustans, beginning with the Transkei in 1963, education was administered by the bantustan bureaucracies, which themselves abolished school committees and school boards. With the establishment of bantustan legislative assemblies, some policy making, particularly on curriculum and terms of employment of teachers, were assumed by the bantustans. In all the bantustans education ministries were established, which administered the major part of the education system in each bantustan, although the DET continued to administer the matriculation examination, to oversee special schools, and to attempt to co-ordinate policy. Differences emerged between bantustans, with some introducing the syllabus taught in white schools. Some, like KwaZulu, developed their own syllabus, while others continued to administer their education departments along the lines of the DET.

7.4 Enlarging the Powers of the DET: the 1978 Bantu Education Amendment Act and the 1979 Education and Training Act

In 1978 and 1979 key features of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 were replaced by new legislation. Education policy was no longer to be decided in parliament but by the Minister of Education and Training, in consultation with an Advisory Council for Education, consisting of 20 appointed members. The Minister was given the power to establish or dis-establish state and community schools. Community schools, erected by local African communities and managed by school boards and committees, could be taken over by the Minister and converted into state schools, as in fact happened.

Local management of schools became much more consultative and less managerial. The Minister acquired the powers to replace a school board or committee with his own appointee, and divested these local committees of their powers to employ teachers. From 1979 all teachers were employed directly by DET and subject to its disciplinary code. The Minister assumed direct control over the syllabuses taught and the examinations set.

7.5 Educational Administration under the 1983 Constitution

The constitutional changes of 1983 provided for education to be both a general

affair — insofar as it touched on matters common to all races — and an 'own affair', with separate ministries for each race. However, African education was termed a 'general affair', again a possible indicator of the crucial weight the regime gave this area of administration.

The National Policy for General Educational Affairs Act of 1984 created a general Department of National Education to formulate policy and planning in the fields of educational finance, employment of staff and examinations for all races in South Africa. Plans are well advanced for the establishment of a single examination board for all races in South Africa and for a central registration body which will employ all teachers. The Department of National Education is advised on policy by a number of appointed committees.

The DET, headed by a member of the Cabinet, continues to administer African education outside the bantustans. Policy on African education is formulated both within the Cabinet and in a number of advisory committees, like the President's Council, and interdepartmental executive committees, many with a strong military presence. The extent to which African education policy is integral to the general framework for African administration was illustrated by the merging of the DET with the much truncated Department of Co-operation and Development (formerly Bantu Administration) in 1984. The Minister of Education and Training is also the Minister of Co-operation and Development.

7.6 Regional Liaison Across Bantustan Boundaries

In the 1980s the policy of bantustan independence has been reappraised by the regime. Instead of the vision of a balkanised South Africa that was predominant in the 1970s, strategies have now been devised for regional development and co-ordinated policy formulation between adjacent bantustan and non-bantustan areas.

In 1984, following recommendations contained in the De Lange Commission Report, the DET and the non-independent bantustans set up a joint structure for the co-ordination of educational affairs. Policy matters would be discussed and decided on by a conference of ministers of education and a working group of heads of education departments would consult on implementation. A permanent secretariat was established to liaise between individual departments. In 1985 the Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education announced a conference to be held twice a year under the auspices of his department at which general educational issues would be discussed and to which the education ministers of the 'independent' bantustans would be invited.

7.7 The SADF Takes a Hand: JMCs and Educational Administration

There is evidence that some of the local planning for African education, particularly in the wake of the mass student militancy of 1984-5, is being carried out by the JMC-appointed bodies on which local businessmen and security force representatives sit, as part of the National Security Management System.

The JMCs, which operate at local level with central direction, have both a security section and a welfare section. The security section co-ordinates with military commanders and has probably been partly responsible for the use of the military in attacking and terrorising students, detaining student leaders, preventing the dissemination of people's education materials in schools and regularly patrolling schools inside and outside the bantustans.

The welfare section, also acting in consultation with the military, has organised re-education centres for ex-detainees, often co-ordinating with the DET, and has made considerable funds available for repairing and upgrading certain schools. The hearts and minds approach to African education is a key element in the regime's present security strategy.

8. The Changing Nature of the Education Struggle

The changing nature of Bantu Education has had important repercussions for the changing nature of the education struggle.

8.1 The Freedom Charter and the Education Struggle

In the 1950s, when only a small proportion of African children went to school, there were only a few thousand who had wider access to education. The Freedom Charter calls for the doors of learning and culture to be opened, without discussing in detail what the nature of that learning and culture should be. The general clauses of the Freedom Charter establish the basis of a future education system in democracy, equal rights and freedom of speech, while the education clauses stress the need for universal access to education and for an education aimed at developing national pride, universal brotherhood, and aspirations to liberty and peace.

8.2 Education Demands in 1976-7

In the student uprising of 1976-7, when hundreds of thousands of children were at school and secondary enrolments had increased dramatically, there was a general condemnation of Bantu Education in terms of its content, with less stress placed on access to education and more attention given to the provision of facilities. But at that stage an alternative educational vision was not strongly articulated.

8.3 The Context of the Struggle for People's Education: Resistance to Reformism

In the 1980s the demand for people's education as a wholly different system of education in terms of content and organisation, integrally linked to the process of national liberation, has emerged.

As the regime itself provides greater access to education, the mass democratic movement stresses democratisation of education, the transformation of the curriculum and the links between education and the wider struggle against apartheid. Educational transformation is not seen as a distant goal to be achieved after the

abolition of apartheid, but as something to be struggled for in the process of national liberation.

The regime's strategy of using Bantu Education to win hearts and minds has been challenged and rejected on a massive scale, but the regime continues to see this as an important objective, hence its large investment in education and its violent attacks on the student movement, the youth, and the leadership of educational organisations like the NECC. The centrality of education policy to the regime's strategy poses pressing questions for the future of the education struggle and its integration with the national liberation movement.