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A CRITICAL ANALYSIS ON BANTU SCHOOL BOARDS, 1954-1978:
LOCAL ADMINISTRATION OF BLACK EDUCATION
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A CRITICAL ANALYSIS ON BANTU SCHOOL BOARDS, 1954-1978: LOCAL ADMINISTRATION OF BLACK EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

By

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ABSTRACT

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS ON BANTU SCHOOL BOARDS, 1954-1978: LOCAL ADMINITRATION OF BLACK EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

By

Canaan Jabulani Buthelezi

The literature on Black education in South Africa is replete with structuralist studies that ascribe all the ills of Black education to policy-makers, especially on the Minister of Bantu Affairs, Verwoerd This literature deletes Blacks from making their own history. Critical analysis of Bantu School Boards focuses on a multiplicity of interactions that produced a configural constellation that shaped Bantu School Board.

The period from 1954 to 1987 marks the apogee of apartheid with its quasi-liberationist statutory bodies governing the Black lives. The Bantu Education Act No, 47 of 1953 created governing councils, school committees and school boards for the local administration of Black schools. These bodies have a long history in South Africa. They were not introduced by Bantu Education. They existed in White schools in the Cape, the Orange Free State and in the Transvaal. Blacks expressed a desire for school boards in Black education to the Native Education Commission of 1883. The African National Congress in 1941, and some Liberal Whites from 1925 expressed the same desire. Boards introduced in 1954 were tainted by the apartheid politics that excluded Africans

from power, properties and progress. Though opposed by most Blacks, Bantu Education and school broads came into being within the White partenalistic framework.

On paper the functions of the boards were educationally sound, but the implementation was marred by contradictory bureaucratic practices and by board-members incompetence. Board members were not trained for their new positions. They were expected to build school but they had no guidelines for that function. For instance, White local authorities were custodians of the funds for building schools in urban areas, while White magistrates known as Bantu Commissioners were custodians of the funds for building school in rural areas. Most of those White bureaucrats decide to let sleeping dogs lie. This study found that the managerial skills of board-members were inadequate for most of the tasks they were expected to execute. If they had been adequately prepared, they would have performed their tasks better. The researcher tested the legislation for funding of buildings for schools in urban areas and in rural areas. In both areas, he built schools though the White officials had not been prepared for releasing funds for building of Black schools. Noting the weakness of top-down and rational comprehensive model as implemented in founding school boards, this study argues for the founding of effective, efficient and proactive local administrative bodies which will empower as much as possible street level policy-implementers. The designation "school boards", however, should avoided in the new South Africa.

Dedications

This work is dedicated to:
To the memory of my father,
Maliwa Daniel kaLamula kaDeke Buthelezi

And to my mother,
Kate, Toto MaMwelase kaSoshikazi kaGawozi
Who taught me hard work, commitment and integrity;
Whose monumental strife and love for the righteous
Instilled in their ten children the value of education.

To my beloved wife
Sybil, Mazo, Thembekile MaDlamini Buthelezi
Who has always been my pillar of strength

To my daughter and sons
S'thokoziso, Shenge and Mangaliso
Who taught me Love, Friendship and Parenthood.

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pertaining to building schools for Blacks. They made it possible for us to build Buhle Buyeza Secondary School and Amakholwa High School. I thank the students of both high schools for giving me the honor to be their advocate and facilitate the building those two schools. You were great students!

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INTRODUCTION

The Problem

One of the problems of Black education has always been fragmentation with little coordination at the local level and little or no participation by parents, teachers and students in local educational administration. To bring about the coordination of educational activities, the Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953[1] created Bantu School Boards. These school boards received so much opposition that they were abolished in the late 1970s after Soweto students had demanded the resignation of all members of the boards and other statutory bodies in Soweto. In 1977 it was alleged that Tietsi Mashinini, the president of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), maintained that "Black Power had shaken the infra-structure of South Africa by doing away with Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, doing away with Urban Bantu Council (UBC) and doing away with certain school boards."[2]

The gap created by the abolition of school boards and other Black local administrative bodies gave rise to a proliferation of local community organizations, popularly known "crisis committees" as "grassroots organizations" or "people's organization." These organizations were not primarily concerned with education per se, but included education in their activities. The activities of these committees ranged from labor disputes, rent boycott, political activities such as supporting political organizations and other societal problems. In Soweto alone:

> the list is mammoth and includes the Committee of 10, Soweto Students' League, Soweto Civic Association, Soweto Action Committee, Soweto Resident Committee, Teachers' Action Committee, Congress of South African Students (COSAS), Azanian Students' Organization (AZASO), Azanian Students' Movement (AZASM), Black Priest Solidarity Group, Independent African Ministers' Association of South Africa (IDAMASA) and the Black Parents Association.[3]

Numerous parent-teacher-students associations mushroomed, died and were replaced by crisis committees.[4] The first organizations were the South African Students' Movement (SASM) and the Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC). Members of these committees were high school students who concerned themselves not only with educational matters but also with an array of issues beyond their capabilities.

The students found themselves fighting social battles for which they had been prepared as their struggle gained its own momentum. Much of this student activism "has to do with political impatience. But sheer political impatience differs from thoroughly thought-out strategy and tactics, thoroughly thought-out mobilization and organization."[6] The SSRC circular on the next page shows some of the problems that local organizations face when they try to deal with too many issues. The circular on the next page indicates this:

***AZIKHWELWA* (LET US BOYCOTT)**

TO ALL (GRADE 10) FORM III STUDENTS URGENT CALL

1. FROM MONDAY 8TH OCTOBER, 1976

2. INSTRUCTIONS:

(a) Go back to school on Monday and write your examinations because it is your last chance- Matrics and others will get another chance in 1977 before March. The sacrifice you have brought for Azania will bear fruit. Time is running out!!!

(b) PARENTS: Send your children to write the exams otherwise you have paid your money.
(c) TSOTSIES AND OTHERS: Please do not disturb those who want to write.
(d) TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS: Please be on duty and stop fooling.
(e) SHOPKEEPERS: Thank you for responding to our call- you may go back to normal trading hours now.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!!!
BLACK PEOPLE LET US BE ONE!!!
UNITED WE STAND!!!
VICTORY IS OURS!!!

Issued by: Soweto Student Representative Council[5]

From the circular above, it becomes clear that non-statutory people's organizations issued instructions to anyone and everyone in the name of the struggle. They were the self-appointed watchdogs of their communities. The parents, teachers, principals, shopkeepers, "tsotsies and others" referred to in the circular could not be members of the SSRC, nor elect members to the SSRC. The SSRC exercised arbitrary, unauthorized intimidation forms of power. The absence of a democratic mechanism for regulating this power and ensuring its accountability enabled grassroots organizations to wrestle power from statutory local educational bodies. As absolute power corrupts absolutely, the SSRC was

trapped into a position of corrupting the democratic process. Most of these non-statutory bodies lacked supportive machinery for their activities, so they resorted to "people's, justice" which resulted in arson, violence, intimidation, "necklacing"[7] and "juvenile justice."[8] It is perhaps this fear which the youth infused in their communities which caused Mandela to call them "young lions"[9] or Ken Owen to call them "little beasts that ought to be at school."[10]

Emergent South Africa seeks to spread power to all South Africans through a democratic process which brings about power-sharing and the inclusion of the marginalized Black majority in the governance of South African schools. One way of doing this could be founding local educational administrative bodies, elected by their communities and accountable to those communities. School boards were abolished for Black education in 1978 but have operated for White schools since 1905 in all provinces except in Natal. White education, which serves five million Whites, has three levels of democratization from the national to the provincial and then to the local level. The White electorate elects the Minister of National Education. Each of the four provinces has a director of a department of education. Each department has its own curriculum, appoints its own teachers and conducts its own examinations. Each department is further divided into school board areas and school committee areas except in Natal where there were school boards for African schools while Indian, Colored and White schools did not have school board.

These three levels of democracy are lacking in Black education that caters to 32 million Blacks. The Minister of National Education, although not elected by Blacks, is still the supreme head of Black Education. Although Black education has 11 ethnically divided departments of education, these are extensions of the central government with no autonomy similar to the decentralization exercised by directors of departments in White education. Teachers are appointed by the central government, the curriculum comes from the center and the central government conducts examinations in Grades 10 and 12. Black education seems to violate all arguments for decentralization. These arguments are:

> the redistribution arguments which has to do with the sharing of power, the efficiency arguments, which is geared to enhancing the cost-effectiveness of the educational system through a more efficient deployment and management of resources; and the culture of learning argument, which emphasizes the decentralization of educational content.[11]

It is doubtful that post-apartheid education will scrap the existing school boards and hand over local administration to ad-hoc grassroots committees. Existing school boards may continue to cater for White education and may not be able to serve Black education, as will be seen when we compare Bantu School Boards to

school boards in White education. The over-arching question then becomes, "What local educational administrative bodies, consistent with democratic and pedagogic imperatives, should South Africa create?"

Purpose of the Study

It is the purpose of this study to present a history of Bantu School Boards from 1953 to 1976 by studying:

(1) origin of school boards;

(2) supportive local administrative bodies that were supposed to work with the boards;

(3) people who served in the boards;

(4) functioning of boards in:

(a) providing continuity and bridges for students moving from one school to another;

(b) building of schools;

(c) employment of teachers;

(d) curricula matters.

It is also the purpose of this study to compare Bantu School Boards with the school boards that existed in White education from 1905. This study will also evaluate the whole concept of Bantu School Boards against the quasi-local administrative bodies that were created for Blacks with an aim of giving these bodies

functions without giving them any power. To examine the above, this study focuses on the Greytown Bantu School Committee Board as an example of a school board in a so-called `white area'- a board that largely depended on a town council for funding. The second focus is on the Edendale area which lies within a radius of 30 km around Pietermaritzburg and had the Edendale Urban Bantu School Board and the Edendale Rural Bantu School Board. The latter depended on a regional tribal authority for funding, while the former should have depended on the Local Health Commission for funding. The study deals with the way the Soweto school boards handled the issue of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. In this maze of local administrative structures created from 1953, the study seeks better administrative structures that could give meaningful power to parents, teachers and students. The objective of this study is to improve understanding of local citizen participation in the administration of schools and to propose the directions which policy-making should take to provide maximal, efficient, effective citizen participation.

The Scope of the Study

This study covers the years 1954 to 1978 because Bantu school boards only existed during that period. The periods before 1954 and after 1978 illuminate the subject being studied. This necessitated an inclusion of brief studies of the periods. Edendale, Greytown and Soweto were chosen for this study because these places represent three different points in the wide spectrum

of Black administration. Soweto is part of Johannesburg, which is the premier of education in South Africa and the peak of Black administration, urbanization and industrialization. Edendale takes the middle point. It is one of the only two places in South Africa where Africans buy land. The residents are rate-payers, yet placed under an elected chief. Edendale had an urban school board and a rural school board. Greytown represents a small-town rent-paying African community in what is known as a White Area.

Need for the Study

The foundation of local administration of Black schools lies much deeper than the Report of Native Education of 1951,[12] or the report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education of 1935-1936.[13] Perhaps, when Philip described the failure of missionaries to break through the culture barrier to their "failure to provide a native agency,"[14] he was in essence pointing the direction black education had to take. We also find him saying, "Knowledge always desires increase, it is like fire, which must be kindled by some external agent, but which will afterwards propagate itself in every direction."[15]

The cries for People's Education,[16] the people's organizations"[17] and "the people shall share"[18] among Blacks in South Africa indicate the desire by Blacks to have an effective voice in the education of their children. Westermann long expressed the idea of parental participation when he said:

> As long as the school is not under a Native Council, it has not taken root in the community. It is equally necessary that the Native Community should have a share in the administration of it's school and should feel responsible for its guidance."[19]

Writing in 1927, Rev. J. P. Othea saw the solution to the problem of parental participation in Africa as follows:

> With the village headman on the chair and all male parents present, the teacher as secretary, the mission and the government officials as mere visitors, let all school procedure and activity be discussed, directed and organized in outline. In rural schools, nearly all members of such a body will be quite illiterate! But they are very wise."[20]

The exclusion of female parents by Rev. J. P. Otheo is not consistent with inclusionary educational dispensation. To exclude women from the local governance of schools is to exclude more than half of Black parents and to exclude the more concerned and committed parentage to Black education. There is, therefore, a need for a study that will indicate what place, what powers, and what functions are to be granted to all parents, teachers and students in the administration of their education and what possible training these participants would need for an effective

participation in school matters. These different segments of the population will invariably need preparation for participation in democratic local processes.

I have had twenty 25 years of experience as a teacher in Black education in South Africa since 1967 as a high school principal and as secretary of The Greytown Bantu School Committee/Board. I was a student in Black schools before the introduction of Bantu education in 1953 and have been a teacher during and after the school board era. My twenty five year study and interest in local administration of Black education indicate to me that a well-thought-out quest for a plausible local administration of post-apartheid South African school is essential, especially because there seem to be no studies that look at local administration of Black schools. People education and the cry for power to the people suggest that Blacks do want to have a say in the local administration of their school.

Definition of Terms

The important terms which are used in this study are defined as follows:

Bantu:

This was an official term used by the Nationalist Government to refer to Africans from 1953. This term was based on false nationhood[21] and was regarded as derogatory by Blacks. It came to disuse in the 1970s and was replaced by the term Blacks.

Community Schools

Almost all schools in 1953 were placed under school committees and school boards and were called Bantu Community Schools, abbreviated as B. C. Schools. In the 1970s Black schools dropped the "B. C." appendages to their names. This should not be compared with "American community schools which seek to break down the barrier between formal education and community activity by encouraging neighborhood residents to use school facilities to enrich their lives."[22]

Government Schools

Government schools were big schools with boarding facilities. These belonged to missionaries. When the government took over all mission schools, some of the bigger schools were called government schools, were run by White principals and had White teachers. These schools could not be under Bantu School Boards because government policy stated that Blacks should never occupy positions of superiority. These schools appointed local governing councils.

Farm Schools

Farm schools were Black schools erected on land belonging to White farmers and administered by farm owners who were called managers of the schools. Parents of children attending such

schools had no say in the local administration of these schools because their managers were White. Farm schools and government schools were forbidden areas for Bantu School Boards although these schools operated in the areas of school boards and shared educational activities with school boards.

Bantu School Boards:

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 placed all Black schools under partly-elected and partly nominated parents' bodies called school committees. Members of school committees within a district were either nominated or elected to Bantu School Boards. All elected matters had to be approved by a White circuit inspector. Elected Blacks who were members of "undesirable" organizations, or those who were critical of the government were often not approved.

Blacks:

Blacks denote indigenous peoples of Africa, often called the Africans. This uses the word Black in that restricted form. Indians and Coloreds are not included in this usage.

Black Education:

Education in South Africa is racially segregated into White education, Black Education, Colored Education (mixed race) and Indian Education for all Asiatics.

Black Areas and White Areas:

Black Areas are 13% of the land allocated to 29 million Blacks. These areas are now called homelands. White Areas are 87% of the land reserved for 5 million Whites, 3 million Coloreds, and less than a million Indians. Blacks in White Areas are rent-payers and cannot own land in those areas.

Department of Native Affairs:

Founded in 1924, this was a department responsible for matters pertaining to Blacks. The head of this department was a Minister who had a number of White chief native commissioners under whom served a number of native commissioners for all districts. These native commissioners were local White magistrates. The Minister was the "paramount Chief of the Blacks" He appointed all chiefs.

Tribal Local Authorities:

These were local tribal structures under chiefs in rural areas. A number of these tribal authorities formed regional authorities, one of their duties was to build schools. The regional authorities formed tribal territorial authorities some of which were Venda, Zulu, Tswana and Southern Sotho tribal authorities. Four of these tribal authorities became "independent states."

The Urban Bantu Councils:

Like Bantu advisory boards, Bantu Urban Councils were local administrative structures in Black urban areas.

Local Authorities:

These are municipalities, town boards, village boards and other administrative structures for cities, towns and villages. Blacks could not be members of these local bodies although they paid rates, taxes, rent and indirect taxation to these local authorities. The nation wide rent-boycott of was part of a "no taxation without representation" policy.

Medium of Instruction

The medium of instruction refers to a language used for instruction in schools. South Africa has eleven languages. The Union Act of 1910 stipulated that English and Afrikaans were to have equal status. Dual medium schools came into being where Afrikaans and English were used as languages of instruction. These dual medium schools gradually disappeared as Afrikaner schools used Afrikaans as the medium of instruction while English schools used English as the medium of instruction. Black schools used African languages for the first three years of schooling and then used English throughout their schooling. The government imposed Afrikaans as third medium of instruction for Black schools in 1976. The English had English and Afrikaners had Afrikaans as their

media of instruction. The difficulties created by the imposition of Afrikaans was that the subjects to be taught in Afrikaans were stipulated. While these subjects had their own difficulties, those difficulties were impounded by the problems that students and teachers had with Afrikaans. All Black teachers had been in English medium schools. They had been taught in English in their training colleges.

Assumptions

The following are assumptions to be tested in this study.

1. Bantu School Boards could have been powerful instruments of coordination and parental participation in the development of Black education had the government respected them, trained them and funded them.
2. The boards failed because of the ignorance of board members on some important issues.
3. The absence of school boards causes fragmentation of educational activities and hinders communal ownership of vital educational resources.
4. The failure of school boards may also be ascribed to an assumption that boards were part of a hegemonic strategy by a state that was trying to legitimize itself. This reduced parental participation in school boards to what Pateman[23] calls pseudo-participation or to what Gramsci calls pseudo-hegemony[24] or pseudo forms of decentralization[25]

Review of Literature and Related Research

Black education in the history of South African education was, in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, merely a footnote of White education. Official reports are descriptive and thin. They do not specifically deal with local administrative bodies. They do, however, mention these local bodies. The most valuable official document for this study is The Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951 which forms the basis of the consolidation and centralization of Black education. Parliamentary debates, especially those which deal with exposition of Bantu education by Verwoerd, the Minister of Native Affairs and later the Prime Minister, by De Wit Nel, the Minister of Native Affairs, and by Esselen, the first Secretary of Bantu education, provide insights into the thinking of policy makers.

An avalanche of literature on Bantu Education will not be used in this study as this literature provides thick descriptions of structuralist expositions of Bantu education without explanatory and critical expositions. This literature is often partisan in that it heaps all the blame for Black education on apartheid and ignores educational pathologies existing before the introduction of apartheid in 1948. This literature ignores the fact that the cornerstones of Bantu Education and decentering of Blacks in South Africa peaked from 1910 after the exclusion of Blacks from the governance of the country by the Union Act of 1910. This literature ignores that the social engineering unleashed by the politics of exclusion followed legislation and

was maintained by discriminatory laws such as the Color Bar Act of 1911, then the Land Act of 1913, the Native Affairs Act of 1920, the Differentiated Curriculum of 1922 and the Urban influx Control Act of 1923. These secondary sources include the works of Davis,[26] Horrel,[27] Hurwurtz,[28] Kallaway[29] Marcum[30] and Tabata.[31]

There have been few research studies on Black education. Available to the researcher were unpublished dissertation like those of Atkinson, "History of Education Policy in South Africa"[32]; Davis, Nineteenth Century African Education in the Cape[33]; Kumalo, "Education and Ideology"[34]; Mason, Bantu Education in Tanganyika and Africa"[35]; Murray, "Bantu Education."[36] Ngobese's[37] is nearest study to the present study although Ngobese deals with local administration as it pertains to the circuit inspectors, the inspectorate, principals and not parental bodies. Rhonester in "*Skool Gemeenskaapverhouding*"[38] (Relationship Between School and Community) has dealt with relationship between a school and community without specifically dealing with school committees and school boards. The researcher is not aware of a study that focuses on school committees and school boards in Black education. Valuable information was gained from studies that were conducted on local administration in White education. These were Du Preez van Wyk's *"Die Involved van die Engelse Skoolwese 1806-1915"*[39] (British Influence on School Systems); Roos' *"Plaaslike Beheer in die Onderwys in die Zuid Afrikaanse Republick"* (Local Governance of Education in South African Republics);[40] Van der Merwe's *"Die Ontwikkeling van in Stelsel van Plaaslike Beheer in die Onderwys*

in Kaapland"[41] (The Development of Local Educational Governance System in the Cape); van Wyk's *"Plaaslike Beheer in die Onderwys van Transvaal*[42] (Local Governance in Education in the Transvaal). These studies made it possible for the present study to compare local administrative bodies in White education and those in Black education. For the theoretical analysis, the researcher found many sources on the Gramscian concept of hegemony which will be employed to analyze the data.

The works of Carnoy and Hanaway,[43] Lauglo and Mclean[44] and Rizwi[45] on policy issues such as decentralization, centralization, deconcentration, devolution of power, democratization and participatory structures were useful. It is evident from this literature, especially from Elmore's contribution, that decentralization in education is an example of a democratic wish based on direct communal democracy; and the fact that concentrations of power in government institutions are dangerous to individual liberty.[46] Baily expresses this fear as follows:

> Every movement and every circumstance that takes starting power and incentive away from the people, even though it makes for exact administration, is to be challenged. It is especially to be deplored if this loss of power affects the persons who are first hand with surface of the plant and the product that comes directly out of it.[47]

This quotation is instructive for the South African Blacks who find themselves deprived of power in the school which educate their own children. Rizwi shows that organizational democracy with participatory decision-making is possible and desirable despite the debate to the contrary.[48]

To suggest a road map for the development of local educational structures, we need to retrace our steps to the roots of present South African local educational administrative structures. This requires a historical investigation into the past. Although not containing much on Black education, Coetzee,[49] MacMillan,[50] and Marlherbe[51] give comprehensive coverage of the history of South African education. These works had to be supplemented by annual reports of the various provincial departments of education. Material in these annual reports is to a large extent history from above, history heavily laden with structural data which describe the movement of history without pausing to analyze the meaning. This study will approach this material from below and explore the meaning of structural data. Facts and information so gathered will be analyzed within the interplay between facts and theories and between human agencies and structures.

The analysis of the interplay or Freire's praxis[52], Habermas' communicative interaction[53] or Giddens structuration[54] is interested in human agency, while history as has been written or constructed in the past focused on the "big men of history" or men of power and property. To locate Blacks within an historical perspective,

the study uses Giddens' hidden or unacknowledged conditions, knowledge and understanding of the rules by the actors, and unintended consequences. Apple's, Aronowitz's and Giroux's[55] writing help the study in understanding how actors reformulate, reshape, resist and rethink policy issues. Elmore's backward mapping and his insistence on informal authority which derives from expertise, skill and proximity to the essential tasks enabled this study to look at the implementation of local educational policies rather than looking at the intent of policy makers[56] as do most writers on Black Education. This literature is incorporated in the design and methodology of the study.

Design and Methodology

This study uses a qualitative, interpretative and valuative design based on analysis of relevant literature and researches and personal observation."[57] This design sought "not to evaluate so much as to reveal and disclose the world as felt, lived and experienced by those studied,"[58] in this case, the black communities, board members, and White officials who were connected with Bantu School Boards.

The researcher made a study of documents pertaining to Bantu School boards, especially departmental circulars, newspapers, reports of commissions and documents contained in the Republic of South Africa Supreme Court v C.C.W. Twala and Ten Others microfilm.[59] This microfilm contains students letters, teachers' organization documents, minutes and letters of school boards and

other relevant documents. The State accused the first ten students of terrorism and sedition. They were found guilty and sent to Robben Island.

Ethnographic studies were conducted in the Edendale area where the researcher was a participant observer as a teacher from 1967-1969, and principal of Amakholwa High School from 1973 to 1978. To present participants on their own terms, the researcher was a participant observer in the Greytown Bantu School Committee-Board as secretary of the board from 1970-1973 as well as being principal of a school under this committee board.
In Lofland's language, the design used involved:

1. Getting close to the people being studied through attention to the minutia of daily life.
2. Being truthful and factual about what is observed.
3. Emphasizing a significant amount of pure description of action, activities and
4. Including in data direct quotations from participants. . .[60]

The methodological strategy will be the presentation of rich, thickly textured ethnographic descriptions[61] of school board activities as seen and heard from 1955-1978. The researcher is aware of the pitfalls of an ethnographic study, the gravest of which is being too subjective. The researcher minimized subjectivity and other weaknesses of ethnographic studies by triangulating the findings through examining related literature

and casting the findings within the theoretical debates on centralization and decentralization. The value of an ethnographic methodological approach is succinctly stated by that "celebrated methodologist Yogi Berra who said `you can see a lot by looking,"[62] to which Levine adds her corollary- "you can hear a lot just by listening."[63] Through participant observations, life history research and collection of behavior specimens[64], data analysis presents a narrative or impressionistic summaries of Bantu School Boards from 1955-1978.

Summary

To achieve the objectives stated above, chapter one of the study is an introduction to the study. It deals with the problem, the purpose of the study, the need of the study, the scope of the study, definition of terms, assumptions, review of literature, design and methodology and the summary and conclusion. Chapter two is a background to the study and deals with education in South Africa. Chapter three is local administration of South African schools from 1872 to 1954. This is broken down to schools in Natal, Transvaal, Orange Fee State, the Cape and in Black education in all these areas. Chapter four deals with the Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953 and school boards. Chapter five looks at three case studies of school boards in three different areas. Chapter six chapter contains summaries, reflections and conclusion.

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CHAPTER I

AN OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Introduction

Though this study focuses on Bantu School Boards, it is pertinent to give an overall view of the whole education in the Republic of South Africa, showing its centralist and decentralist trends. From it inception in 1658, education in South Africa was multiracial, integrationist and centralist.[1] Decades later, the Dutch settlers became hostile to racial integration, and schools became racially segregated and slightly decentralized. This decentralist wave was accelerated by the British colonization of South Africa and the arrival of British settlers after 1806. In 1820, British settlers, especially Lord Somerset tried to Anglicize the Afrikaners.[2] Afrikaners responded by founding their own schools and insisting on parental participation in the governance of their education. The root of the educational decentralist trends in South Africa was borne out of Afrikaner resistance against domination by the British settlers. The Afrikaners insisted on maintaining local autonomy and parental participation in educational matters even at the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910.

Vestiges of Afrikaner local government and of Afrikaner local educational bodies established themselves in the Cape, in the Transvaal and in the Orange Free state, the last two being Afrikaner republics before the Union of South Africa in 1910. These vestiges were implemented in the Department of Native

Affairs in 1920 and again in Bantu Education in 1953. These local institutions have "left an indelible impression on the educational control for most of South Africa,"[3] says Marlherbe. Marlherbe describes this local control by saying: "At the head of each district, representing the Central government was the *landrost*, or magistrate, who, together with six citizens called *heemraden*, constituted the executive for the management of that district."[4] The magistrates in charge of native affairs and Bantu affairs were called Bantu commissioners. These commissioners, as representatives of the central government, worked with Bantu advisory boards and Bantu regional authorities. Their presence in these bodies tended to make these bodies representatives of the central government instead of being representatives of their communities.

The Growth of Decentralization in Education

The four provinces retained their respective departments of education and their different forms of local educational administrative bodies when the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910 and still retain these structures even today. From 1912 Afrikaners strove to maintain their own identity by promoting a two-stream policy, namely, an Afrikaner stream and an English stream.[5] No attempts were to be made to allow one of the streams to swallow the other. Dual medium schools were replaced by Afrikaner schools and English schools. This ethnic division of White South Africans was extended to institutions of higher learning such as

founding of the Rand Afrikaans University for Afrikaners and Rhodes University for the English. Blacks were not permitted to participate in this two stream policy in the period of British settler hegemony from 1910 to 1948. Racial discriminatory laws legalized and legitimized the separation of Blacks through a series of laws, the chief of which were the Union Act of 1910, the Color Bar Act of 1911, the Land Act of 1913, the Native Affairs Act of 1920, the Differentiated Curriculum Act of 1922 and the Native Urban Influx Control Act of 1923.[6] These acts laid the foundation for the separation of Black education from White education and were the cornerstones of apartheid. Blacks seemed to have been passive recipients of state policies on education from 1910 to 1950 as oppositional activities were few and weak prior to 1954. Though the African National Congress was formed in 1912, it did not subvert or contest education policies before 1954.

When the Afrikaner came to power in 1948, they maintained that South Africa was multi-stream, each stream entitled to its own identity and governance of its own affairs.[7] Afrikaner policy makers maintained that there were a Colored, an Indian, a Ndebele, a Shangaan, a Sotho, a Swazi, a Tswana, a Venda, a Xhosa and a Zulu stream. Thus a department of education had to be created because all these ethnic groups and school boards in metropolitan areas were divided into ethnic lines as were the schools in these areas. This extreme decentralist trend caused fragmentation and duplication of services although the practice served a redistribution argument and also a culture of learning argument.

The efficiency argument was violated through a wasteful deployment and management of resources. Ethnic divisions were opposed by some Blacks who saw this educational dispensation as a divide-and-rule strategy. The government justified the introduction of Bantu Education and expressed its reason for this decentralist position was that:

> The effect on the Bantu community of the remoteness from them of educational authorities ... had not been happy. The system has robbed them of any sense of participation in or responsibility in education. Taxes are paid and disposed of without local knowledge of the money which has been spent.[8]

> Bantu parents should as far as possible have a share in the control and the life of the school. It is only in this way that children will realize that their parents and the schools are not competitors but they are complementary.[9]

Isolated from the grand apartheid design, these reasons seem educationally plausible. They were, however, eclipsed by apartheid which rendered local educational administrative bodies powerless against the South African state. School boards in Soweto opposed the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and the State dissolved the boards which opposed it in 1976.[10] Thereafter, Black youth forced board members to resign from all governement

administrative bodies such as the Urban Bantu Councils. Bantu school boards and South African school boards differ from school boards found in the United States of America. Marlherbe sees the differences as follows:

> This centralized system in South Africa contrasts to what happened in the United States where local school district was the unit of administration, county and state units of control being later developments. In South Africa the educational system was centralized from the start, actually the development has been towards a greater devolution of power to smaller units. In the USA, the smaller units always surrender certain powers to the larger bodies for the common good.[11]

The power of the boards and school committees in South Africa came from the central government, and that may be one reason that the central government dissolved local bodies that opposed it and had to approve all members elected to local educational administrative bodies. Despite the abolition of school boards, the devolution of "power" to smaller educational units continued in South Africa. By 1990, education in South Africa was governed by apartheid which had racially and ethnically divided the country into numerous educational units. These educational units, are in Figure 1.1. As shown in Figure 1.1, there are 15 departments of education with almost 15 versions of local educational

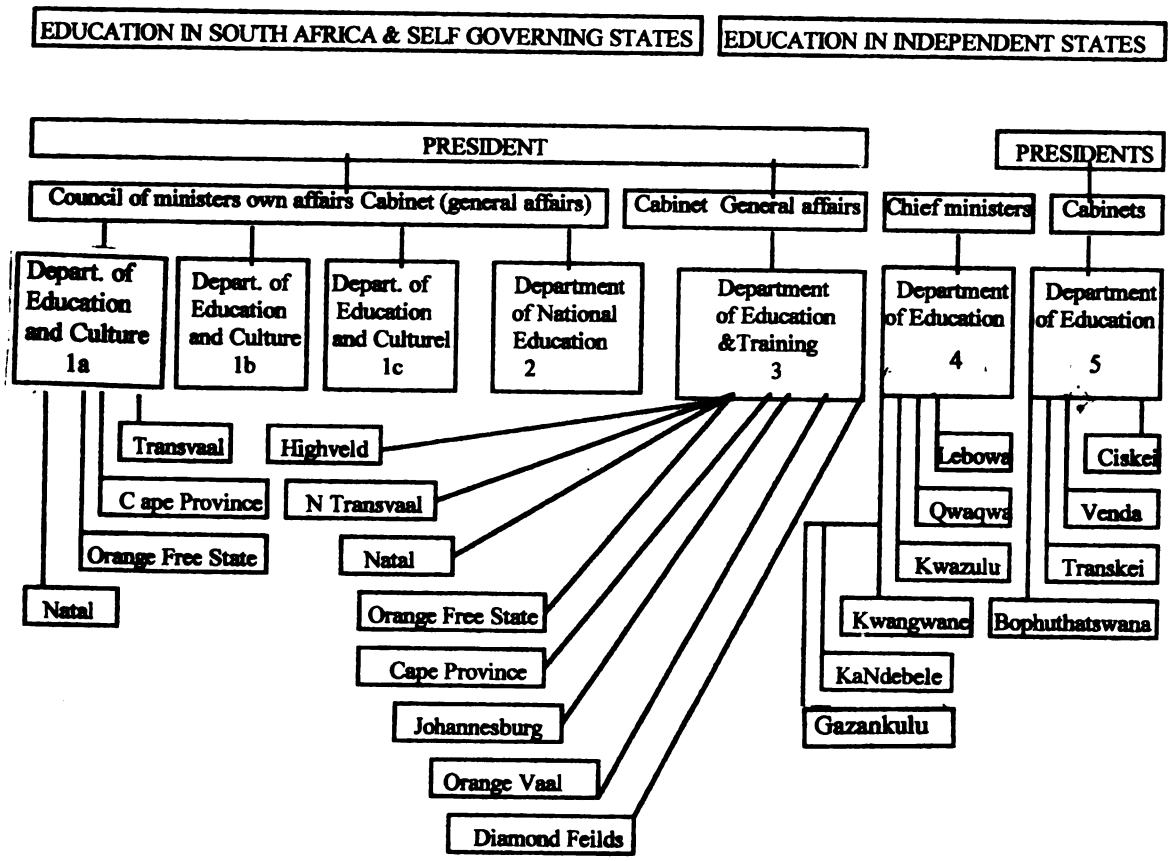
administration bodies such as school boards, district school committees, school committees, governing councils and parent-teacher associations. Some ethnic groups were divided into different departments because of geographical settings, the Xhosas of Transkei and Ciskei being an example of this division. A cursory glance at the divisions creates a sense of decentralization and perhaps democratization, This is, however, not the case as the "self-determination" which the White central government gave to the departments was already determined by the central government through the Ministry of National Education. The ministries of Black education and other departments work within constraints and parameters determined by the Minister of National Education who is "responsible for policy regarding formal, non-formal and informal education in respect of:

-Norms and standards of financing of education for all population groups.
-Professional registration of teachers and salaries and condition of employment of staff.
-Norms and standards of syllabuses and examinations and the certification of qualifications[12].

It should be clear from the above that the powers given to the Minister of National Education leave very little room for other ministers to develop educational potential for the citizens in their constituencies. Other ministries cannot even decide on

the norms or the standard of syllabi, examinations, and certification within their departments as these are already decided by the Minister of National Education. Culture of learning and redistributive arguments were violated by the resultant fragmentation of Black education. Provincial departments of White education, however, enjoy some measure of decentralization because they decide on norms and conditions of employment of staff, on norms and standards of syllabi and examinations and on the certification.

FIGURE 1.1 DECENTRALIZED EDUCATION STRUCTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA

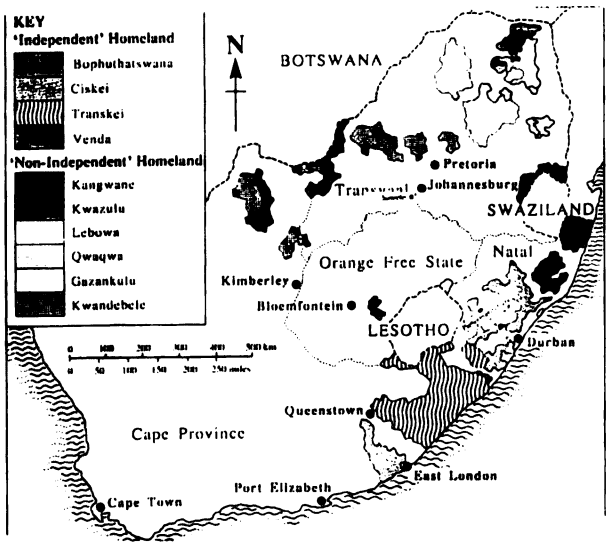


Source: Du Pisani T., and others. Education and Manpower Development 1990. p. 3[13]

The Setting

For a better understanding of the geographical setting of the provinces the department of education referred and the three areas that are studied are shown on 2.2 on the next page. As indicated earlier, the departments of education are racial or ethnic components rather than geographical entities. With Asiatics, Blacks and Coloreds, educational departments run across geographical boundaries in order to accommodate racial groups. For instance, the Department of Education and Training is found in all four provinces. This is not the case with White Education that has a department of education in each province. Black education falls under several departments of education, ten of which are in Black areas i.e., the 13% of the land occupied by Blacks. It also falls under the Department of Education and Training formerly the Department of Bantu Education, is in the White areas i.e. the 87% of the land occupied and owned by Whites. With its seat in Pretoria, the Department of Education and Training is headed by a minister who is elected by the White electorate and owns no allegiance to the Blacks whose educational policies he designs. It is the Department of Education and Training that dictates educational policies to the ten Black departments of education, although some of these homeland governments are said tobe independent. Their independence does not, however, make them not to be dependent on South Africa, its Department of Education and Training for the provision of educatioanal facilities such as examinations and certification.

FIGURE 1.2 SOUTH AFRICA, SHOWING FOUR PROVINCES AND HOMELAND GOVERNMENTS



The homelands, or Bantustans, that were set up from 1953 onwards by the Bantu Authorities Act. By 1981, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei were all made 'independent' states. However, their independence was not recognized outside South Africa and they remained economically and politically dependent on South Africa.

Source: Smith, Chris. Conflict in South Africa. p. 11.[14]

The setting of the study was in semi-urban and urban areas because these areas are contested zones in the policy formulation/policy implementation debacle going on in South Africa. Urbanized communities suffered most from the effects of apartheid which neglected Black urban communities with the hope that they will one day return to the homelands. Most of the government funds were used in the development of homeland governments especially those which opted for their "independence" i.e Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei and Venda.

Making Bricks Without Straws

The quasi-decentralization in South African education was accompanied by unequal distribution of resources. Bantu schools boards were expected to make bricks without straw. That Blacks

were economically disadvantaged and could not provide funds for their education can be examined in their economic activities. Although the economic activities of Blacks had significantly changed since 1946, the 1946 census indicates what Blacks were like when the Bantu Education was being formulated in 1951. Blacks were in low-paid, low-esteem jobs as indicated by Table 1.1. on the next page.

The Report of the Commission further indicates that in 1946 the percentages of the population of 10 years and over (excluding peasants) were, "females 19.5 percent, males 50:4 percent."[15] It has to be borne in mind that 58.6% of the 19.5% females were domestic servants, the lowest-paid segment of employees. Males were 40.9% in Agriculture and 21.2% in mining, both of which were low-paying jobs[6] As apartheid progressed, the Africanization of poverty was accelerated by discriminatory laws which prevented Africans from highly-paid jobs. The Bantu Labor Act of 1970 provided that:

1. Not withstanding anything contrary contained in any law, the Minister may prohibit the performance of working or continued employment of a Bantu:
   a) in a specified area
   b) in a specified class of employment
   c) in a specified trade or
   d) in the service of specified employers . . . . (SARR;1970:88)[16]

The low-paid Blacks had to pay for their education while Asiatics, Coloreds and Whites had free and compulsory education. One of the results of this discrimination was that education did not prepare Blacks for high paying occupational activities. The earnings of the Blacks were inadequate for paying for school services especially in secondary schools. The shortage of books in Black secondary schools and the absence of libraries, laboratories and other supportive facilities compounded the problems of secondary school. The high drop-out sent hundreds of ill prepared Black you to swell the thousands of unemployed youth.

TABLE 1.1 BLACK LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION: 1946

Occupation	Males	Percentage	Females	Percentage
Agriculture	824,585	40.9	239,023	31.9
Mining	426,724	21.2	-	-
Industry	368,289	18.3	14,324	1.9
Transport and Communication	116,371	5.8	385	.05
Commerce and Finance	12,117	.6	667	.09
Professions, Sport and Entertainment	33,128	1.6	10,241	1.4
Personal Service	164,257	8.1	439,066	58.6
Other workers	70,856	3.5	45,878	6.1
Total gainfully occupied (excluding peasants)	2,016,327	100.0	749,584	100.0
Peasants	644,725		428,595	
Independent	5,791		7,574	
Household Duties	11,636		1,262	
Inmates of Institutions etc	11,387		172	
Dependent Parents etc	13,744		7,138	
Scholars	258,901		41,833	
Person under 10 years	1,034,646		282,804	
			1,055,058	
GRAND TOTAL	3,997,157		3,834,758	

Source: Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951. p. 24.[17]

The government found it expedient to tax Blacks for their education because government spending in Black education from 1926 to 1950 was pegged at R680.000 per annum.[18] In addition to this government funding, Blacks paid school fees which "varied from province to province and from school to school within the same province."[19]. What ditermined thase varaitions were activities such as the payment of building funds, and the privately-paid teachers funds. The schools that taxed students for building were those in rural areas because school in urban areas were erected by municipalities. For instance,

> In the Cape, free secondary education was provided for pupils below the age of 19 in school under the school boards. An annual fee of R4.00 was paid by students above the age of 19. In mission schools R4.50 up to R6.00 was paid. In Natal fee ranged from R1.00 to 4 per annum, in the Transvaal from R1 to 6, in the Orange Free State it was R4.[20]

There was also the tuition fee paid by students in boarding schools. In the Cape this fees ranged from R16-00 to R28-00 per annum in the late 1930s.[21]

When Black education was removed from provincial administration it lost of provincial government officials' interest that had enabled Blacks schools to benefit from discarded surplus books, furniture and other equipment from White and Indian

schools. Surplus, furniture, books and sometimes science equipment easily found their way into Black school prior to the separation. Black education also lost provincial funding when it was transferred to the central government. This provincial funding was from the central government, from the Consolidated Fund in which Blacks contributed through indirect taxation. The distribution of these funds by the province got the provinces to be interested in Black education in as far as the disbursement of these funds were concerned. Provinces provided bursaries, which in 1946 were as indicated in table 1.2 below:

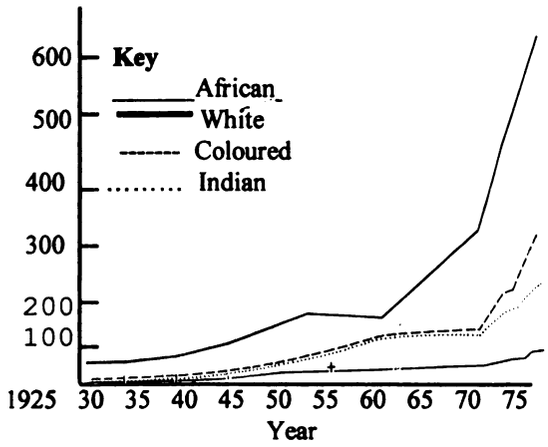
TABLE 1.2 PROVINCIAL CONTRIBUTION TO BURSARIES FOR BLACK STUDENTS: 1946

	Cape	Natal	Orange Free State	Trans-vaal	Total
- For Secondary Education-					
Number of bursaries	75	60	5:15	20:4	179
Amount of each bursary	R40	R36	R12:20	R10:2:1	
Total amount	R3,000	R2,160		R1,380	R8,252
B-For Teachers Training-					
Number of bursaries	60	145			
Amount of each bursary	R40	R36	R12:20:35	95:33:1	410
Total amount	R2,400	R5,220	R1,380	R40:30:10	-
C- Fort Hare Bantu College					R13,700
Annual bursaries	15	15			
Amount of each bursary	R20	R100			
Total amount	R600	R1,500		2	32
D-For Industrial Education				R90	
Number of bursaries	-	-	20	R180	R2,280
Amount of each bursary	-	-	R16		
Total amount	-	-	R320		
Total number	150	220	116		641
Total bursaries.	R6,000	R8,880	R1,960		R24,552

Source: Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951. p. 68.[22]

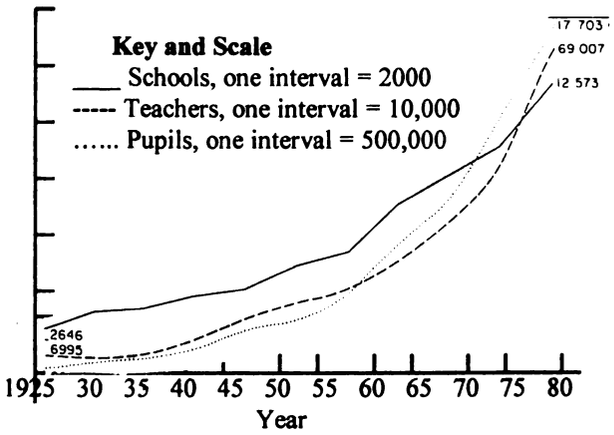
Despite this provincial funding, which was primarily aimed at improving secondary school and teachers' education, the distribution of Black students according to standards and the qualifications of teachers did not show plausible improvements. The school/ teacher/pupil increase was also disproportionate from 1925 to 1975 as indicated below by Figure 1.3. The funding of schools was also disproportionate and discriminatory as shown on the next page, on Figure 1.3. Bantu school boards were, therefore, taking over ill-funded Black schools from missionaries and provincial government and were expected to achieve what provincial governments had failed to achieve. It was against these historical facts that Bantu school boards were introduced and operated. The demand for schooling exceeded the provision for education. Government funding to Black schools did not increase as the demand increased. One estimate of this demand was that in 1960, 62.5% of Blacks under the age of 15 had no schooling. This declined to 51.8% in 1970.[23] Differentiated educational provisions for Asiatics, Blacks, Coloreds and Whites had differentiated outcomes of schooling. In 1974 the estimated percentage of South Africans above the age of 18 who had completed four years of schooling was 98.64% of Whites, 77.42% of Asiatics, 68.3% of Coloreds and 40.13% of Blacks."[24] The figures on the next page capture these disparities:

FIGURE 1.3 PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE ACCORDING TO RACIAL GROUP



Per capita expenditure according to group

FIGURE 1.4 NUMBER OF SCHOOLS, PUPILS AND TEACHERS IN BLACK EDUCATION



Number of schools, pupils and teachers in African education

Source: Ceber, Beryl A. and Newman, Stanton P. Soweto's Children: The Development of Attitudes. pp. 64-65.[25]

Summary

Bantu school boards were introduced to take over Black schools from missionaries and from provincial administrations as part of the grand apartheid scheme which came into being after the Afrikaner Nationalist Government came into being in 1948. The roots of local administration of South African schools had, however, been long established as indicated in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER II

School Boards in White Education

Introduction

We need to examine school boards in white education in order to understand Bantu school boards as they largely followed patterns set by White school broads. Black education was part of provincial education until 1953.[1] It was the administered like the rest of education in South African until 1953 when the Bantu education Act placed Bantu Education under the Department of Native Affairs. The provinces of South were the Cape, Natal, Orange Free State and Transvaal[2]

Local administration in White education differed from province to province. The Cape came into existence in 1652, while the other provinces were established after 1835 when the Afrikaners left the Cape for the interior of South Africa. Afrikaners established republics in Natal, the Orange Free State and in the Transvaal. The British annexed Natal in 1843. Afrikaners left Natal and moved into the other republics. In 1910, the British colonies, the Cape and Natal joined the Afrikaner colonies, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal to form the Union of South Africa. The Union Act of 1910 gave the provinces autonomy in the government of their education.[3] These historical developments had a bearing on local administration of the different provinces, which then adopted differing systems of

local education. As the mother province, the Cape made major contribution in the development of local administration of South African schools.[4]

Cape

In the Cape the idea of school boards came in the 1860s. A Westermeyer Commission the establishment of school boards.[5] This recommendation was supported by Inspector Rowan and Inspector Clark.[6] Rowan recommended founding of school boards elected by voters empowered by to levy local rates and enforce compulsory education. A feeling was expressed that school committee were inadequate for their task as they lacked continuity. Inspector Clark criticized school committee and maintained that "In baie openbare skool 'n klein oorloggie tussen die onderwyser en komittee was."[7] The first commission failed to get enough votes for the establishment of school boards.

The second commission, the De Villiers[8] brought up the question of school boards in 1879. It recommended the founding of school boards to determine and provide for the needs of a district, to buy properties and erect schools, and select and appoint teachers with the approval of the Department of Education.[9] The Superintendent of Education (SGE) Dale, was, however, against the establishment of school boards. Inspector Ross contended that the guarantee system was unsatisfactory in that it placed the burden of funding schools on "half-a-dozen liberal-minded gentlemen."[10] He was of the opinion that school

boards would provide continuity as well as security for the teachers, but felt that Divisional Councils and Municipalities could raise more funds than school boards. In 1891 the Barry Commission added its part in revealing the weaknesses of the existing system of local administration. It pointed out that the householders were not legally bound to elect managers, nor were managers legally bound to risk their private funds for public ventures. The commission felt that the assertion that school boards would be unpopular was not a general felling.

The idea of school boards enjoyed some measure of support as well as condemnation. Prof. de Vos and N. T. de Vaal supported the idea of school boards. Muir maintained that the improvement of education in the Cape would depend on departmental organization, establishment of school boards and compulsory education. Suaer (later a Minister) said that school boards are undoubtedly becoming necessary in the Colony. The Synod of the N. G. Kerk was also in favor of school boards. Some people were, however, against the establishment of school boards. The Bishop of Grahamstown maintained that local boards would mean local taxation, and there is a great trouble in even getting the streets reservoirs properly attended to. Murray pointed out that school boards would find difficulties in towns with large outlying districts, because the interest of the towns and districts are conflicting. This opposition coming from the clergy is not surprising when one considers what C. L. Hofmeyer says about the clergy: "*Op die plattelande was die predikant feitlik*

direkteur van onderwys in sy gemeente. Dit was hy wat sy kerkraad laat teken het (as waarborge). Dit was hy wat uit sy pad gegaan het, om geskikte onderwysers in the hand te kry. Dit was hy wat die ouers aangemoedig het om hulle kinders skool toe te stuur. Dit was hy wat moes plan maak om van 'n ongewenste onderwyser onstal te raak[10]*."*

The opposition of the clergy to the introduction of school boards has to be seen in the light of Government encroachment in an area that had a strong religious undercurrent. The influence of the Church would wane as it lost the position of being guarantors. The School Attendance Bill was introduced in 1896 but failed to pass. The bill aimed at founding attendance boards that had to provide half the cost of education. In 1899 the Prime Minister introduced a bill to make provision for compulsory education and school boards, but these innovations were not accepted. A bill introduced in March 1905 became the School Board Act of 1905. This Act divided the country into about a hundred school districts, each consisting of 6 to 18 members. Election was by rate-payers and not by parents of children attending school. The establishment of school boards promised that the task of founding new schools . . . a duty hitherto belonging to no one in particular . . . was entrusted to the school boards. Competition between the various school and overlapping would be prevented by school boards.

Boards controlled the financing of their schools by fixing teachers salaries and determining school fees. Where expenditure exceeded the income, one half of the deficit was paid by the Department of Education, and the other were to be paid by the Divisional or Municipal Council. As all local residents paid taxes, they had a right to vote for the educational custodian of their school funds. More funding was available for education as funding was not restricted to parents who had children attending school. The boards had the power, subject to approval of the Department, to borrow either from the Government or from any source, for purposes of erecting school buildings. School committees were retained to represent parents and guardians of pupils. These committees were retained because, as Du Preez van Wyk cites F. S, Malan as saying: "They had grown with the people, and the breathed the spirit of the people."[10] Later, the Cape local administration of schools was introduced in the Orange Free State and in the Transvaal with various modifications as the Cape remained to be the most liberal province in South Africa.

Orange Free State

Local administration in the Orange Free State was decentralist, having features resembling the Cape model. The Orange Free State made provision for the establishment of local school committees for every district, Each committee consisted of the landrost. A minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, and three other members of nominated by the Executive Council. Later, these committees were

divided into District School Committees and Ward School Committees. They were elected by all inhabitants of the districts who were entitled to vote. The parents of school going children were not the only ones who voted for school committees. The District School Committees selected teachers, but teachers were appointed by the President. Ordinance No. 29 of 1905 divided the Orange Free State into 26 districts, each with a school committee responsible for education of its district. Tax-payers elected the majority of members, and the Governor appointed the remaining members. Blacks were excluded from any form of governance.

Transvaal

In the Transvaal, local administration of schools devolved much power to the people. The Smuts Act of 1907 divided the country into 126 districts with a school board for each district. The electorate consisted of ordinary voters One third of the members of the school board were appointed by the Minister of Education as in the Cape. These boards administered funds, but did raise funds from property taxes as in the Cape. This made these local boards to be "correctly perceived as local agents of the central authority, or outposts or advanced guards of a single administrative force."[8] The boards was recommended the appointment of teachers. It was, however, the government that made the appointment. Like the Orange Free State, the Transvaal did not consider Blacks as citizens enjoying political equality with Whites. Blacks did not take part in any form of governance.

Natal

Natal was the only province that had a centralist educational administration. "Natal," says Malherbe, "has an uninterrupted English system from the time of its inception to the present day . . . . and in contrast with the English system, Natal has the most centralized system of the four provinces . . . . having practically no form of local control of education."[8] As indicated earlier, Natal was annexed by Britain in 1843, six years after the arrival of the Afrikaners. Traditional Afrikaner decentralist administration had not taken roots in Natal when the Afrikaners left Natal. The province then remained English, autocratic and centralist. The English in Natal never had cause to fear being colonized and their children being forced to accept an education they wee against. This was not the case with the Afrikaners and the Blacks. The Afrikaners were against Anglicization during Somerset's Government at the Cape in 1820, and during Milner's time after the Anglo-Boer War in 1902.

Trends In Local Administration of White Education From 1910 to 1953

After the formation of the Union of South Africa, provinces retained their different local administrative preference. The Cape retained what it had founded by the School Act of 1905; the Transvaal retained the structure set up by the Transvaal Education Act of 1907, and the Orange Free State followed a pattern envisaged by the School Act of 1908. Natal did not only

retain her centralized system of education, but rejected school boards.[11] These divergent local administrations persisted beyond 1953 despite the fact that three provinces found school boards useful and making healthy contribution to school government.

Adamson, a director of education in the Transvaal, defined a school board as usually an independent body raising directly its own funds, appointing its own clerical and teachers staff, and building its own schools.[12] According to him, the "fundamental idea of the Transvaal school boards is that of representative, adviser, and, with regard to the certain funds, a local administrator of central department,"[13] This perception though decentralist, is not devolutionist. It was merely a deconcentration of power. One tends to accept partially Adamson's perception of the differences between the Cape School Boards and those of the Transvaal. The latter did not see their task as that of raising funds, and equipping schools. This comes out in items 101 and 112 of the conference of school boards in 1911 where it was resolved that it was the sole duty of the government to build and equip schools. School boards as independent bodies, raising their own funds and building their own schools did not materialize in the Transvaal.

The whole of South Africa gradually gravitated towards the Transvaal concept of school boards so that all school boards became mostly representative, advisers, and local administrators of certain educational funds. These were disempowered school boards. The constituencies of school boards varied from province

to province. For instance, the school board areas in the Free State were 49 and these coincided with the Dutch Reformed Church districts areas.[14] In the Cape constituencies coincided with Divisional Council areas. Any meeting for the election of the school board was called by the school board. In the Orange Free State the meeting was called by the Director of Education[15], while in the Transvaal it was called by a principal of a school. An important variation was that a meeting for election of members to the board in the Cape required a quorum. The electorate consisted of school committee members in the Orange Free State, and in the Transvaal, while it consisted of all voters in the Cape. In all provinces, four members were appointed by the administration. From their inception, school boards held periodical conferences such as that of the Orange Free State held in Bloemfontein in 1912; that of the Transvaal held on the 4th, 5th and 6th July 1911[16]; that held in Port Elizabeth from the 5th to the 8th December 1927[17]. Of these conferences held in Bloemfontein the Director of Education said that "it succeeded in lubricating the wheels of administration with the result that all component parts of the official and semi-official machinery have since run with greater smoothness and efficiency,"[18]

It may give us an idea what type of person avail themselves for nomination to school boards, and what matters were discussed by these boards. Let us examine the Transvaal school board conference held in Pretoria 1911. Out of fifty delegates four were doctors, and fourteen were ministers of religion[19]. This

conference dealt with many vital educational issues such as salaries of female teachers, teacher-pupil ratio, leave for teachers and the appointment of teachers. From this conference comes the following resolutions: "That this conference most strongly protest against the disregard shown to resolutions passed by this body at its last session held in September 1909, and would courteously but firmly urge that consideration should now be given to . . . . That no primary class should have more than thirty five scholars under one teacher[20]." This conference also dealt with the curriculum because it moved that "more authentic South African History books be introduced."[21]

Viewed against the decentralization/centralization debates as presented by Hans Weiler[22], these conferences dealt with redistribution arguments, efficient arguments and the culture of learning arguments. Adamson, the Director of Education recommended frequent conferences between inspectors and boards. There were frequent conferences, especially during the first decade after the formation of the Union. The Departments were keen on them as can be seen in that the Department of Education decided to meet the school committees and school boards members who attended the Dutch Reformed Synod held in 1916[23].

One of the reasons for founding of school boards was to improve school attendance. It is not easy to gauge exactly the part played by the boards in improving school attendance. Inspector Wessels and Inspector Brinsley ascribed better attendance to conditions under which the Union subsidy was paid

to provinces. Many inspectors, however, attributed better attendance to "vigilance of the school board secretaries."[24] Inspector Graig[25] maintains that attendance improved because attendance officers gave notice to parents whose children were attending irregularly. Inspector Schalkwijk[26] reported attendance officers visiting school : some about fifty miles away from town, at their own cost, once every quarter." Inspector Kerricke stated that attendance officers were doing good work, and boards had improved attendance by providing transport[27]. Inspector Noaks also held the view that the provision of transport by boards had done much to improve school attendance[29]. In the Orange Free State, boards received transport bursaries of R10-00 per annum and for boarding R15-00 per annum for pupils attending county schools, and R10-00 for children attending town schools[30].

By 1917 the cost of transport amounted to R15,506 covering 1379 pupils in the Orange Free State. The provision of transport facilitated the centralization of schools, and Inspector Botha was of the opinion that transport and centralization were some of the greatest difficulties faced by the Department of Education. He gave examples of schools such as Vlafontein No. 364 which cost R4 , 000-00 to build, but had only twenty children. There were cases where local opinion was prejudiced by self-interest in the choosing of the center[31]. By 1930 it had been laid down that the consent of the school committee and written consent of the parents whose children were to be conveyed to the central school had to be procured before centralization[32]. Adamson, praised the

boards in that they provided facilities[33]. Van Wyk[34] says that many inspectors spoke well of the boards and indicated that boards had the interest of education at heart, and had made the work of an inspector lighter.

Despite their valuable contribution, school boards were not without some adverse comments. Inspector Wessels reported that "some board members were long suffering with negligent parents in applying the school laws so that some parents kept their children away from school for service at home. Inspector Hofmeyer states that boards could not effectively apply compulsory education because they could not plead and persecute. When compulsory education became a partially accepted practice, the government assumed financial responsibility for White education. The appointment of teachers became the function of school committees rather than boards. The functions of school boards had so dwindled that by 1924, Malherbe said this about boards, "They degenerated into mere officers for passing on resolutions of the school committees onto the Department of Education- work which one secretary alone could easily perform. The futility of school boards of today has been evident all over the country."[37]

Despite this criticism, school boards persisted so that by 1953 when Black education ceased to be part of National Education, the Cape, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal had school boards. In the Cape some of the Native schools were under boards, the same boards that were responsible fore White education. They were only few of these. A comparison of school

under the school boards and those without school boards in the Cape from 1941 to 1945, shows two differences. The school under school boards had less uncertificated teachers, and the pupil-teacher ratio was higher in schools were not under boards, while it was lower in schools under boards.[38]

Local Administration of Black School from 1792 t0 1953

The local administration of Black school was shaped by the fact that Black education owes its existence to missionary zeal whose history in this service stretches as far back to 1792. Heinrick Marsveld, Johana Kenhel and Daniel Schwinn of the Moravian missionaries established a mission station and a school at Baviaanskloof in 1792[38]. What is significant about this period is that prior to the arrival of these missionaries, no education or missionary institution worthy of note had been founded by the colonists since their arrival in 1652. Apart from the work of the Moravians, pioneering educational enterprise of Van der Kemp of the London Missionary Society, merits some attention. Van der Kemp " applied to King Gaika (*Ngqika*) for liberty to remain in his country . . . and commence his instruction amongst the people. In 1799 this started work which for many years after his death, made Blacks of the Coastal areas to regard missionaries as "Jankanna's children, and it made Bethelsdorp, the Zion of the Khoikhons because that was the greatest missionary station[39].

The first wave of Jankanna's children were like Jankanna in that they shared an "common belief in the mental and physical

equality of races." One of those missionaries was Dr. John Philip[40]. To Philip, the natural capacity of an African was nothing inferior to that of Europeans. The first wave of missionaries argued that Blacks had to take their place alongside Whites. Had this attitude prevailed and persisted throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century, Black participation in local administration bodies would have probably been more that what it was prior 1953. Later waves of missionaries changed their attitudes towards Blacks. From a belief in equality there was a swing to a belief in cultural superiority of Europeans. This belief in White supremacy led to an attitude of racial superiority which was not sympathetic to Black participation in any form of administration[42]. Of this changed missionary attitude Loram quoted Blacks as saying, "Sir . . . in the olden days, the White missionary took me into his study for a cup of tea and talk when I called on him. To day I am told o wait in the kitchen"[43].

Rubusana and Yergan[44] harp on the same note of the changed missionary attitude. Davis[45] ascribes the changed missionary attitude to frontier wars and the cattle-killing episode of 1856. One could add to these causes the Black-White clashes in the interior, the waning of humanitarianism and the gradual introduction of South African born missionaries. This changed attitude led to the change in missionary activities, which changed from conversion to paternalism and trusteeship. Paternalism and trusteeship precluded Black participation in meaningful positions of governance.

Black exclusion in all corridors of power and administration of education was also partially determined by Government attitude towards Black education. This was characterized by tolerance bordering on antipathy, as can be seen from the time of founding Genadendal (Black School) in 1792 and the founding of Bethelsdorp in 1799.[46] A study of Governor Janssen's regulation for Bethelsdorp in 1804 reveals this ambivalent White attitude. Some of the regulations were: "No missionary at Bethelsdorp could go beyond the bounds of the colony; no Khoikhon who was already working for farmer could be admitted to Bethelsdorp and while reading could be taught to Blacks, writing could not."[47]

Government antipathy is also clearly especially in the point which prohibited Blacks from learning to write. Janssen is said to have stated that "most missionaries (rogues) should be sent away with the greatest possible haste, and those who were allowed to stay . . . if there were any, should be given new instructions[47]. Inspector Kuskhe reported that "The idea of having Native school on their farms is repugnant to them (farmers) . . . because children make new footpaths by walking across the veld, or because they climb through the fences. More often the objection was raised that children would not be available for work if they attend school[48]. As an inspector well acquainted with White attitudes towards Black education, he summarized the attitude by saying, "if our public opinion does begin with mistrust it does end in indifference. Mistrust and

indifference excluded Blacks from local administration of schools."[49]

Even Whites engaged in Black education in general have not always been sympathetic towards Black education or showed much concern about Black education. Jacob Dirk Barry, Chairman of the 1892 Education Commission had this to say about Black education. "Is it not better for these Natives to know how to herd sheep and dig than read newspapers?" Dale, the Superintendent of Education in the Cape wrote: "I do not consider it my business to force education on all aborigines; it would mean utter ruin to South Africa, If I produced 600,000 Fingoes or Tembus tomorrow, what would you do with them?"[49] The small portion allotted to Black education in the report of inspectors and directors of education of all provinces from the nineteenth to the twentieth century shows indifference of official to Black education. The appointment of inspectors of Native education in all provinces highlighted the problems of Black education. These problems can be summarized by quoting extracts from a 1941 Departmental Report on Black education. According to this report: "One could condense all the reports of the recent years to read ad follows: we have managed to keep the existing schools going; a few new schools have been registered; the teachers have again had to be told that owing to shortage of funds, no increment can be paid; hundreds of children were refused admission, especially in large towns, because there were no rooms in which they could have been taught, because if there had been adequate accommodation, there

would have been no teachers to teach them, and because even if there had been enough teachers to teach them, there would have been no money to pay them for their work[49].

Bantu school boards are often associated with Verwoerd, especially his views on Black education. These views were however, in most cases dim echoes of what Shula Marks calls "vituperative British settler racism"[50] An examination of the proceedings of the Royal Institute in London reveal British hostile attitudes towards Black education. Black participation local administration of schools was not possible under these condition. Sir Sidney Shippard, one of the conferees, who in the 1898-99 conference said[51]:

> I am one of those who hold that we have gone to a great deal too far in the direction of giving what we call too superior education for many of these native subjects. We develop and encourage ambitions that can never be gratified and succeeding in breeding discontent.. . . we ought to train some of them to be good servants . . . the majority of the natives of South Africa will be hewers of wood and drawers of water to the end of time.

Another version of the same attitude came from Sir Frederick Young, anther conferee, who, at the Colonial Institute in London, in February 1903 said[52]:

> Everyone acquainted with South Africa knows that little progress can be made in the development of industries without proper supply of native labor. There is quite sufficient scope for the White man if he confines himself to the directing of Black labor, and to skilled artisan labor . . . The Bantu is in my opinion, will not in the next hundred tears be able told this class of work efficiently.

To force Blacks to work Young thought tat "they, (Blacks) had to be made to contribute more largely towards the expenses of the government . . ."[53] He went on to say "The South African native is altogether an inferior animal to the White man, and must be treated accordingly. At the present time, the native is treated much to leniently, with the result that he is insolent, lazy and immoral."[54] To Sir Henry Bulwer, a Black person was an inferior animal that did not deserve education. He spoke of the hereditary laziness of and demoralization that was produced by the high rate of wages at the Johannesburg and Kimberly mines. To him, the blacks were "uncontrolled packs of female slave drivers."[55] These attitudes expressed in the Royal Colonial Institute in London were not without their counterpart in South Africa. Amongst the British settlers. One has to read the debates of the Natal Legislative Assembly to see how hostile the British settler could be against Black education. Molteno quotes a memorandum by Levy which says: "As far as possible I would that these schools teach

each and every occupation that a servant is required to do in the Colony. Why is it that I have employed a Red Kaffir boy as my groom and gardener? Simply because he demands half the amount that an educated boy does. To have 20,000 or 30,000 of this class in the Colony would be a serious matter. The present system of education is not only a waste of money . . . but money spent raising an army of discontents who would sooner or later become serious danger for the country.[56]

It has been necessary to deal with attitudes as they were largely responsible for denying Blacks school boards when they demanded them, and were also responsible for the hidden agenda which found its way into the school boards founded by Verwoerd in 1953. Historical realities denied the existence of hereditary laziness, nor the existence of a thousand years of differentiated development between Blacks and Whites. When the blacks competed favorably in multiracial school with Whites and in capital accumulation, they were excluded from competing with Whites. Louw and Kendel[56] capture convincing scenes of Black ascendance during the 19th Century, They say: "A Cape statistician noted, taking everything into consideration, that the native district of Peddie surprised the European district of Albany in its productive power. During the period the purchasing power of Blacks of the Eastern Cape exceeded R8, million a year. Export were many and valued at R15, million per annum. By 1890 there were many progressive Black commercial farmers who bought their farms outright . . . They sent their children to multiracial boarding

schools and employed laborers and leased their land. By 1898 there were one to two thousand commercial farmers"[56]

Blacks who wanted school boards were members of the African Agricultural Societies and had tasted the fruit of cooperative efforts. These Blacks were also reaping the fruit of undifferentiated curriculum as one should remember that prior 1922, the curriculum was not differentiated. To stop the competition between the Blacks and the Whites, the state formed an alliance with maize and gold and unleashed a series of discriminatory laws that were aimed at forestalling Black advancement, and providing maize and gold with enough labor. "The government had them by the head, and the farmers by the legs . . The native had no means of making wealth. An example of this unhealthy tide against which school boards were introduced can be seen in a the case of John Khumalo. In 1890 Khumalo was a rich commercial farmer at Roosboom in Ladysmith. He had laborers on his farm, and was ordered by the land surveyor Moodie, to release his laborers for public works. Khumalo refused because White farmers were asked to release their laborers. He was charged but won the case. As more Black land was taken away from Blacks, Roosboom was also taken and Blacks forced to move to Ezakheni, where they would pay rent and be dependent of White farmers, and also be a labor reservoir for the expected industrial development in Ladysmith.[57] The dispossession, the marginalization and the impoverization of Blacks militated against the formation of viable local administrative structure amongst Blacks.

The historical context of this study can benefit by looking at the development of the curriculum in Black school as presented by Jansen. Jansen[58] maintains that an evangelical curriculum formed the base of Black education until the 19th Century. This was followed by the academic curriculum leading to secular content. The third phase was the differentiated curriculum introduced in 1922 with devastating consequences, says Dube and Tabata. The last phase, says Jansen was the apartheid phase. Jansen gives three quotation which so reveal such consistency that makes these quotations worth repeating I this study. C. T, Loram (Inspector of Native Education in Natal) in 1927 asked : "Which is really more important for Africans villages today- Practical hygiene or the ability to read? Elementary agriculture or Geography? Wise recreation or Arithmetic? Pellis (An academic) asked: "What boots (Of what use is) it to teach a man to read if he can never get hold of a book . . . Why teach him agriculture when all arable land is already occupied? Verwoerd, the apartheid architect in 1954 asked "What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice . . . it is absurd. M. C. Botha, the Minister of Bantu Education in 1976 stated that Bantu children must learn Afrikaans because some of their employers will be Afrikaners.[59] In 1985 P.W. Botha, the President stated that "It is our strong conviction (therefore) that the Black is the raw material for the White man. So Brothers and Sisters, let us join hands together to fight this Black devil.[60]

Bantu school boards were introduced when South Africa was reaching the peak in the institutionalization of racism, educational inequalities and Black poverty. It was therefore under these varying waves of missionary control, varying government policies, and varying White attitudes towards Black education that school boards developed. Government control came about because missionaries needed government financial assistance. In the Cape, government assistance came in 1854 after the arrival of Sir George Grey.[61] Black education received funds from the Aborigines Fund. In the Orange Free State the Volksraad voted R90-00 towards the upkeep of the school established by the Dutch Reformed Church at Witzieshoek in 1878.[62] This was followed by R60—00 and R100-00 granted to schools in Bethany and Thaba Nchu in 1889.[63] Government financial aid was followed by government supervision of Black schools. An inspector of education reported that: "Almost all the Native schools in these districts have been placed under the control of Native Missionaries or Native Boards, and the results of such a system seem to show that the development of the Colored races has not yet reached such a point this fair to native education to throw such responsibility on their shoulders."[64]

The perennial school-building problems were a heavy burden on missionary societies. The weaknesses of Black education were specifically defines as follows:[65]

> With regard to administration of school funds, it must be recorded that native teachers, native committee members, even native ministers, a have more to learn. They do not realize the importance of accuracy, nor the necessity of being able to account for every penny of public money. . . . Often the school funds were looked upon as a convinient source of loans- ten being generously granted to members of committees.

Missions nominated superintendents, and if approved by the Superintendents General of Education, they would then be recognized as managers of schools.[66] Superintendents were, therefore accountable to those missionary societies. They could, therefore not be called upon to account for their actions by the government, nor by the people they served. The managers were responsible for the erection of and the repair of school buildings, provision of school furniture and equipment, ensuring compliance with requirements of the curriculum,

The success which managers met in the above functions is indicated in the analyses of annual reports which undoubtedly indicates that managers strove hard to cope with the ever increasing school population. Most of the missionary managers gave of their best by setting high moral standards for teachers in their schools.[67] Despite these successes, the period of missionary superintendent was wrecked by increased demands for Black education, duplication or overlapping in Black schools.

Muir, the SGE said that it was "uncommon for two or even three schools to exist where there was only room for one."[68] To solve the problem of overlapping of schools all Departments encouraged amalgamation of Black schools. Missionary managers had little acquaintances with their schools. They gleaned their information during their quarterly visits to the school *stad*.[69] They accepted reports of evangelist or ministers who were on the spot. Some lived too far from the school and seldom visited them. These were ministers who managed their school by post.[70] "While most grantees were well meaning and sincere, many of them were not good administrators."[71] It was perhaps these weaknesses which made Shabangu[72] to say that White ministers had no reason to complain about the government take-over. White grantees had not established personal intimacy with their school and Black communities.

The Commission on Native Affairs recommended the founding of school boards in the Cape.[73] Inspector Swerbrech said in 1920 that demands had been frequently voiced for the appointment of school committees.[74] School boards would end the partnership between the Church and State- a pattern that was taking place in many countries. The Interdepartmental Commission on Native Education[75] stated in 1935 that it was generally accepted in democratic countries that primary education was the function of the sate, and was too great for private enterprise. With this felt need and divergent practice, Black education moved into school board era in 1954.[76]

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CHAPTER III

THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT NO. 47 OF 1953 AND BANTU SCHOOL BOARDS

Introduction

The Nationalist Party, an Afrikaner Party, came into power in 1948. It stood for White domination and deposed Black leaders and chiefs who opposed it. Chief A.J Luthuli, Nobel Prize winner and the then president of the African National Congress, was deposed by the new government. Apartheid was going to be achieved by enforcing, amending and adapting existing discriminatory laws such as Mixed Marriages Act, Immorality Act, Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act, Stock Limitation Regulations, Suppression of Communism Act and the Urban Influx Control Act.

The Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953 was introduced by the Nationalist Party. After the founding of the Bantu Education Act, local administration in Black schools was, according to policy-makers, designed to empower Black communities in educational matters. The Act coincided with massive forced resettlement of Blacks at Charlestown, Martindale, Sophiatown and Newclare; the removal of Blacks from city suburbs; the withdrawal of subsidies for nursery schools;[1] the introduction of passes for women;[1] and the intensification of influx control[2].

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[1]Passes were documents issued to Blacks. Passes restricted Blacks to certain places. Blacks had to produce these documents when requested by police.

[2]Influx control restricted the movement of Blacks into urban areas where they were employed. They could only remain in other urban areas for 72 hours.

The Bantu Urban Influx Control Act strengthened and enforced the pass laws. These pass laws were originally founded for slaves at the Cape by the English in 1809 and were later extended to all Blacks in South Africa. In 1870 these pass laws were rigidly applied in the diamond fields in Kimberley. In 1910 the rigidity of pass laws was introduced in the gold fields in the Rand[2]. These laws required that all male Blacks above the age of 18 carry passes and produce them on demand by the police. Failure to produce a pass was a criminal offense. In 1956 there were wide spread protests as the pass laws were extended to women.[3] In 1960 the Blacks protested against pass laws. The police fired at the protesters, killing 69, this resulted in the Sharpeville Massacre[4].

That the new government was unpopular was evident in various forms of protest. One of these was through songs in African languages. One song was, "This side and this is a police van. How can I walk when I am hemmed by police vans?"[5] We sang this song in schools in the 1950s. We also sang: "I hate Malan because of his discriminatory laws." Malan was then the Prime Minister. The Black Mambazo sang, "We are suffering, we Black people. We have even been to Tanganyika in search of a more peaceful life." The 1950s saw an exodus of educated Africans who left South Africa in order to escape from Bantu Education and apartheid.[6]

The pass laws divided Black communities in urban areas into legal residents and illegal residents. Legal residents were those Blacks who qualified to be in assigned urban areas under the Influx Control Act of 1923. Children of illegal residents could

not be admitted to schools in the urban areas. By the 1960s, even ultra-conservative Afrikaners were beginning to condemn pass laws and the exclusion of Blacks from urban areas. We find Adriaan Pont writing in *Woord en Daad*:

> Can the policy of separate development lay claim to justice ... if thousands of Africans capable of skilled work cannot find employment opportunities in their homelands, and are, at the same time, excluded from more skilled and better paying jobs in the White areas? How can we ... want to hold back the African who has grown in this atmosphere (of economic prosperity) to a primitive way of life by forcing him into a poverty stricken homeland where he cannot make a living ....[7]

To keep Blacks away from well-paying jobs when their education had to be borne by their meager earnings was depriving Blacks of the funds they needed for their education, as determined by the newly-founded school boards.

Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953

The Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953 was founded by the Afrikaner Government in 1954 in order to put into effect the findings of the Eiselen Commission or the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951. Some findings of the commission were pedagogically plausible but were later adulterated and changed by the government. This government intent could be gleaned from the

pronouncements of leading Afrikaner politicians of the time. De Wit Nel, who later became a Minister of Native Affairs, said that, "Mission schools were using education to stir up the Natives against Europeans. So now we enter a new era under the Bantu Education Act, in which Dr. Verwoerd will equip the Natives for their humble, inferior station in life. They will be taught to expect little and then will therefore ask for little."[8] Verwoerd, the Minister, maintained that:

> Good racial relations could not exist when education was left to the control of the people who created wrong expectations amongst Bantu. Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life. In terms of the government plans for South Africa, there is no place for the Bantu in European community above the level of certain forms of labor.[9]

When the Minister of Bantu Education addressed Assembly in 1959 he said that "Non-Whites must not gain the fallacious impression that academic learning would remove discrimination in South Africa."[10] The Act transferred Black schools from provincial administrations and missionaries to the central government. Black education was initially part of the Department of Native Affairs. After 1953 it became illegal to hold unregistered schools.. Mission schools and some adult education schools were closed. Black schools became Bantu community schools and were managed by school committees and school boards. These bodies that:

In rural areas school committees should have seven members, two of whom are nominated by the Secretary for Bantu Education to represent religious interest, and the rest are nominated by the tribal authority or by the chief, subject to the Secretary's approval. Two of these are chosen to represent the authority of the chief and these are drawn from amongst the parents.

(In the urban areas) the Bantu Affairs Commissioner appoints two or more members, after consulting with the advisory board and local authority, the Secretary nominates two people to represent religious and other interests, and the parents elect four representatives.

School committees receive and control school funds, maintain school buildings and grounds, if necessary erect new buildings. They also advise the boards in regard to the welfare and efficacy of the school or schools under their control and the appointment and efficiency of the teachers.[11]

The composition of the school boards followed similar lines to those of school committees in which board members were appointed by chiefs and Bantu commissioners instead of being elected by parents. The position was that:

In rural areas where there was a district or regional authority, this body nominated six of the eight members of the school boards, subject to the Secretary's approval, two were nominated by the authority amongst its members, two were chosen from amongst the parents representatives on school committees, and two were selected on the groups representing religious interest.
In urban areas the Secretary nominated six of the members of the school committee, the chairman, the vice-chairman and four persons to represent religious interest and other special interests. The Bantu Affairs Commissioner appoints two or more members and the parent members of the school committee elect four representatives from amongst the parent members; the committee elect four representative from amongst their ranks.
School boards were employers of teachers. Other duties of the school boards were to maintain and control schools in their own areas, subject to Departmental approval, to plan and promote the creation of school buildings, to allocate, control, and maintain school equipment, to investigate complaints, and to supervise the finances of school committees.[12]

What we see above is a rigid composition which does not allow flexibility for the needs of each area. The only provision made was for the formation of committee/boards where the school

could not be placed under any board, that is, if there was only one school in the district. Flexible board structures of from 9 to 15 board members as existed in White education were lacking in the Black schools. Densely populated area received the same treatment as a thinly populated area. The composition could not be tailored to meet the needs of the districts. It was evident that Bantu Education was centralist to the core, with guarded delegation of powers extended to hand-picked Blacks. The Secretary of Bantu Education, Bantu commissioners and local authorities in urban areas were White. These White officials appointed committee members and board members in Black schools although their children were not in those schools. Whites distanced themselves from Black communities, yet were given powers to select and appoint Blacks into local educational administrative structures. The Secretary of Bantu Education was represented by inspectors who, in most cases, virtually appointed board members for the Secretary. The inspectors, in most cases, represented their sponsors rather than represented their clients, the Black communities. It was not evident from the study how Bantu commissioners, who were always White, nominated Blacks to serve in the school committees. There were instances when Bantu commissioners were aided by Black civil servants in their departments in the choice of candidates for nomination.

Chiefs were not elected, save those of Amakholwa tribes. Chiefs were born into their privileges and traditional roles. Acquisition of power by birth invariably made chieftainship and

traditional Black administration to be undemocratic, unrepresentative and nepotic. Viewed within the context of contemporary management parlance, traditional administrations with their impositions of allegiance, patronage and presents, amount to corruption. Attempts to modernize chieftaincy failed when government established schools for chiefs. These schools were eventually closed because of lack of support from the chiefs. After the failure of the treaty system in 1847[13], chiefs were gradually made government officials, working within the Bantu regional or territorial authorities. For chiefs to nominate school committee members and school board members was a mere deconcentration of power. Such nominees were outposts of the central government rather than representatives of Black parents. As far as Black parents were concerned, this was pseudo-participation. Looking at similar structures, Zulu concludes that a local tribal authority was:

> more of an extension of state apparatus than an organ representing the (Black) people. Its functions tend to concentrate on the bureaucratic demands rather than on the coordination, articulation and aggregation of popular wishes. Such a position creates various impasses where people blame local structures for what is, otherwise, the responsibility of the political superstructure.[14]

Although popular and tempting as this view is, this researcher argues that there was an interplay between state apparatus and the people. This interplay or praxis was a new creation, brought into being by the actions of history-creating Black people whose implementation, interpretations and perceptions of the policy were their own.

The Annual Report: 1968 reports that:

> The school boards were responsible for managing the finances of the 4,402 schools under their control. In addition they were responsible for the employment of, and control over, 26,244 teachers. They also had to deal with the appointment and payment of 5,599 privately-paid teachers. The sum involved amounted to approximately R800,000-00. The control of building fund to the value of R535,080-00 for the erection of 122 new buildings of 389 classrooms, and a further 240 classrooms added to existing classrooms. Further more, they assisted ..... with the erection of 57 new buildings, with 190 classrooms and 100 additional classrooms to the value of R292,641-00.[15]

When one considers that there were 4,000 school committees with 40,000 Blacks in the service of 400 school boards, one can conclude that the introduction of these administrative bodies provided fertile ground for the initiation of Blacks to modern, partially democratic institutions. Local administrative bodies

gave Blacks a feel of running their affairs constitutionally, according to rules, regulations and procedures which required them to write minutes of meetings, to read minutes and to vote instead of merely shouting "*elethu!*"[16] (Agreed) which means "we are agreed." A tremendous amount of education took place within those local institutions as their members talked of agendas, submitted to the powers of the chairperson and discussed and recorded their discussions. An inspector narrated an incident where he had to explain to the meeting why it was necessary to elect new parent members. Some women in the meeting felt there was no need for elections because members of the outgoing committee had not died and they were all doing their work well.[17]

It was, however, evident that board members engaged in all these tasks without adequate job description, and preparation for their task. A more enlightened cohort of board members would have rejected some of functions which are indicated above. The employment of privately-paid teachers, was, for instance, pedagogically unsound. A privately-paid teacher was an unqualified teacher who had, in most cases, not even passed Grade 12. The lower the standard of the teacher, the less pay she or he demanded. To employ unqualified, underpaid, privately-paid teachers for an ailing Black education was like employing a charlatan for seriously ill Black patients, while the-not-so-ill White patients employed the best qualified doctors. Privately-paid teachers were paid from R20-00 to R35-00 a month in 1970.

"Boards are bridges or buffers and shock absorbers," says Cubberley.[18] Boards facilitate continuity from one school to another. These bridges became more essential during the 1950s when Bantu Education limited schools to ten classroom schools. During the 1940s, 1930s and 1920s big schools tended to be combined schools starting from the substandard to Junior Certificate (Grade 9) or sometimes to Matric (grade 12). In the 1950s, there was a break with this practice as lower primary schools, higher primary schools and secondary schools were separated into individual schools, each having its own committee, with all committees under the control of a board. It was then the duty of the board to ensure that students from one school proceeded to the next without any hassles. This prevented fragmentation of the education facilities. The emphasis on classrooms in the annual report presented above marks the deterioration of Black schools to mere classrooms with no supportive physical education facilities. Libraries, laboratories, gymnasia, school halls, restrooms, clean drinking water, electricity, sport fields, transport, food and bursaries were not catered for by the new administration. The school feeding scheme[3] was stopped by the new government in 1950 because it wanted to use the feeding scheme funds for building of classrooms. Black schools then became hungry schools. The absence of the facilities mentioned above caused much discontent amongst the clients of Black education. Even in Soweto, which is in Johannesburg, often called the premier of education, supportive

[3]The school feeding scheme provided free food for all students during tea break and lunch break.

physical education facilities were wanting. Samantha Weinberg looks at Soweto schools in 1991 and calls them "schools of scandal." She says that the school has been pressing the Department for toilets (restrooms) and classrooms for years, to no avail.[19]"You can go on for a while without electricity and telephones, but not without toilets," said the principal.[20]

It is pertinent to state that all these board members faced problems which were similar in many respects although they varied in intensity. These problems emanated from the escalating school population and ill-funded Black education. Table 3.1, 3.2 and Table 3.3 indicate this school population from 1953 to 1975. The growth of the Black school population was as follows in 1964:

TABLE 3.1 GROWTH OF BLACK SCHOOL POPULATION: 1955-1975

YEAR	PRIMARY	SECONDARY	TOTAL
1955	970,239	34,983	1,013,910
1960	1,452,246	47,598	1,506,034
1965	1,883,990	66,568	1,957,836
1970	2,614,961	122,489	2,748,650
1975	3,378,873	318,568	3,731,455

Source: Educamus, June, 1964, p. 12.[21]

From the above table, it becomes clear that the school population in the primary school increased almost four-fold, while in the secondary school it increased nine-fold. For all school boards this meant building more secondary schools and employing more secondary school teachers. The teacher/classroom/ pupil situation was as shown on the next page.

TABLE 3.2 BLACK SCHOOLS, TEACHERS AND PUPILS: 1972, 1974 AND 1975

AREA	1972 schools	1972 teachers	1972 pupils	1974 schools	1974 teachers	1974 pupils	1975 schools	1975 teachers	1975 pupils
A. WHITE AREAS									
Transvaal	1,802	10,645	584,777	1,956	12,429	649,693	*	*	*
N. Transvaal	*	*	*	*	*	*	1,376	6,083	307,644
S. Transvaal	*	*	*	*	*	*	677	7,302	374,927
Orange Free State	1,441	3,968	225,089	1,648	4,550	246,877	1,729	4,802	253,546
Natal	890	3,968	183,506	968	3,844	197,509	99	4,048	202,195
Cape	959	3,404	207,688	1,034	4.088	227,327	1,065	4,294	234,103
TOTAL	5,093	21,697	1,201,060	5,606	24,919	1,321,318	5,838	26,529	1,372,103
B. HOMELANDS									
Ciskei	569	3,189	180,153	623	3,966	204,325	675	4,410	220,083
Bophuthatswana	709	5,006	292,877	778	5,813	333,834	835	6,406	360,055
Lebowa	29	284	16,505	37	497	25,189	50	893	34,587
Qwaqwa	822	5,327	317,144	891	6,177	377,223	939	6,758	411,521
Gazankulu	232	1,268	84,087	272	1,532	99,570	278	1,658	105,495
Venda	284	1,381	81,574	308	1,663	94,914	332	1,845	102,036
Kwazulu	1,441	7,856	472,362	1,569	9,588	568,352	1,680	10,564	606,335
SUB-TOTAL	4,086	24,309	1,444,605	4,487	29,232	1,703,407	4,789	32,534	1,840,112
Transkei	1,769	28,091	456,156	1,854	8,728	489,250	1,946	9,944	518,928
TOTAL HOMELANDS	855	32,400	1,900,761	6,341	7,960	2,192,657	6,735	42,478	2,359,040
TOTAL: REPUBLIC	10,949	54,097	3,101,821	11,947	62,879	3,513,975	12,593	69,007	3,731,455

Source: Republic of South Africa, Year Book 1976, p. 688.[22]

The demographics given on that Table 3.2 are indicative of shortage of teachers and schools although they do not indicate what level of schooling suffered most. They do, however, show the areas which were seriously affected by a shortage of schools and shortage of teachers. Schools in White areas had better education facilities than schools in Black areas. Schools headed by White principals had better facilities than schools headed by Black principals. The three school boards being discussed in this study had to deal with both a shortage of teachers and shortage of schools. Table 3.2, on the previous page, shows the distribution of schools, teachers and students as they were from 1972 to 1975.

It would, however, be distortive to omit major plausible transformative trends initiated by the Bantu Education Act. The division of schools into primary and secondary schools necessitated provision for secondary school teachers. There was, therefore, a need for expanding the matriculation (grade 12) cohorts and expanding the Black university population. The Extension of University Act of 1959 provided for the establishment of Black universities, which then increased from 1 to 7 with a resulting increase in Black matriculation numbers, and tertiary education. Black universities provided the secondary school personnel needed by expanding numbers of secondary schools. The changing dynamics of the school population as indicated in the demographics given in table 3.3 and table 3.4, changed the Black school clients making them more demanding, more vociferous and militant at a time when the shortage of secondary school teachers

was acute. From 1955 to 1975 the secondary school population had increased from 34,983 students to 318,568 students as indicated in table 3.3. Teacher training institutions, called colleges of education, in South Africa were not universities or institutions linked to universities. They only trained elementary schools teachers. A pass without an exemption debarred such candidates from going to universities where secondary school teachers were trained. Universities offered University education diplomas for post graduate students and offered secondary teachers diploma for students who had more than four degree courses to their credit. From 1953 to 1975 teacher training of elementary school teachers increased from 6,344 to 15,563. The increase of secondary school teachers was stifled by the matriculation results which had more students failing to get exemptions. The performance of students in examinations is shown on the next page on Figure 3.3 Those students who got exemptions and went to universities got enrolled into different fields with only a few in secondary teachers diploma or university teachers diploma programs. In 1967, the researcher was one of the four candidates for the university education diploma at the University of Zululand.

TABLE: 3..3 BLACK STUDENT POPULATION 1953 TO 1975

YEAR	PRIMARY	SECONDARY	TOTAL	MATRICULATION RESULTS (Grade 12)			TERTIARY AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING			UNIVERSITY ENROLMENT
				Pass without exemption	Pass with Exemption	Total	Vocational/ technical training	Teacher training	Total	
1953	N/A	N/A	N/A	157	175	332	N/A	6,344		N/A
1955	970,239	34,983	1,013,910	191	274	465	2,237	5,899	8,136	1,521
1960	1,452,246	47,598	1,506,034	118	279	397	1,734	4,292	6,026	1,792
1965	1,883,990	66,568	1,957,836	504	323	827	2,730	4,548	7,278	2,634
1970	2,614,961	122,489	2,748,650	1,741	1,104	2,845	3,652	7,548	11,200	4,609
1975	3,378,873	318,568	3,731,455	3,015	3,686	6,761	4,607	15,563	20,170	9,181

Source: Adapted from Research on Education in South Africa,
Paper No 2, Bantu Eduction as a Reformist Strategy of the South African State. pp. 5-7[23],
and from Educamus. June, 1964, p. 12.[24]

The shortage of secondary teachers was evident in Black teachers' qualifications in 1969. The position was as follows:

TABLE 3.4 QUALIFICATION OF BLACK TEACHERS IN 1969

Lower primary teachers' certificate (Grade 8 + 2 year training)	56
Higher Primary teachers' certificate (Grade 10 + 2 year training)	2,883
Secondary teachers diploma (4 degree courses + 1 year training)	94
University Education diploma (degree + 1 year training)	48

Source: South African Institute of Race Relations, Race Relations Survey 1971, p. 214.[25]

In 1969 only 142 secondary school teachers were suitably qualified to teach 122,568 students. In most cases, qualified secondary school teachers became principals of secondary schools which were staffed by primary school teachers. Primary school teachers who had gone to colleges of education because they could not get matriculation exemption passes found themselves trying to assist their students in getting exemption passes in Black high schools. Bantu school boards had to contend with this difficult situation. The figures above indicate a paucity of secondary school teachers. Primary school teachers were used in most secondary schools. The board structures were not prepared for upgrading education to meet the new demands. Administrative inertia set in, and this was felt

more strongly in the Black urban secondary schools-hence the outcry of secondary school students in 1976. The shortage of secondary school teachers is more glaring in table 3.3 where a number of secondary school population may be compared to numbers of teachers for primary schools. The composite increase in Black education from 1953 to 1975 was indicated in table 3.3.

Opposition to the Bantu Education Act of 1953

The Bantu School Board can only be clearly understood by looking at Black reaction to the Bantu Education Act. The Federal Council of the African Teachers declared that the basis of the Eiselen Report on African education had not been acceptable to the African teachers. The Teachers' League of South Africa condemned Bantu Education for it intended that both parents and teachers shall become "absolute servants of the Native Affairs Department, with the parents acting as spies, policemen and warders for teachers."[26] The President of the Natal African Teachers Union maintained that Africans and others shared the fear that the Act would result in reducing the scope, extent and quality of African education.[27] A glimpse of the rejections of Bantu Education by the Cape African Teachers Association can be gained by looking at the language used in their "The Defeat of the NAD and School Boards." This pamphlet calls board members "slave drivers" and inspectors, NAD (Native Affairs Department) itinerant boss-boys."[28] In the Western Cape parents refused to form school committees and school boards so that principals and their teachers were requested to

find suitable people for the committees.[29] The refusal to form school committees was supported by the African National Congress.

Opposition also came from the Congress of the Location Advisory Boards held in Soweto. This congress called upon the government to repeal the Act. So did the Congress of Advisory Boards held at Uitenhage.[30] The United Transkeian Territorial General Council deplored and noted with dismay the provisions of the Act .... because it provided education which was inferior to that of the Whites.[31] The National African Student Association rejected the Act in 1955.[32] With the African National Congress it was not merely rejection but the Congress called upon Blacks to boycott Bantu Education by not allowing their children to attend school from the first of April 1955 and to abstain from participating in administrative structures created by the Act or take part in the elections for these bodies.[33] Opposition from these organized groups robbed Black administrative bodies of a sizeable number of seasoned Black leaders in these organizations. Had these organizations been won over to Bantu Education, more able leadership would have been harnessed for educational matters. The African National Congress opposed the Act because it did not meet their interpretation of the Atlantic Charter as it pertained to Black education.

Following the announcement of the Atlantic Charter by the President of the United States and the British Prime Minister, the ANC formulated their own interpretation of the charter. As far as Black education was concerned, the ANC's stipulated that:

1. Education of an African is a matter of national concern requiring state effort for its proper realization. The magnitude of the task places it beyond the limits of the resources of the missionary or private endeavors. The right of African child to education, like children of other sections, must be recognized as a State duty and responsibility. Therefore, we demand that:

    (a) the state must provide full facilities for all types of education for African children.

    (b) education of the African must be financed from General Revenue on a per caput basis.

    (c) the state must provide enough properly built and equipped schools for all African children of school-going age and institute free and compulsory education.

    (d) the state must provide adequate facilities for secondary, professional, technical and university education.

(2) We reject the conception that there is a need of a special type of education for Africans.

(3) We demand equal pay for equal educational qualifications and equal grade of work for all teachers irrespective of race and color. We also urge that conditions of service, and other privileges which are enjoyed by (White) teachers should be extended to African teachers on equal terms.

(4) We claim that the direction of the educational system of the African must fall more and more largely into the hands of the African themselves, and therefore we demand increased and direct representation in all bodies such as Education Advisory Boards, school committees, governing councils, etc., which are responsible for managing and shaping policy in African schools, ...[34]

From the foregoing it is clear that the Act did not meet any of the demands of the ANC and the ANC was justified to oppose the Act.

On the individual level, opposition to the Act came from the president of the ANC, A.J. Luthuli, who said that the Act was a design to seal the doom of the Blacks.[35] Some Black professors such as Z.K. Mathews, C.L.S. Nyembezi and Reggie Ngcobo resigned at Fort Hare University in protest against Bantu Education. Some teachers left the country for African states and for overseas countries in protest against Bantu Education "*Sala Yedwa*" (a correspondent in Ilanga,) regarded the Nationalists Party as *mambas* (deadly snakes), attacking Black education so that it would

provide labor force for White farmers,[36] The same correspondent wrote in Ilanga that:

> It would be rank despotism to impose upon the people a type of education intended to harmonize with political ideas diametrically opposed and inimical to their aspirations .... and ask them to provide the poison for self-destruction.[37]

Busy Bee (another correspondent,) maintained that "it was idle to speak of Africans taking part in what they don't want."[38]

There was also the fear that the Act brought the management of schools under a body of illiterates. Murray puts this problem like this; "The greatest problem of the board committee structure is the paucity of educated Africans, and some of the appointees were poorly educated and illiterate."[39] On this issue, Shepherd says: "To demand that a school should be managed by a body of illiterate men or think a Christian school should be managed by a body of non-Christian men, is an intolerable demand."[40] James Nzuza, a former high school principal writing in the Ilanga, regarded school board members as old illiterates.[41] This criticism continued throughout the period of the board system and still persist today. Nxumalo, writing in Paidonomia, says that school boards were mainly formed by illiterates.[42]

In defense of this state of affairs, De Wet Nel, the Minister of Native Affairs, stated that the old system of the control and management of schools divided the Black communities, making some

members progressive, some apathetic and others hostile.[43] The paucity of educated persons on the board-committee structure becomes, however, clear when one considers that in 1951 two-thirds of the Black population over the age of 10 years were illiterate, with illiteracy being 76.6% in the rural areas and 46.9% in the urban areas.[44] Of the literate percentage, a sizeable portion was not eligible for membership to the administrative structures because they did not fit the age limit, which was 30 years of age, and because they did not otherwise qualify.

To deny Black participation in the local administrative structures because of their illiteracy, would be to perpetuate what Dr. Madide calls "the dangerous dichotomy between the schooled and unschooled."[45] This denial of parental participation in the governance of education of their children is not conducive to educational development. Black parents are parents, whether they are literate or illiterate. Like all parents, they should have an "effective voice"[46] in the education of their children. If parents are to some extent educators, then Black parents, literate or illiterate, are to some extent educators. The ideal would be, therefore, to bring all educators together rather than create a cleavage between the literate and illiterate educators. One cannot, however, deny that there are advantages to be gained from literate board-membership. With a census showing that two-thirds of the Black population in 1951 was illiterate, those who give an overemphasis to literacy could say that Blacks should have waited until they could read and write before assuming administrative

positions. To this reasoning Mason says that adaptation of education in Africa can be brought about by Africans themselves. Even illiterate Blacks have a contribution to make towards the education of their children, just as much as illiterate patients have a contribution to make towards their recovery when being treated by doctors.[47]

Participation and Support for the Board System

Despite this opposition to the Act, there were Blacks who accepted the Act happily. A correspondent wrote in Ilanga "*Ngemfundo Yabantu, Kulunge Kunje*!"[48] which means that Bantu Education was acceptable because the missionaries did not keep Blacks informed about school matters. It was further alleged by the same correspondent that missionaries harassed teachers and had brought upon Black education the five-mile radius limit. The change to Bantu Education was going to eliminate this five-mile radius limit and could stop Blacks from the Transvaal from boasting to Natal Blacks about their knowledge, of Afrikaans. E. D. Shabangu wrote, "*Thatha Hulumeni*!" meaning "Let the government take Black schools!"[49] Shabangu felt that denominationalism was dividing Black communities, and certain denominations tended to pressure students to join those denominations which controlled the schools. Denominations treated their church members differently from other students. Recently, a Black music professor at the University of Chicago related how he was denied an opportunity to play a trumpet in a Catholic institution just because he was not a

Catholic.[50] Prince P. M. Zulu expressed delight at the Bantu school board take-over, especially at the indication that Blacks were going to administer their own education.[51] Madiba, who is also a Mandela, wanted Blacks to be given a chance to try Bantu Education as teachers were tired of being forced by missionaries to run Sunday schools.[52] In 1954 the Transvaal Interdenominational African Ministers Association appealed to the ANC to withdraw the boycott resolution to encourage children to return to school and to encourage Blacks to take an active part in school committees and school boards.[53]

Interesting is the case of the educated Blacks who accepted what Kumalo calls "black bread"[54] and served on the boards and committees. Two such persons were Dr. F. Nkomo and Bishop A. H. Zulu, former chairman of the World Council of Churches and former chairman of the South African Council of Churches.[55] In 1955 Blacks were fully admitted as members of local committees and local boards. What was advocated by some English liberals such as C. T. Loram in 1927, an American educationist practicing in South Africa in the 1920s,[56] G. N Welsh in 1928,[57] Edgar H. Brookes in 1930[58] and the joint-deputation of the Native Representative Council, the African National Congress, the Location Advisory Board Congress and the African Teachers Federation in 1942[59] had by 1955 been incorporated in the Bantu Education Act. School boards and school committees run by Blacks for Black schools were established. It is clear from the above that Black school boards were thought of and requested by Blacks and scholars long before the Nationalist Party

came into power. Those organizations had not, however, advocated the type of school boards established by the Bantu Education Act. Moreover, the opposition was not directed at the Act but was directed at everything that apartheid meant to the Blacks.

Board Membership from 1955

Board-structures in Bantu Education started on 1st April 1955. The Department had prepared Blacks for taking part by publishing articles in all languages, distributing information by means of pamphlets, and having radio programs in African languages.[60] This preparation was, however, inadequate and was not backed up by learning sessions. One of the problems of the time was that almost all the inspectors of education were Whites. Not all board members understood enough White languages to benefit from instruction in English or Afrikaans. Moreover, the radio and government publications such as Bantu, Intuthuko, South African Digest and Bantu Education Journal which provided information on School boards were regarded by Blacks as government propaganda. Though freely distributed to schools and magistrate courts, these publications were not read by many Blacks. Counterhegemonic organizations such as the ANC, PAC, South African Students Organization (SASO) and African Teachers Association of South Africa (ATASA) constantly drummed into the minds of the Blacks that they must be careful of Greeks who bring gifts.

The editorial of Ilanga reported in April 1955 that "many responsible men and women had decided to take part in the boards

because they wanted to make the best out of a bad job."[61] Some Blacks served in the committees because they wanted to get a feel for these administrative structures.[62] Looking at the names of the chairpersons of school boards as they appeared in the Ilanga of July 9, 1955, one tends to agree with the editorial of Ilanga that many responsible people had, in Natal, offered themselves for nomination and election to school committees and school boards. These chairpersons were Bishop A. H. Zulu, for Cato Manor; Rev. J.C. Mvusi for Durban North; Dr. I.B. Gumede for Inanda; Absolom Ngcobo for Ndwedwe North; William Ngidi for Ndwedwe South; Chief Siphiwe Bhengu for Pinetown Rural; M. D. Ngcobo for Pinetown Urban; E. Jali for Lamontville; Rev. J.S. Khanyile for Umlazi-Umbumbulu; Rev. H.W. Nawa for Umlazi Coastal.[63] This list indicates that not all board members were illiterates or uneducated. The list also reveals that some people who strongly disagreed with the Bantu Education Act did participate in the administrative structures created by the system that they vehemently opposed. One such person was Bishop A. H. Zulu, a then staunch member of the ANC. Bishop Zulu explained to Chief Luthuli, the President of the ANC, that he could not comply with the resolution to boycott Bantu Education and not take part in school committees. To do so would be to abandon the Black child or to surrender him or her to the whims and will of the Government. The bishop felt that he had a duty to perform for the Black child.[64] As chairman of the Cato Manor school board, Bishop Zulu and his board could not, however, do much for the improvement of Black

education because Cato Manor ceased to exist in 1960 when the government declared it a Black spot and had the residents resettled in KwaMashu. These resettlements galavanized opposition against the apartheid regime and against its various organs.

The editorial of Ilanga[65] says that some Blacks took part in Black educational administrative structures because they feared that if they refused to co-operate, the Government would merely appoint its own nominees. This assertion is confirmed by the elections at Rosboom. At Rosboom the residents were reluctant to elect committee members and raised many eloquent questions to the magistrate and to the Department official who had come to conduct elections. Residents only elected the school committee because they feared that the Government would appoint headmen (village leaders) to form the school committee.[66] Intimidation, the fear to be labelled collaborators, and worse still, labelled sell-outs robbed school committees and board-structures of some persons who would have probably served well on these structures. The Secretary of the Department of Education and Culture in KwaZulu said that in one meeting he conducted for the election of a school committee, some ANC members invaded the meeting chanting ANC slogans. The Secretary had to answer many questions before the elections. He got the impression that he had convinced the ANC members; that in the absence of the alternative form of education, Blacks had to participate in the existing educational structure, but none of these members were willing to stand for elections.[67] Nxumalo says that:

> All nominated or elected names had to be screened by the police and Pretoria. This caused people to think that those members who were finally approved to be members ... were sell-outs, Government stooges or Government informers. These allegations had ripples extending far and wide.[68]

Glaringly lacking at the inception of Black administrative structures were conferences between inspectors and boards and between inspectors and committee and board members, as was the case in White schools. Conferences of White board members were referred to in Chapter Two. For White schools, Adamson, the Director of Education, had advocated such conferences because he believed that they would strengthen mutual understanding and carry forward common work. Blacks also wanted such conferences. Lugongolo Mtolo, writing in the Ilanga recommended a conference of boards. This recommendation was supported by an editorial of Ilanga.[69] In recommending these conferences, Sala Yedwa, a regular correspondent in the Ilanga, maintained that regular meetings would ensure uniformity in administrative work.[70] The sincerity and credibility of the government became suspect when the government prohibited Bantu school board conferences. White local authorities in South Africa had always "banded together to protect their interest" as shown by the Transvaal Municipal Association, the Cape Municipal Association, the Orange Free State Municipal Association and the Natal Municipal Association. These provincial

associations finally formed the United Municipal Executive which had a full time secretary.[71] Why couldn't the boards be allowed to organize themselves in a similar manner? The motto of the central government was, "*Eendrag maak maag*" that is,"Unity is strength." This motto applied to Whites only.

Pateman argues that pseudo-participation does not allow the participants to unite.[72] When the boards were later divided into different ethnic groups, a united board movement then became impossible. The major reason for the reluctance of the government to have united school boards was that it feared a united opposition. This had been shown in the opposition or advice that the government received from the Congress of the Urban Native Advisory Boards. After warning the Congress from "talking politics," the Government dissolved the Congress in 1956.[73] Perhaps it would be helpful to this study to look at some of the resolutions of the Congress as they had a bearing on the functioning of school boards. Congress moved that:

- Africans be given direct representation in local authorities.
- Pass laws be abolished.
- Native Advisory Boards be given executive power.
- Freehold title land in the urban areas be made available to Africans.[74]

If the government had granted Blacks resolution one above, school boards would have learned about the Native Revenue Account, and could have used part of the available funds for the improvement of education. As this was not the case, White local authorities used these funds without consulting the people who were to be served by these funds. Water accounts, electricity and repairs to Black schools in some urban areas were paid from these funds. The matter of freehold titles also had a bearing on the building of schools. Although White school boards clearly stated in 1912 that they did not consider it their duty to build schools, the school board regulation had given those White boards the power to raise loans for building of schools. Bantu school boards could not raise loans because they did not own the land. In White areas, Blacks were not allowed to own land, while in Black areas land was owned by Bantu Trust, a White government institution. Land in Black areas could not be offered as security in raising loans. In its 1954 and 1955 sittings, Congress moved that the government be requested to repeal the Bantu Education Act. Instead of the government listening to Congress or selling the Act to Congress, the government decided to dissolve Congress.

The Functioning of School Boards

The first function of school boards was to take "over mission and government schools ... and to plan and promote ... the erection and maintenance of school buildings."[75] With the taking over of schools, boards fared well, but the planning and promoting

of the erection of school buildings does not indicate that they were successfully executed. The Act and Departmental directives were not explicit as to how boards were to plan schools in terms of site, space, type of buildings for the schools and the maintenance thereof. Factors which may be considered in the choice of a school site are; "the size, expandability, elevation, drainage, soil, contour, shape natural features attractiveness, location, type of neighborhood, accessibility, traffic arteries, water lines, sewers, electricity noise, order and dust."[76] More importantly, however, was the consideration of space in the planning of school buildings. The Department of Bantu Education did not provide board members with guidelines defining space required for different types of schools and for individual students in different educational levels.

The Department of Bantu Education did not spell out these requirements, most probably because it would disqualify most Black schools. Most Black schools could not meet the standards given above. As more than 29 million Blacks were squeezed into 13% of the land, while 4 million Whites occupied 87% of the land, the above mentioned considerations would not have made it possible for school boards to build schools. Schools erected by Bantu schools boards were consequently inferior, ill-sited and reflecting overcrowding taking place in Black townships and rural areas. The National Council on Schoolhouse Construction in the USA suggests the following guidelines:

1. For elementary schools, it is suggested that there be provided a minimum site of 5 acres plus an additional acre for each 100 pupils projected ultimate maximum enrollment. Thus, a site of minimum size for an elementary school of 200 pupils would be 12 acres.

2. For junior high school, it is suggested that there be provided a minimum site of 20 acres plus an additional acre for each 100 pupils or projected ultimate maximum enrolment. Thus, a site of minimum size for a junior high school of 500 pupils would be 25 acres.

3. For senior high schools, it is suggested that there be provided a minimum site of 30 acres plus additional acre for each 1000 pupils projected ultimate maximum enrolment. Thus, the site of minimum size for senior high school of 1,000 pupils would be 40 acres.[77]

Johannesburg, which had the highest school levy of 38c per house rent when other urban areas collected 20c, and which had the highest Native Levy of R1-00 a week when other local authorities collected only 25c, has today what Samantha Weinberg calls schools of scandal, She describes the situation as follows:

> Metcalf, a teacher at Realogile High School . . . battled to be heard above the noise created when 30 desks, each with three- sometimes four 14-year old pupils crowded around them, are squashed into a room 12m square.
>
> There is no space for the teacher to move in between the desks; no room on the desks for the pupils to place their books- presuming they had any.
>
> Through the broken windows, the sound of the densely populated township drifted in. There was no longer a playground- for where the small playing area used to be, there are now 10 overcrowded classrooms . . . The stench from the blue plastic toilet was overpowering.[78]

Such a situation was created by lack of planning by the Department and school boards. Without appropriate guidelines, school boards would not have been able to plan and promote the building of schools. School board members were ignorant and were not provided with guidelines in terms of classrooms, special instructional areas and general support areas. Special instructional areas include music room, art room, laboratory, special education room, a library, a media center and a gymnasium or a multipurpose room designed to accommodate a gymnasium and a cafeteria. Most Blacks schools do not have even one of these

special instruction rooms. General support areas were also poorly provided or not at all provided in Black schools. These include an administrative complex, general storage areas, mechanical/service areas, articulation spaces, restrooms and sport fields. Hawkins and Lilley suggest that there should be "1 lavatory for every 30 students if the total enrollment is below 300, 1 for every forty students if the total enrollment is above 300."[79] They maintain that there ought to be "1 water closet for every 40 boys plus 1 urinal for every 30 boys and 1 water closet for every 35 girls."[80] One does not expect these specifications to have applied to South Africa, but some form of specifications and Departmental guidance would have helped boards in their planning and building of schools. Black education has suffered for decades because of these omissions. Black schools lack these basic physical needs such as restrooms because they were never considered as classrooms, therefore not subsidized on a 50% government subsidy for school buildings.

The Bantu school boards' lack of proactive planning and lack of proactive building programs caused them to react to crisis situations. The magnitude of the crises was evident in 1970 because out of 8,203 Black schools, 4,246 had double sessions-the same teacher taking two different classes, one after another; and 7 schools had the platoon system-two different teachers and two different classes sharing the same classroom, making alternative or successive use of it. In 1970 there were 750,428 pupils and 8,361 teachers involved in double sessions in the lower primary

schools. In the higher primary schools, there were 38,644 pupils and 626 teachers in double sessions.[81] Scheduling for such classes was, for most schools, difficult and counterproductive. Most pupils came to school in the morning and spent the better part of the day playing outside school. When the second session started at 11:30 or 12:30, the second session pupils were often tired and hungry, in schools that were not planned for their hunger. The teacher-pupil ratio which was in most cases above 1:50 meant that teachers taught more than 100 students. Teachers gave their best to the first sessions and were almost exhausted towards the last periods of the second sessions. The double session and platoon system had a disastrous effect of students' performance. Overcrowding with resultant discontent amongst Black parents made the position of Bantu school boards untenable. Black parents and especially Black teachers blamed the boards for the difficulties they faced.

Overworked and underpaid, Black teachers chafed under the school board system. Apart from the overcrowded schools, Black teachers' conditions of service differed from those of White teachers, even from White teachers' working for the Department of Bantu Education. White teachers who worked in the Department of Bantu Education received salaries similar to those paid to other White teachers. Above those salaries, they also received an "inconvenience allowance"[82] and a traveling allowance. The latter was the same for all White teachers although some of them shared cars to school. White teachers received a bonus of a 13th cheque.

The salary structure was racist and sexist and had been condemned by the African National Congress in 1941 and by African teachers' organizations in all provinces. As the employers of Black teachers, Bantu school boards did not agitate for the eradication of these inequities in pay and in conditions of service. Black teachers were overworked by double sessions and by the teacher-pupils ratios which ranged from 1:47 to 1:85. in the 70's. It was evident from contact and inquiry that most board members were so ill-informed about educational matters that they were not aware of the educational detriments of double sessions, the teacher-pupil ratios existing in schools and of discriminatory salary scales as indicated in table 3.3. The enlightened leadership in organizations such as the ANC had boycotted school board structures, thus leaving board membership open for the ill-informed.

When Bantu school boards took over the schools from missionaries, Black education lost financial support from churches. The loss may be illustrated by the contributions indicated by Table 3.4 on the next page. Missionaries received their fund from local congregants, both the Blacks and the Whites and also received some funds from the international world. These channels were closed by the Bantu Education Act. It has to be born in mind that severing links with missionary bodies meant cutting links with liberalizing forces and with the international world with its teachers from Europe and the United States of America. The closing of Wilberforce Institution, a school founded by the

African Methodist Episcopal Church meant a loss of one of the emancipatory agents supporting Black education in South Africa during the time of Booker T. Washington.[84] Black schools also lost links with Black schools and colleges in the United States where some Black leaders had studied.

The salary structures for Black teachers and White teachers as it was in 1970 is shown below:

TABLE 3.5 SALARIES OF TEACHERS IN 1970

WHITES	BLACKS
Qualified not higher than Grade 12 1 year professional training **Men** R2,280 X 180 - 4,620 **Women** R1,740 X 180 - 3,540	Qualified primary school teacher **Men** R660 X 60 - 1,500 **Women** R534 X 42 -1,260
Grade 12 + 3 years of training (i) In a primary school **Men** R2,820 X 180 - 4,620 **Women** R2,460 X 180 - 4,080 (11) In a secondary school **Men** R3,000 X 180 - 4,800 **Women** R2,640 X 180 - 4,260	Grade 12 plus 3 years of training **Men** R960 X 60 - 1,800 X 90- 2,340 **Women** R840 X 60-1,800 X 90- 1,980
Grade 12 + 4 years of teacher training (1) in a primary school **Men** R3,360 X 180 X 4800- 5,100 **Women** R3,000 X 180 - 4,440 (11) In a secondary school **Men** R3,540 X 180-4,800 X 300- 5,400 **Women** R3,180 X 180 -4,620	Grade 12 + 4 years of teacher training **Men** R1,260 X 60 -1,800 X 90 - 2,340 **Women** R1,140 X 60 -1,800 X 90 - 2,160

Source: South African Institute of Race Relations, A Survey of Race Relations: 1970, pp. 263-281.[83]

When missionaries left Black education, their positions were taken by Afrikaners. Afrikaner teachers could not easily adapt to teaching in English as most of them had been cloistered in

Afrikaans medium schools and Afrikaners colleges of education. Some of these teachers were so poor that they failed to teach Afrikaans to Black students. One such teacher obtained 100% failure rate in 1968.[85] Bantu school boards had no jurisdiction over those Afrikaner teachers in Black schools. Bantu school boards could not employ White teachers in Bantu community schools as government policy would not allow subordination of Whites to Black administrators. White teachers were initially in Black government schools and only moved into Black community schools after the 1976 Soweto Riots.

Bantu school boards did not object to these disparities in funding and accepted the responsibility of building schools which White school boards had rejected. They stated in 1912 that it was not the White boards' function to build schools. In 1941 the ANC had also demanded that the state take the full responsibility for building and equipping of schools. The ANC wanted Black education to be funded from the Consolidated Revenue Fund, a fund into which all South African taxes were sent. Government had decided to release only R13 million for a number of decades from the Consolidated Fund for Black education. Black education competed with the grand apartheid structures which were heavily subsidized from the Consolidated Revenue Fund via the Department of Native Affairs.

Black education could get funds through Bantu regional authorities provided the boards and the chiefs knew about them and were willing to release these funds for building of schools.

Figure: 3.6 MISSIONARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO BLACK SCHOOLS

MISSION	NATIVE	WHITES	OVERSEAS	TOTAL	PER-CENTAGE
	Pounds	Pounds	Pounds	Pounds	
African Free Church	383	20	150	553	-
African Methodist Episcopal	725	-	-	728	-
African Native	510	717	-	510	-
African Presbyterian	1,412	,550	290	2,419	0.2
American Zulu (American Board)	37,443	1,558	53,410	95,403	10.1
Anglican (Church of the Province)	4,962	1,511	74,109	60,629	19.2
Bantu Presbyterian	23,814	,379	5,940	31,265	3.3
Baptist	188	1,010	140	1,707	0.1
Congregational	520	14,897	-	1,530	0.1
Dutch Reformed	8,959	10	8	23,841	2.5
Ethiopian Order	2,598	3,632	-	2,608	0.2
German Lutheran	35,961	485	32,566	72,159	7.6
Independent	3,959	90	783	5,227	0.5
London Missionary Society	200	48,065	53,029	53,319	5.6
Methodist	172,05	250	37,778	257,901	27.3
Moravian	6,606	196	6,443	10,299	1.1
Norwegian	2,324	76	3,556	6,075	0.6
Pilgrim Holiness	40	240	-	116	-
Plymouth Brethren	255	554	660	1,155	0.1
Presbyterian Church (Scotland)	3,788	24	5,125	9,467	1.0
Presbyterian Swiss	1,129	72,337	890	2,043	0.2
Roman Catholic	3,964	550	50,294	126,592	31.4
Salvation Army	186	4	4,854	5,590	0.6
Scandinavian Alliance	131	159	1,251	1,386	0.1
South African General Mission	307	220	775	1,241	0.1
Sweedish	1,623	1,205	7,032	8,875	0.9
Swiss	1,563	-	3,471	6,239	0.6
Tribal Schools	1,116	668	-	1,116	0,1
Undenominational schools	11,066	6,948	537	12,271	1,3
United (amalgamated) schools	15,557	-	1,510	24,015	2.4
Zulu Congregational	135	1,395	-	135	-
Unclassified	4,584		2,525	8,047	0.8
Total	384,584	202,751	347,126	934,461	100
Percentage	41.17	21.69	37.14	100	

Source: Union of South Africa, Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education 1935-1936. p. 79.[86]

The functioning of Bantu school boards was hampered by underfunding of Black education. In the 1970's the disparities in the funding of education in South Africa was as follows:

TABLE 3.7 DIFFERENTIATED SCHOOL FUNDING IN SOUTH AFRICA: 1970

	Africans	**Indians**	**Whites**
Primary school	R14-00	R65-77	R228-38
Secondary	R79-30	R105-47	
school Average	R46-65	R81-02	

Source: South African Institute of Race Relations, A Survey of Race Relations: 1970, pp.232-273.[87]

On the issue of employment of teachers, there existed a general feeling that the boards system was not fair. There were allegations that board members were incompetent for the task. As was earlier stated that some board members were illiterate; this meant that these members were not well acquainted with the qualifications of teachers. The employment of teachers involved recruiting, selection, orientation, evaluation and retention. Bantu school boards did not recruit teachers, although there was a shortage of teachers in all secondary schools. The failure to recruit emanated from the failure to be aware of the need for qualified teachers for the different levels. To most board members, a teacher was a teacher, and she or he could teach any class. Primary schools teachers then filled vacancies in the secondary school, especially male primary school teachers, who felt it was degrading to teach with female teachers in the lower and higher primary schools. There was no vigorous drive by board

members to recruit secondary school teachers from colleges, from industry and from outside South Africa. When it came to the selection of teachers, board members often based their selection on paper qualifications and not so much on what a teacher was going to do. In secondary schools, this created problems. Board members were excited by diplomas and degrees which were rare qualifications in the 1950s 1960s and early 1970s. Within the South African context, certificates were for primary school teachers whiles diplomas were earned by people who had more years of professional preparation. The excitement about degrees and diplomas landed many boards in serious trouble. Boards were not prepared for the selection of teachers and were not aware of what teachers were needed to teach different subjects.

The researcher was prepared for teaching History and Race Studies. His first appointment to a school was for teaching Biology and Business Economics in Grades 11 and 12, although his highest qualification in Biology was Grade 10. For the first five years of his first teaching career, he never taught History, the subject he loved and for which he had been prepared to teach. This mismatching of teachers was a common practice because teacher training was not planned. There was no communication between school boards and colleges of education. Once teachers were employed, boards did not follow with the other steps such as orientation, evaluation and attempts at retention. Good teachers were lost from schools because board members did not ensure that such teachers remained in their schools. The teachers were never

made to feel that they were appreciated by the boards. Acknowledgements of the teacher of the year, the school of the year or the principal of the year were not done.

Clanism, churchism and nepotism were said to be rife during the era of Bantu school boards. Debates in the Transkei Legislative Assembly provide a glimpse of this malpractice. Guzane maintains that there had been a great deal of corruption associated with school boards.[89] The Minister of Justice in the Transkei spoke of extortionist practices where "children of poor parents and some orphans could not get employment because they failed to pay extortion fees."[90] He also added that some prospective teachers paid for employment they never received. In the same legislative debate, Canca says that "school boards stink to high heavens" and Nkosiyana spoke of immeasurable bribery. Msinyane thought that once school boards were abolished, "there could be no question of asking the applicants who their parents were."[91] These complaints raised in the Transkei Legislative Assembly were probably pertinent throughout the entire country for we find the Department of Bantu education giving this warning: "The school boards should not show favor to friends or relatives . . . and should not display bias or accept bribes."[92] Nxumalo says a few cases of bribery were spotted.[93]

During the school board era, it was not uncommon for school board members to be visited by applicants, or to be importuned by friends. Some employments were based on friendship, churchism or relationship. Children of celebrities, prospective teachers who

needed employment to keep their widowed or sickly mothers or who were widows or deserted wives could always appeal to their priests, who were members of boards and who were nominated to represent "special interests." The minister would listen to these supplications and employ the teacher. The "children of poor parents" and "some orphans"[94] mentioned by the Minister of the Transkei were some qualifications which had to be considered in an application. These qualifications impressed some board members and influenced them in the employment of teachers. The researcher had difficulties showing board members that a school was not a welfare agency but needed teachers with certain skills.

That it was an error to give boards the sole right to fire and hire teachers can be supported by what Cubberley says about the appointment of teachers by laymen. He says:

> boards of laymen are not competent persons to make the selection of teachers. However, honest they may be, they are more or less unconsciously influenced by local considerations which have nothing to do with the fitness of the candidate for the position ... Professional merit for which they have no standard for judging counts of little. Professional preparation and success are not appraised at their full worth .... Ultimately the schools and the community as a whole pay the price.[95]

Cubberley is referring to American lay persons as he is writing about American boards. These were enlightened and more literate lay persons; the situation was worse with the less enlightened and less literate Black South Africans. We do find criticism about this practice of giving lay persons the power to appoint teachers even in South Africa, in studies conducted by van der Merwe, who said "*Skoolkomitee lede laat hulle beinvloed en skep baatjies vir boetjies*"[96] (School Committees are influenced and give jobs to pals). If laypersons are not to be given the power to employ teachers, who then should be given this important duty? This duty is best shared by the profession, parents and the regional or provincial departments of education, with the profession playing the leading role. The selection of teachers for employment ought to be the duty of the principal with the representatives of parents having the right to comment on the appointment and the department approving the appointment. The principal has been chosen for this task because the principal is the kingpin of school administration. He or she is the person to observe, study, advise, guide, and lead[97] the whole teaching program. "No one should be more interested in securing the best teachers available than the principal; no one knows the needs of the position than he or she; no one is less likely to engage in nepotism or politics or to be influenced than he or she," says Cubberley.[98]

What, then, should have been the position of the school board in this matter of appointment of teachers? The board should have been allowed to comment on the appointments as they were channeled

through from the school committees and principals. By sharing in the appointing of teachers, boards and committees would have had the opportunity of being acquainted with the art of selection of teachers. Boards were accused of firing teachers without cayse, and were also accused of transferring them without their consent and without giving them sufficient notice or asking them if they accepted these transfers. What was bad about these transfers was that teachers were transferred at their own expense and in many cases no provision was made for the accommodation of the transferred teachers. Boards were not officially required to provide teachers with accommodation; but accommodation had always been a problem, hence the provision of houses by Natal Education Department for teachers in 1945.[99]

Reading a report of a Director of Education, one gets that:

> School managers and officials are deeply concerned about the sad fact that a number of cases of immorality amongst native teachers of both sexes, while not large, is large as it is ....[100]

> The temptation to indulge in drink is far greater for native teachers than for any other member of the native community.[101]

The dismissal of a teacher was in some cases not without valid reasons. The Black teaching fraternity does not consist of angels. It had some immoral, incompetent, and

irresponsible teachers. Dent, the Chief Inspector of Native Education, wrote of disciplinary action taken against teachers for sexual immorality or drunkenness.

> The number of inquiries exceeded the number of cases for which disciplinary action was taken and this took up much valuable time which senior officials would gladly have devoted to more profitable work.[102]

The perennial problem of dealing with cases of misconduct in Black schools is partly created by the shortage of "trained teachers of good character with the result that teachers who are unqualified or undesirable for other reasons had to be employed in considerable numbers."[103] Dr. Nkomo, speaking ten years later than Dent, said that "school committees had to put up with teachers who would, under normal circumstances, be regarded as morally unsuitable."[104] A correspondent in African Drum had this to say:

> Many teachers forget that when they are out of school they are still creating impressions in the children's minds. It is not good for teachers to roam about in the village under the very eyes of his pupils staggering from one side of the street to the other, muttering unintelligibly to an imaginary fellow inebriate.[105]

Sad as the picture depicted above is, it does describe some Black teachers observed by the researcher, teachers known to Blacks through their notoriety which caused correspondents like

Mike Mlambo in African Drum[106] and Nyambose in Ilanga[107] to write about teachers' over-indulgence in liquor. In refusing to accept that boards were wrong in their dealings with teachers, Yeni blamed teachers for what was happening to them. He maintained that many teachers were not self-respecting and matters were hushed up in many schools so that the boards did not know about them, especially in cases of immorality. Yeni said that it did not help Black communities if pupils got first class passes while their characters were being destroyed.[108] Yeni's views were later expressed by Coetzee, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, when he addressed himself to teachers in these words: "Let your example inspire your pupils to higher things not only paper qualifications but to higher standards of living and of responsibility and character."[109] It may have probably been because of these straying teachers that Prozesky, the Regional Director said that teachers have to be looked after by school boards.[110] It was again Yeni who expressed a view similar in substance as the one above when he said, "In the past, teachers were employed by grantees (missionaries) and cared little for the people with whom they lived. As long as the grantees were happy, the teachers had done their work. Today they work for the people; the people have employed them and they need to satisfy them with their work and their character. The time for "*asikhathali*" (We-do-not-care teachers) has come to an end.[112] Yeni also said that:

"Some teachers feel that they do not belong to the community but to the Church or Department and that their duties as educators were limited to their work within the classroom".

These strong words from Yeni were tempered with reasonable objectivity because he also said that he regretted that there were board members who thought that their main task was to supervise teachers and, therefore, wasted time on that instead of finding out ways to advance Black education. He called upon teachers to realize that school board members were parents and not lions and called upon board members to realize that teachers were their children.[113] Yeni's paternalism was typical of Board members. They did not regard teachers as equal partners in an educational activity but regarded them as children or mere employees in an interaction where board members were bosses. As was pointed out earlier, there were board members who were extortionists who thought that "*hulle eenvoudig die base oor die onderwysers was*"[114] (who thought of themselves as bosses over teachers) or who through their illiteracy failed to deliver the goods expected of them, yet the institution of the school board rendered some useful services. Mahlare regarded school boards as modern democratic instruments, enabling those who paid dearly for their services to have a say in the education of their children.[115] Thus, the attitude of Blacks to the institution of school boards was divided and debated> the debate was, however, marred by the silence that theState imposed on Africans, especially those who were criticized apartheid.

Summary

It appears that while there had been a desire among Blacks to have school boards, not all Blacks were happy with the Bantu board system that came with the Bantu Education Act. Bantu school boards were introduced against the opposition of the most organized Black organizations. The boards played some part in the execution of their duties but suffered some shortcoming in their major tasks, the building of schools, the employment of teachers and the securing of funds from the local bodies that collected taxes and school levies. Case studies in the next chapter will examine the strengths and weakness of board structures.

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Seemingly the government had problems in getting White teachers to teach in Black Schools as White missionaries had taught in Black schools. With trade and vocational education, White trade unions were against White teachers giving trade and vocational education to Blacks. Government was then compelled to make positions in Black schools more attractive than conditions were in White Schools.

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CHAPTER IV

CASE STUDIES OF THREE BANTU SCHOOL BOARDS

Introduction

School boards chosen for this study are the Edendale Urban Bantu School Board, the Greytown Bantu School Committee/Board and the Soweto Bantu boards. Variations in these school boards were in their layering of bureaucratic administrations, especially their relationship with local administrative bodies. There was also variation in the funding for building of schools, their maintenance and response to a teacher shortage. All these school board were in urban areas. They were chosen because there was more pressure on school boards in the urban areas although 71% of the Black school population is in the rural areas.[1]

Greytown Bantu School Committee/Board

Greytown

As one enters the Greyttown from Pietermaritzburg one is greeted by the sign that the town is the birth place of General Botha, South Africa first prime minister, a renown leader of the Anglo-Boer War. Greytown is also the birth place of Bhambatha, a Black leader of the Bhambatha Rebellion of 1906[2]. This is the only place in South Africa where an African was dragged from a prison and lynched. It is alleged that this area was given to Afrikaners by King Dinuzulu when he sought their help against his brother in 1884. Blacks who resided in Greytown found themselves forced to

pay rent on the land that their forebears had occupied from time immemorial. The 1906 revolt was partially caused by the seizure of African land by the White settlers.

White settlers renamed the place Greytown. In 1970 Greytown consisted of 6,800 Blacks, 2,500 Whites, 1,850 Asians and 150 Coloreds. As a small town with no industries, the growth of the town was slow and most of its male Black residents were migrant laborers in bigger cities. The rateable value of the town was R5,850,010-00. The town had 3238 hectares planted with wattle trees and timber trees and had extensive agricultural lands. The proceeds from the bark, crops and timber were being used in relief of rates and the improvement of the town.[3] The Bantu committee/board had no access to the funds of the Greytown Municipality.

Greytown Schools Facilities

For its Black population of 6,800, the town had only one school of 11 classrooms for Blacks, with grades from 1 to grade 10. For its 2,500 Whites, the town had a primary school and a high school of more than 15 classrooms each. There was also a high school and a primary school for Asians. There was no school for Coloreds who were part of the Black school population although they stayed in town and paid rates to Greytown Municipality. The committee/board could not facilitate admission of these Colored students to Colored schools if they wanted to finish high school. The Greytown Bantu School Committee/Board was founded in 1955 to

take over Greytown Bantu Secondary school from the Natal Provincial Administration. This school was erected by the Natal Provincial Administration in 1948. The solid structure with electricity, ceilings in the classrooms, a domestic science room, a carpentry workshop, a kitchen, and rooms for hanging wet cloths, and clean drinking water were similar to those in White schools of the 1940s. Compared to schools built by local educational authorities after the introduction of Bantu education, this was one of the best school buildings in Natal. This was a legacy from the past which gave the Black community a sense of pride, for they had endured an educational structure which had become educationally obsolete and almost pedagogically dysfunctional. Ceilings, electricity, good face bricks, and excellent workmanship on the building were not found in Bantu education schools. it ought to have been

Greytown Bantu Secondary School had to change its name to Nyokana (Snakelet) Secondary School when Bantu Education was introduced because the government wanted Black schools completely dis-membered and peripheralized from other institutions of learning. Other racial groups used Greytown in the naming of their schools. There was a Greytown Indian Primary school, a Greytown Indian High School, a Greytown European Primary School and an Greytown European Primary school. The change of names was not legislated but was recommended by the government. The board could have refused to change the name, but it took the advice as a directive. When the researcher became the principal of Nyokana

Secondary School in 1970, he changed the school to Buhle Buyeza (The best is coming) Secondary School. Naming in African context is meaningful. African names are not just labels for identification. They are prognostic and often pregnant with meaning. For instance, Shaka (a type of disease) was the name of a Zulu king. The researcher has never heard of another Shaka in South Africa. It would be un-African to give a child such name. Blacks attach meaning to names. It was therefore anti-African for the Department of Bantu education to go about changing names of schools in an effort to delete the Africanity of Black schools.

Buhle Buyeza Secondary School did not have grades 11 and 12 so that all students who wanted to finish high school had to seek further education in different parts of the country, in schools that had no linkages with the committee/board. Buhle Buyeza Secondary school was not like the Indian and the White high schools where students could complete their high school. Buhle Buyeza Secondary School was an incomplete high school.

In 1970 Buhle Buyeza Secondary School had 1,183 students and 11 feeder schools over which the board had no governance. Six of these feeder schools were farm schools on White farms, and the owners of the farms were managers of these schools. One of these schools was a private school owned by the Roman Catholic Church. The complexity of the local administration of these feeder schools made it difficult for the board to ensure that there was continuity so that the gap in education was bridged between these feeder schools and the secondary school. The greatest discrepancy

was in the quality of teaching in these feeder schools. Cases of students who had been in one-teacher farm schools for 3 years but could hardly write their mother tongue properly were common. The board had not declared what its catchment area or education district was. The unwritten open-door policy of the committee/board was that any Black student in need of education had to be admitted at Buhle Buyeza Secondary School. Such students came from neighboring farms and rural areas. The committee/board was biting more than it could chew. Many of the students from those areas dropped out of schools after repeating classes.

Buhle Buyeza Secondary School was the only school under the governance of the Greytown Bantu School Committee/Board. This school was in a Black township of four room houses, two room houses and informal houses of wattle and daub as well as shacks. By the government housing standard, three school buildings were needed as the housing program stipulated that there had to be a school for every 400 houses in Black townships. By 1970, the houses exceeded 1,500 although a bulk of these were two-room houses as well as wattle and dough houses.

The school buildings consisted of 11 classrooms, 1 staffroom, two offices, the office of the board which was used to accommodate a teacher, a homecraft center, a woodwork center, 3 storerooms, 8 toilets for boys and 8 toilets for girls, 2 toilets for teachers and a unused kitchen. Lacking in the school were a library, a laboratory, multi-media room, conference rooms, administrative block, soccer field, netball field and other sports facilities.

The existing physical facilities were all inadequate for the school population of 1,183. Year after year the committee/board had watched the school population without noticing the dysfunctionality the school was sinking into.

School Committee/Board Members and Teachers

Buhle Buyeza Secondary School had a principal who was not paid less than the principal of other secondary schools, 21 teachers paid by the central government, 2 teachers paid by parents, no assistant principal, no senior teachers and no professional staff. Parents paid R4-per family, not per student, towards a privately-paid teachers' fund. It was not easy to define how many families the school had so that funds from these sources were indefinite. Save for the researcher who had a senior degree, none of the teachers had a degree or university education diploma or a secondary teachers diploma. Most of the teachers had higher primary teachers' certificates, that is, Grade 10 and a professional certificate. One had a lower primary teachers' certificate. The highest qualifications of the two privately-paid teachers was grade 9. All these teachers were appointed by the committee/board.

Board members consisted of 8 males, and 1 female. Three of the committee/board members were self-employed businessmen, 2 were ministers of religion, 1 was a nurse and 3 were laborers. Educationally the board had a registered nurse (grade 10 and R.N.), 1 Th.D., 2 grade 9's , 2 grade 7's, 1 grade 6, 1 grade 4

and 1 member who was completely illiterate but owned 3 taxis and a shop. The chairman of the board was a shop owner, an owners of taxis and was also the chairman of the Greytown Advisory Board and had a Grade 7 education.

The Functioning of the Committee/Board from 1969 to 1973

From the researcher's perspective, the board had to face the following problems.

(1) Extension of the existing school

(2) Building of another school.

(3) Getting the school properly staffed.

Interviews with board members were aimed at finding out what the members thought about these issues. Not all board members were aware that these problems existed. The double session went from grade 1 to grade 4, and the platoon system from grade 5 to grade 6, but this had not been regarded by board members as a problem. There were, therefore, no immediate or long terms plans for the extension of the existing school, the building of another school nor plans to get the staff aligned to the requirements of the school. For the researcher who had come from a school where the teacher-pupil ratio was 1:15 and where teachers had classrooms and students moved to different classrooms, this new situation was frustrating.

Committee/Board and Funding

Funding was the first issue that the board had to work out in order to extend the existing school or get another school built. To understand the complexity of funding a Black school in a White area, we have to explain the local administration of these White areas. The Afrikaner Broederbond was the architect of apartheid and indicated as early as 1935 that detribalized urban natives ought to be housed in separate locations where they would enjoy no political privileges, and would own no property because they were to be regarded as temporary sojourners. Here lay a contradiction between political purpose and administrative needs. Boards had to take over mission schools but the missionaries owned the land. Bantu school boards could not own land and therefore, could not build schools. The land on which the school and the location was build belonged to the Greytown Municipality. Like most local authorities, the Greytown Municipality had no taxing power with respect to education. How were other schools built in the towns? Schools for Whites, Indians and Coloreds were built from provincial taxes with 50% of that expenditure coming from the Consolidated Revenue Fund which was the national fund derived from excise, custom and other forms of indirect taxation.[4] Much as the Blacks paid provincial taxes and contributed to the Consolidated Revenue Fund, they could not call upon the central government or the provincial government to fund the building of a new school for Blacks in Greytown. Macquarrie explains this anomaly by saying White South Africans:

> forget the mass of indirect taxes, such as custom, duties, etc., and the patent fact that the wheels of South African industry including farming, are turned by the great masses of underpaid African workers. Secondly, they assume that African social services must be directly self-supporting but can point to no other country in the world, nor to any other sphere in their own land where the poor are expected to pay for their own social services.[5]

It is possible that Blacks do not only pay for their own social services, but also pay for the social services of Whites through grants from the Consolidated Revenue Fund, which is a common fund to which all South Africans contribute. A student a race studies class at the University of Zululand argued that:

> There is just no way in which the state can say that it has used White money when it has built those big underused White schools. Most of the budget for White army is White money, and part of the Black money is used to build White school. We all contribute to the common pie, the Consolidated Revenue Fund, but only the Whites decide what crumbs are to be given to Blacks.[6]

The Minister of Native Affairs indicated in his budget speech of 1954 that the "Bantu themselves contribute in an increasing measure towards the cost of expanding their educational services."[7]

But how could the Greytown people contribute in building a school because they could not own the school ground?[8] The land was owned by the Greytown Municipality. It alone decided what to do with the land without ever consulting the Black residents who were going to use the buildings on the land. We stated in the previous chapter how the Congress of Bantu Advisory Boards had asked that Blacks be allowed to buy land in White areas. The committee/board was caught in this dilemma. It did not own the land and could not, therefore, raise a loan to build the required number of schools. There was or ought to have been funds for building of the needed schools from three sources. These were the Native School Levy, which was 25c per month paid with rent, the African Beer Account and the Bantu Service Levy. It was a principal's task to ensure that all non-resident students paid the Native School Levy before they were admitted. The local authority was empowered to expropriate land, to borrow money for erecting necessary buildings. It was also the local authority which ran a Native Revenue Account,[9] an African Beer Account, 1/3 of whose profit was to be used for social and recreational amenities for native resident within the area.[10]

In his capacity as chairman of the Bantu Advisory Board, the chairman of the Greytown Bantu Committee/Board was not aware of all these accounts, or aware of channels of funding that the board could use. The location superintendent (White) was aware of the school levy paid by the students but could not say how much school levy money was available and how much of the African Beer Account could be made available for extending the school. The town

manager, another high White official in the administration of the township, could not indicate how much funding was available for an extension to the school. A letter to the Greytown Town Council brought an irate town treasurer to the researcher's office. The town treasurer wanted to know where the town council would get the money to build the school requested. The White official maintained that Blacks were happy with the present school, and it was only the researcher who was causing unnecessary discontent among the Black residents. Strange though it may seem, the residents were happy with their school because they had not known anything better.

For the extension of the existing school and founding of another school, the committee/board met with difficulties created by the bureaucracy. The researcher often met the Greytown mayor (White) in informal settings. He was a religious man who gave an ear to the sufferings of Black residents. It was probably because of the mayor's good-heartedness that the researcher and the chairman of the committee/board were allowed to present their pleas to the Greytown Town Council in 1970. When Council showed attempts of a positive response after the discussion, the Circuit Inspector, a White official, foiled the program of getting the construction of additional classrooms started. To get the board to appeal against the Circuit Inspector, the researcher gave notice of resigning as principal of Buhle Buyeza Secondary School after 72 hours if the board did not:

1. Obtain the cooperation of the Circuit Inspector in implementing efforts to extend the school or build another school.
2. Get the principal to be paid a salary of a principal of secondary school as per contract forms instead of being paid as principal of a primary school as it had been happening.
3. Get the school granted a post of a assistant principal.

On receiving the letter, the chairman drove to the Regional Director with the secretary of the committee/board. The Director granted all the above requests, and the matter of building additional classrooms was resumed in August 1970. The following year, the Council built five classrooms, followed after another five years with another 5 classrooms. In 1983 a new school was built and the students in the secondary section of the original school moved to a new school.

The Greytown Bantu School Committee/Board, like many Bantu school boards, had not been trained when boards were introduced. They had not been shown how to get funds for building schools. There were not aware what an ideal class size was and what the capacity of their school was. They had never been informed about fund raising and acquiring of funds from the custodians of Black community funds. In most cases, the boards resorted to taxing students by causing them to pay building funds. Boards were given the function of building schools without giving them the power to

demand the funds from the custodians of funds for Black social improvement. Government had not defined the whole matter of taxes for local authorities received all sorts of indirect taxes to which Blacks contributed but Blacks had no say on the spending of these taxes.

With a bit of training on matters such as teacher-pupil ratio, effect of double session, what a complete school is, the importance of play grounds, and leadership, school boards could have been most effective in their function of building schools. In the extension of the original school and in the building of the new school, board members were not consulted. The classrooms and the new school were built by the municipality and the central government without involving the board members. When the graders moved on to the school rounds for leveling the site of the new block of classrooms, neither the secretary of the board nor the members of the board knew anything about the project. White paternalism was, as usual, at play. Had the board been consulted or told how much money it had for the extension, it would have decided what its priorities were. The board could have started with the toilets or the sport fields which, to the researcher, were an urgent need. It could have possibly thought of a library and a laboratory, but the all knowing White arrogance gave the school classrooms which Black ignorance happily accepted. On the 28th March 1973, the committee/board celebrated the official opening of a block of the first five classrooms. Dhlomo, later Minister of Education in Kwazulu, was the guest speaker. He warned

councilors by saying, "You can never know how much I have in my pocket unless I tell you.'[11] What Dhlomo was saying was that Whites should not presume to know what Blacks need. They have to consult Blacks on matters that affect Black communities. Board members were glad that they got additional classrooms and were not keen to involve themselves in questioning the procedure followed in getting the classroom erected. They were not told what the cost of the five classrooms was, and how much was left in for building of additional classrooms and another school.

Committee/Board's Interaction with Teachers

Training of board members in the area of employment of teachers was a costly omission for black education. Boards should have been trained before they ever considered the applications of teachers. They should have been schooled about teachers' qualifications, assessment instruments and assessments procedures to be dealt with by principals of schools and be informed about salaries of teachers. The board was not aware that the previous principal had been underpaid and that the school had not been properly graded for the employment of a new principal. When the researcher was employed, the board employed him to a position of a principal of a secondary school. The paying body, the central government, did not regard Buhle Buyeza Secondary School as a secondary school. The researcher was therefore underpaid until he gave notice to resign. The board was also not aware what the staff position should have been in terms of assistant principal, senior

teachers and ordinary teachers. A school of that magnitude demanded assistant principals. An assistant principal was obtained under a threat to resign. As for senior teachers and other personnel, the board had so many other urgent matters to deal with from 1970 to 1973 that these issues were never investigated by the board. The board was happy with the gains it had obtained in having a principal officially recognized as principal of a secondary school and obtaining a post of a vice principalship. The competency of the board in the employment of staff in 1970 to 1973 left much to be desired. There were no written assessment instruments or list of qualifications given to the board. The recruitment of teachers to Greytown was made difficult by the absence of attractions such as accommodation, city life and proximity to further education centers.

In 1970, the researcher found that a teacher who had served as a convict about 500 yards away from the school had been employed, although students knew that this particular teacher had been imprisoned for embezzling school funds the previous year. Further inquiry into this matter revealed the fact that this teacher's diploma[1] in agriculture had earned him an appointment to the school. While all other teachers had certificates, this was the only teacher with a "diploma." This word "diploma" was a wonderful novelty for some board members. That the diploma was in

[1] Prior 1960, a Black teacher in South Africa could have a primary teacher's certificate (PTC); a lower primary teacher's certificate (LPTC); a higher primary teacher's certificate (HPTC); a first grade teachers certificate, or athird grade teacher's certificate. The usage of the word diploma was, in the 1960s, associated with universities. At a university a teacher could get a secondary teacher's diploma (STD); or

agriculture and the school did not teach agriculture did not matter to the board members. The man was a rare find indeed. Two months after the researcher's arrival, he discovered that students in the diploma teacher's class were not paying fees. They feared that he was going to embezzle those funds. Those that had paid regretted as receipts had either not been issued for fees received and the fees had not been submitted to the researcher.

For three months the researcher tried in vain to recover the amounts and the teacher was charged. The big question that students, teachers and parents asked was, "how did the board ever employ such a man"? An alcoholic known for assaulting board members at a meeting when the board wanted to know why this teacher assaulted students was appointed at Nyokana Secondary School 1969. The researcher had known this man and knew that at his previous school he had embezzled school funds and gave examination marks to students when he had not marked the examination scripts. With such a record, the man was employed by the Greytown Bantu School Committee/Board. The reason for employment was that he was an excellent choir master. Indeed he was, but there was no teacher in the choir master. He drank at school, and would also sleep right in class. One day he woke up to assault a student who laughed at him for sleeping.

The quality of Black education largely depends on the quality of Black teachers. The board neglected this area and the school paid heavily for it. The researcher was forced one day to call the

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University teacher's diploma (UED). A teacher's diploma was to many school board members superior to

chairman of the committee/board and the circuit inspector to the school so that they could see the type of teacher the board had employed for the school. Three teachers were so drunk that they were a disgrace to the school. Greytown was, however, relatively speaking, in 1971 to 1973 paying particular attention to the quality of the teachers the board employed. The quality of teachers was weakest in the farm schools over which the committee/board had no control. Some of the grade 8 and grade 9 drop-outs from Buhle Buyeza Secondary School became teachers in these farm schools. A board member's daughter who failed grade 9 became a teacher in one of these schools despite the researcher's advice to the contrary. It was so strange for the researcher to meet some of his drop-outs in principals' meetings. They were now principals of their one-teacher schools. The high drop-out rate at Buhle Buyeza Secondary School could be partly ascribed to the poor quality teachers who laid the foundation of education in the farm schools. The researcher and the chairman of the committee/board visited one farm school. They were alarmed to notice that teaching started at 9:14, 1:14 minutes later than the starting time. Students drifted to school until 10 a.m. A number of these farm schools and rural schools can only be visited by inspectors on horseback or helicopters. Some principals of these schools take advantage of the situation and commit the most atrocious sins against education, such as allowing students to copy during the grade 7 examinations, starting classes that are not recognized and

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teacher's certificate.

inventing their own curricula. Some committee members had even helped students copy during examinations without knowing that copying during examination was not allowed.

The researcher was informed that it was the practice of some board members to visit the school. They often made comments about the way teachers taught. In September 1971 board members wanted to visit the school while teachers were in their classes teaching. The researcher opposed the visit as he was suspicious about this visit. In a heated meeting, board members indicated that it was their right to visit the school at any time. The researcher pointed to the relevant regulation about board members' visit to the school. The regulation stipulated that visits by board members were allowed "provided the visit did not interfere with the school program."[12] As an advocate of teachers and students, the researcher wanted to know what the purpose of that visit was. The members did not want to disclose the purpose of the visit. Its transpired later after the meeting that the board members wanted to fire a female teacher who was pregnant. Pregnancy for unmarried teachers was regarded as a misconduct. To fire a teacher in September would have meant that students would be without a teacher for 10 weeks. This would have had a disastrous effect on students' learning especially because the school was getting to the last quarter. The final examinations in that grade would have been ill-affected. Teachers were, to the researcher, scarce commodities which had to be handled with extreme care and consideration. It would have been inappropriate for board members to visit the school and fire the

teacher in the presence of other teachers and students. By this action board members were indicating their lack of confidence on the researcher, their secretary and principal.

That particular teacher was aware of what was happening, and wanted to resign immediately. The researcher persuaded her to defer her resignation to the end of the year. Outside the meeting board members had indicated that they were very apprehensive because the community was murmuring about pregnant teachers at their school. The members reported that it was alleged that ever since the researcher became principals, pregnant teachers never resigned or went on unpaid maternity leave. To ally their fears, the researcher indicated that his policy put students and teachers first. When it was possible for a pregnant teacher to end a year, the researcher never asked her to resign or go on maternity leave. Whenever teachers went on maternity leave, their places were taken by unqualified, privately-paid teachers who, in most cases, failed to teach effectively. Departmental regulation were only good when they served the interest of the students. Board members were reminded that we were all in administrative positions in order to serve students and not to serve regulations and bureaucracy. This interaction showed that board members were not trained for their positions so that they missed the most important components of their activities, that is, teachers and students.

Summary

The Greytown Bantu School Committee/Board refutes the assertion that board members consisted of illiterates. The one member that was illiterate was, however, very wise. That was the reason he owned a shop and 3 taxis at the age of 36. Most of the members consisted of people who wanted the best for their children. They had been ignorant of many important issues, but with adequate training and a good secretary, the board had a potential for a greater contribution in educational matters. The chairman of the board was extremely intelligent, courageous and keen to learn. He was not afraid to by-pass the White circuit inspector and go directly to the Regional Director when the principal threatened to resign. He was not afraid to go directly to the Greytown Council and by-pass the superintendent, and the town manager. The successes of the board depended much on the calibre of people who served in the boards. In apartheid South Africa, Blacks had to fight for better educational facilities. The committee/board was able to:

1. Get additional classrooms added to the original school of 11 classrooms;
2. Get the original school separated to three schools, Buhle Buyeza Secondary School, Tholinhlanhla (We were fortunate) Higher Primary School and Mancinza (leader of the Bhambatha Rebellion of 1906) Lower Primary School.

3. Present to the Greytown Black community a complete high school so that Black students had no need to be looking for high schools outside Greytown.
4. The adult education center founded in 1970 at the time when the Department did not subsidize adult education was still in operation in 1994.

The success of the Greytown committee/board was enhanced by the cooperation between the committee board, the Bantu Urban Council as well as between the board and the researcher, who was then the secretary of the board. The latter placed his study of Native Administration at the disposal of the committee board. The dedication and support the members gave to the school was evident when they provided escorts for girls who studied at school at night. For months the researcher had boys to studying from 6 p.m. to 11 p.m. When the parents of the girls approached the board members about the possibility of girls studying at night, board members decided they were going to escort the girls from studies. Board members also kept a high profile when the night classes were introduced for adult education.

Edendale Urban Bantu School Board

Edendale

Edendale was founded by missionaries for the purpose of settling Christian Blacks about 7 kilometers from Pietermaritzburg. These Blacks bought Edendale from Andries

Pretorious, an Afrikaner leader who had been granted a farm by the Afrikaner government after the defeat of the Zulus in 1838. Afrikaners were ousted from Natal by the English in 1843 but the land was not returned to the original owners. Those were Zulus of the Zondi clan. Christian Blacks, Whites, Indians and Coloreds bought the land at Edendale. Blacks consisted of Xhosas, Zulus, Sothos and Zulus. These Blacks joined and helped the British settlers in Anglo-Zulu of 1879.[13] It was perhaps this history which saved Edendale from being termed a Black spot and Blacks removed from Edendale. In the whole of Natal, Edendale was one of the only two places where Blacks could buy land. Edendale was part of Pietermaritzburg until the enforcement of apartheid which reclassified Edendale as a peri-urban area deserving a local authority of its own. This authority was the Local Health Commission. This was a White institution created for the administration of Edendale, which at the time was multiracial. Despite the presence of the local health commission Edendale had an elected chiefs whose jurisdiction was extended to Black residents of Edendale.

After the coming into power of the Afrikaner government in 1948 Edendale was declared a Black area and the Group Areas Act wanted all Whites, Indians and Coloreds to leave Edendale. But in 1965, 1973 and 1979 the population of Edendale was as indicated on table 4.3. on the next page. Almost all the Indians were leaving Edendale in 1979, and they had been selling their schools. The school board did not buy Indians schools because the board did not

have money for buying those schools. The board did not embark on any fund-raising campaign for buying those schools nor appealed to the local authority or the regional authority for financial aid. Edendale had a number of wealthy Blacks of good will who could have helped the school board but were never approached. One Indian school was bought by a business man who used the school as apartments for renting. Another school was bought by a church organization.

TABLE 4.1 EDENDALE POPULATION AND SCHOOLS TO 1979

		Africans	Asians	Coloreds	Whites
1965	Population Primary schools Secondary schools	23,387 8 1	4,845 2 -	896 - -	228 - -
1973	Population Primary schools Secondary school	40,294 9 1	2,743 - -	645 - -	163 - -
1979	Population Primary schools Secondary schools	78,226 13 5	134 - -	207 - -	- - -

Source: Adapted from Rosenthal, Eric, Encyclopedia of Southern Africa, 1965, p. 165[14] and 1973 p. 163.[15]

Edendale is semi-urban and is in the Zwartkop area. It necessary to place Edendale within the broad administrative structure as envisioned by the Minister of Native Affairs. The Minister stated , "In the districts, the direct responsibility for implementing the government's native policy rests with various native commissioners and magistrates."[16] These magistrates were "on the advisory rather than administrative aspects" for the principle

underlying the act was that each tribe had to accept an ever increasing responsibility for its own development.[17] To implement this policy, the government established special schools for chiefs and sons of chiefs, bursaries for sons of chiefs and planned regular tours of Bantu areas by information officers "whose task was to explain recent legislation and administrative measures to local Bantu leaders."[18] The official view was that Bantu Education was to be an appointed instrument for the adaptation of Bantu communities by linking Bantu School Boards to the natural leaders of the people.[19] The natural leaders were to the government, chiefs or headmen with a number of tribal councilors. These formed tribal authorities. A number of tribal authorities formed a Bantu regional authorities. The duties of the regional authority are:

1. To advise and make representations to the Minister in regard to matters affecting the general interests of natives within its area, and
2. To provide for:
    - 2.1 the establishment of schools;
    - 2.2 the construction and maintenance of roads, bridges, drains, dams, etc.;
    - 2.3 the suppression of disease of stock;
    - 2.3 the establishment of hospitals and clinics;
    - 2.4 the improvement of forming and agricultural method;
    - 2.5 afforestation; and
    - 2.6 generally such matters as in the sphere of regional administration, and as he may assign a regional authority.[20]

The Edendale Urban Bantu School Board was part of this grand apartheid scheme which by 1970 had shown all the signs of failure inherent in a scheme that puts new wine in old skins or as the Conference on Local Government in Africa saw it as "building a large hotel upon a foundation of a collapse."[21] The chiefs and sons of chiefs were not interested in the bursaries and in attending the school for sons of chiefs so that by 1970 the idea of educating them had been abandoned. To build schools roads and hospitals involved employing engineers, architects, builders and other skilled technicians. These duties were beyond the capabilities of chiefs in the regional authorities. The chief of Edendale in 1970 had not attended the school for chiefs and yet was responsible for the Amakholwa Tribe. This was a chief with a difference because he was elected by land owners. He lacked patronage for the area consisting of freehold plots. The residents were landowners who paid rates to the Local Health Commission, a White local authority that ran Edendale. The Local Health Commission was like Municipal authorities and was not accountable to Edendale people for what it did at Edendale. It had a Bantu Advisory Board which resigned in 1980 for it felt it was a toy telephone. The Local Health Commission collected rates which were based on the value of the property. It was supposed to collect taxes on dogs and bicycles. It also collected monies on the sales of African Beer but, like the Greytown Municipality, the accounts were never disclosed to Advisory Board members or to the chief.

Unlike the Greytown Municipality, the Local Health Commission did not maintain schools. School had to pay the Commission for water and pay the Pietermaritzburg corporation for electricity. The electricity and water accounts in Greytown were paid by the Greytown Municipality. What the Local Commission did with the profits from the sale of sorghum beer in its two outlets and from the Native Service Levy was never investigated by the chairman of the school board. Unfortunately, the chairman of the school board during the period of research was an employee of the Local Health Commission, as were three of the board members. It would have been impolitic for them to question their employer about funds which all White municipalities had kept secret.

Edendale Bantu School Board and School Facilities

In 1970 the Edendale Urban Bantu School Board was in charge of 11 primary schools, 7 of which had classes up to grade 8, which had to feed Georgetown Secondary School. This was the only school that Edendale Urban Bantu School Board built. It was a secondary school starting with grade 9 and ending in grade 12. It had no library and no laboratory until the latter was donated by a private concern in 1972. The catchment area for Georgetown Secondary School was too large and undefined so that Georgetown admitted students from primary schools and junior secondary schools outside Edendale. Some of the students from Edendale went to Edendale Technical College which also offered classes from grade 8 to grade 12. The board had no power over the college

although it was situated at Edendale and received some its students from Edendale. There was a need for another secondary school. The board taxed higher level primary school children for building a second secondary school. A sum of R4,000-00 (four thousand rands) was collected for this building project. This amount was so small that it could not even hire the services of an architect. The board was dissolved before it could provide Edendale with a second secondary school badly needed by the school population.

The Board Members and Teachers

The Edendale board consisted of educated people as it had a social worker, 3 ex-teachers, 1 clerk and 4 ministers of religion. As the one of the only two places where Blacks could still buy land in the whole of South Africa, Edendale attracted a substantial number of educated and professional Blacks. It was, however, noticeable that lawyers and medical doctors never became members of school governing bodies. The proximity of Edendale to the University of Natal and to the Federal Seminary (training of ministers of religion) gave Edendale residents ample opportunity for further education. This increased the pool of educated Blacks who could serve in school committees and school boards. Despite their general education, Edendale board members lacked in most areas of local administration of schools, especially in fund raising as will be seen later.

Edendale teachers were also the most educated segment of the teaching fraternity in Natal. The proximity to the University of Natal, to the city of Pietermaritzburg and the availability of land for Black purchase attracted many teachers to Edendale. In 1969 when South Africa had only 148 teachers with secondary teachers qualifications, Edendale schools had 18 of those teachers. Georgetown had 12 and 6 were at Edendale Technical College secondary school section. Most of the secondary school teachers at Edendale were engaged in further education with the University of South Africa as they had library facilities from the University of Natal.

Though the board had an adequate pool of teachers from which it could recruit, the board always short of government subsidized teacher posts. Almost all schools a had one or two privately-paid teachers. Those were teachers paid from funds collected from students. Students paid R1-00 per quarter towards what was called development fund. This fund was to be used for building and maintaining schools as well as for paying teachers. A school of 600 students gave the development fund R600-00 every three months. Privately-paid teachers salaries were extremely low because of the available funds. They ranged from R25-00 to R50-00 a month.

In the employment of teachers and in curricula matters, the Edendale Urban Bantu School Board did not differ much from Greytown, although this board was more enlightened in terms of certification. All school boards in Black townships provided teachers with houses as the school boards had an influence with

the advisory boards which allocated houses. Edendale did not have houses for teachers. Some board members stated that they could not give teachers jobs and also give them houses. Accommodation was one of the biggest problems for teachers. While teachers could buy land and erect houses, they found it difficult to raise loans for building houses. Board members made no effort to get housing subsidies which were enjoyed by White teachers. White teachers in Bantu Education could get housing loans and housing subsidies. Though enlightened, the Edendale school board did not take the attitude which had been taken by the ANC in 1941 that the conditions of services and salaries for all teachers be the same. The board was too accommodating, less progressive and less transformative that the Greytown Bantu Committee/Board.

Board Members Funding and Functioning in Building Schools

The board members had not been trained and shown avenues of getting funds for their task of building schools. It never occurred to board members that the Local Health Commission could be used for funding the building program, or the commonage (land reserved for cattle grazing) could be sold or be used for raising loans. The commonage belonged to Edendale land owners and could be used by Edendale for building schools. It also never occurred to the boards to use regional authority funds for building of the needed school. One of the major problems of the board was that the land at Edendale belonged to landowners. The Indians and Whites who were leaving Edendale sold their land at inflated prices

because they wanted enough money to be able to buy at the places to which they were being sent. The R4,000-00 could hardly buy 1 acre of land. Getting a 5 acre plot at the time would have cost between R25,000-00 to R35,00-00. There was no way in which the school board could tax the school population for that amount. The board watched the situation deteriorating but was powerless to change it.

One of the Indians sold his land to the Native Affairs Department for some agricultural program. The White circuit inspector was approached by the school board and requested to procure this land for a school. The circuit inspector knew the person in charge of the agricultural program, and the land was obtained from the board for building a school. The pressure for building a school was so great that the board decided to divide a 17-acre plot for three school committees so that three schools could be built instead of one. The board was not aggressive enough. There were several plots which were sold by Whites and Indians which could have been bought for the board by either the Local Health Commission or the Department of Native Affairs.

In 1973 Z.E.T.A. (Zulu Education and Teaching Assistance) came into being. This was an organization formed by White concerned business-persons in Pietermaritzburg. Its goal was to assist Black education in the Edendale and Zwartkop areas. Former school board members served on an ad-hoc committee formed with an aim of building a high school at Edendale. The R4000-00 collected by the school board was, by the request of Z.E.T.A., handed over

to Z.E.T.A. to build 6 classrooms. In April 1973 the researcher became a member of the ad hoc committee. He was to be the principal of the proposed school. The school committee assigned the task of deciding what school would be necessary for the Edendale community. The researcher envisaged a double story building with 26 classrooms, a library, a laboratory, an administrative block, two staff rooms, a tuckshop, 8 toilets for teachers, 24 toilets for girls, 12 toilets for boys, a caretakers cottage, a soccer field, 4 netball fields. The Z.E.T.A. members rejected the draft plans for the school. They were prepared to build classrooms, but not the type of school proposed. It was further alleged by Z.E.T.A. that Edendale people did not want the proposed school, they only wanted classrooms. These were White business men from the city telling a Black principal what the Black community wanted. They had not consulted Edendale people, but claimed to know what Edendale people wanted and needed. These Whites were an accountant and a real estate agent, but they were telling a principal of a school what a school should look like.

Here was the Greytown experience repeating itself. The Edendale people had to surrender R4000-00 Z.E.T.A and also had to surrender their wishes and leave everything to Z.E.T.A- "the Whites who always claim to know what we want and are offended when we tell them what we actually want."[22] The committee members of the school being built were prepared to back the researcher and to explore other avenues of funding. Z.E.T.A left the school committee in a lurch and started building classrooms for a

neighboring school. There, 263 grade 9 students would need classrooms as the next class the following year. The school committee had to get funds and start with the building of more classrooms for the following year.

The researcher, as secretary of the ad hoc committee of the proposed high school- Amakholwa High School, was requested to explore other avenues for funding the building of Amakholwa High School. He approached the chief of Amakholwa Tribe who agreed to sign all applications to the Bantu Commissioner for building of the proposed school. The Bantu Commissioner approved the application, gave permission for building of the school. He could not, however, indicate how much the Amakholwa Tribe had in its funds. He did not ask for the blue prints of the proposed school. No one asked for those blue prints and there were not any. How could the Bantu commissioner approve of buildings whose plans he had not seen?

The researcher and the school committee built the school shown in Figure 4.1 below. It had all the classrooms and supportive educational centers that were envisaged. The library and the laboratory at one time caused the Bantu commissioner to refuse to approve payment for the hand washbasins installed. The chief caused him to pay and told him that it was the wish of the Black community to give the school whatever the principal wanted. The chief reminded the Bantu Commissioner that the commissioner's duty was to advise not to stifle progress. There was no school like Amakholwa High School at Edendale. Principals of other

schools outside wanted to know from the researcher how he got the funds. When Amakholwa High School was almost finished, the researcher told other principals how regional authority funds could be obtained. Some principals approached their chiefs who also claimed building funds from the Bantu commissioner. Two principals were building their schools when they were told that all regional authority funds had been exhausted by the researcher and his chief.

FIGURE 4.1 AMAKHOLWA HIGH SCHOOL: 1977

In 1978 the chief, the researcher and the chairman of Amakholwa High School were called to the Bantu commissioner's office and were told that the Amakholwa Tribe had used more than its share of funds in building Amakholwa High School. When asked what the funds allocated to Amakholwa Tribe were, and how much had been overspent, the commissioner could not show the party where

the revenue for the various tribes was broken down. After a short discussion, it dawned on the commissioner and all people present that the whole question of funding of the tribal authorities was a confused issue. When a new local authorities took over from the Local Health Commission in 1976, this authority built two high schools on the commonage. This authority just built these schools without consulting the people as to design, siting and suitability. Both these high school had no library, no laboratory, and no soccer fields or netball fields. They were typical of schools that White local authorities build for Blacks.

Summary

When the KwaZulu Territorial Authority took over all education in KwaZulu, it abolished the board system in 1972. Individual school committees started building their schools. Indian and White organizations in Pietermaritzburg helped with the building of schools in the Edendale area. Unfortunately most of the school committees were extending schools within existing school grounds, which, in most cases, were already crowded. The siting of schools at Edendale was dictated by the availability of land so that sites were used for schools although such sites were unsuitable for school buildings. For instance, Georgetown High School had numerous ill-effects of poor siting. It was opposite a tannery which polluted the air. There were no sidewalks, no overhang bridge on the highway or on railway crossing near the school. Most Edendale schools were poorly sited.

Soweto Bantu School Boards

Soweto

Soweto was founded in 1950 as South Western Townships which had to absorb Blacks who were being removed from areas declared black spots. The forced removal of Blacks and their relocation in Soweto met with resistance from the rise of African nationalism. African nationalism was heightened by the coming of the Afrikaners into power. The resistance and African nationalism found expression naming of the various areas such as Dube, Dlamini, Mapetla, Moroka and Zondi. These are names of Africans. This type of naming was also found in schools which were established after the 1960s. Older settlements bore such names as Pimville and Orlando. Likewise older schools were Morris Isaacson High School and Orlando High School. Schools after 1960 bore names of African leaders. Soweto was also a home of numerous Black political leaders such as Sobukwe, Mandela, Sisulu and Thambo. In 1980 the Black population of Johannesburg was as follows:

TABLE: 4.2 JOHANNESBURG BLACK POPULATION 1980

Urban	1,332,610
Rural	24,330
Total	1,356,940
Registered work force	596,813
Housing	112,064
Hostel residents	78,808

Source: Bekker, Simon and Humphries Richard, From Control to Confusion, p. 197.[23]

An estimated papulation size of Soweto is 1.2 million, but a large portion of this number consist of illegal residents who probably increase the population by 30%. This population is

presented by Bekker and Humphries on table 4.5 on the previous page. The division of the population into legal and illegal residents also divided the potential school population. Admission to Soweto schools was by means of a pink card. The pink card was issued to students whose parents were legal residents of Soweto.[24] Prospective students whose parents were not legal residents were refused admission. In 1968 women were removed from the waiting lists and women who lost their husbands through death or divorce also lost their rights to be Soweto. Students from such homes also lost their right to be at schools in Soweto. This had a disastrous effect on children of single female parents. Joyce Sikakane, a daughter of divorcees relates her story by saying: "My mother and we remained in the house under constant threat of eviction. Even to day, my mother, two brothers and two children still remain under the same threat. In Soweto it is common practice to bribe Authorities for such matters as house permits."[25] This indicates that students of illegal residents had to bribe authorities in order to get pink cards for admission to school. Such students, however, lived in constant fear of being found out and ejected from school.

Gordon describes Soweto as "a Black township approximately 15 kilometers from Johannesburg. It is said to confirm to South Africa's most sophisticated urban Black population."[26] In education evidence does not show the most sophisticated segment of the Black population. Gordon's description of Soweto is dulled when one looks at its educational facilities and the literacy rate of

Sowetans in 1968, during the era of school boards. A glance at this rate indicate that Soweto could not provide secondary school teachers from its own school population. Langschmidt surveyed Soweto and found the following:

TABLE: 4.3 A LEVEL OF EDUCATION IN SOWETO, 1962 AND 1967

	Creches	Primary Schools	Secondary Schools	Colleges
Students in 1962	5%	68%	9%	1%
Students in 1967	7%	74%	5%	1%

TABLE 4.4 A LEVEL OF EDUCATION IN SOWETO 1962 AND 1967 CONTINUED

GRADES	HOUSEWIVES 1962 %	HOUSEWIVES 1967 %	HUSBANDS 1967 %	SCHOOL LEAVING CHILDREN %
Illiterate	30	22	16	-
Grade 4	12	17	14	11
Grade 5	10	6	6	22
Grade 7	14	12	6	16
Grade 8	12	11	15	23
Grade 9	14	16	6	6
Grade 10	3	3	6	7
Grade 11	5	6	8	12
Grade 12	*	6	3	2
Post grade 12	-	1	1	1
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: Langschmidt, W. An African Day: A second Study of Life in the Townships, pp. 29-32.[27]

When one examines the adult population in 1962 and 1967, one does not find education as an index of the "most sophisticated segment of the urban Black population." None of the housewives surveyed in 1962 had grade 12 or a post grade 12 education. School-leaving children in the table refers to drop-outs. Langschmidt's study of the education of Sowetans is in Table 4.4 B on the previous page:

Soweto School Boards and School Facilities

The Soweto school boards were also given the task of building schools, but the Johannesburg City Council built all Soweto schools in accordance with Government instructions. The Johannesburg City Council (White) was not guided by the wishes of the residents of Soweto. Government directive was that local authorities follow government plans which provided a school of ten classrooms, but only eight built at first, at the cost of R4,800-00. Where possible, there had to be a school for each 400 houses and the cost had to be recovered by adding an amount not exceeding 20c per month per rental. Government regulation stipulated the cost of building a classroom at R1,200-00 ($400.00). It was unrealistic to peg erection of schools on the housing program. There was a shortage of 32,000 houses in 1977. This shortage did not reflect single mothers as they were removed from the waiting list in 1968. More than half of Soweto children were from single parents, says Gordon.[28] This means that these children were not catered to by the above mentioned school building formula. Married children who stayed with their parents were not catered to in this

formula. The school building program was an integral part of a Bantu Housing Scheme so that each house had 25C from rent paid towards the building and maintenance of schools.

All classrooms for Black education were built on a rand-to-rand basis, that is, the government paid 50 percent of the cost of a classroom. The Department of Education refunded half the cost of building a classroom. Pegging classrooms at R1,200-00 for the whole country or for the whole of Soweto was unrealistic. The topography of the site, the cost of labor in a particular area and other local variations were ignored. Subsidies were paid for classrooms only, so that Black schools then became classrooms with no supportive physical facilities such as toilets, laboratories, libraries and sports fields. Those were regarded as luxuries by the governments, local authorities, Whites who assited in the building of classrooms, and strange enough evne by some Black inspectors of schools. In 1969, Soweto had 127 school for 94,444 students, and it was only May 1969 that the fifth high school was opened. This gave an average of 744 students to a school. The school were overcrowded as most of them consisted of 2 blocks of 5 classrooms each. Between 1976 and 1988, the number of high school students in Soweto nearly doubled, rising from 37.000 to 68.800. The growth in the number of schools was too slow to meet the educational needs demanded by Soweto. There were 41 high schools in Soweto in 1976. Thirteen years later, in 1989 there were 62.[29]

The formula changed in 1977 so that table 4.5 on the next page reflects the changes:

TABLE: 4.5 PROVISION OF SCHOOLS IN SOWETO IN 1977

TYPE OF SCHOOL	NO. OF CLASSROOMS	SIZE OF THE SITE	NO. OF FAMILIES	NO. OF SCHOOLS	ENROLLMENTS
Primary A	12	1,5 morgan	800	183	88,204
Primary B	12-16	2,5 morgan	1,600	143	46,182
Secondary	10	2,5 morgan	3,200	49	38,224

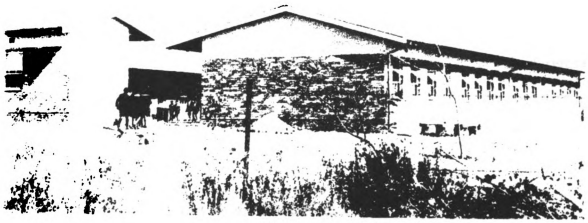
Primary A = junior Primary; Primary B= Senior primary

Source: Morris, Pauline, Soweto, P. 85.[30]

Black schools were the same whether they were primary schools or secondary schools. The sameness was maintained throughout the country as the government provided all blue prints for schools. Soweto local authorities complied with these blue prints because the government subsidized building of schools on the R-to-R basis. The school were drab, cold in winter because of the concrete cement finish, and hot in summer because of lack of ceiling and overcrowding. Figure 4.3 shows a typical Black school of the Bantu Education period. Note the absence of ceilings, electricity and chart boards. The same blue prints were used in all schools irrespective of local conditions or local preferences. The same windows, SB38, were used irrespective of the local conditions or function of the rooms. The lower opening part of this window was dangerous for students running outside the building. The workmanship and the finish of these schools was inferior to that of schools for the Whites. At least face bricks were used in most Soweto schools while most Bantu Education schools used common bricks for the exterior walls.

Soweto schools while most Bantu Education schools used common bricks for the exterior walls.

Figure 4.2 A TYPICAL SOWETO SCHOOL



A typical Soweto School.

Source: Langschmidt W., An African Day: A Second Study of Life in the Townships, p.20.[31]

Weekly Mail captures this sense of dysfunctional schools by saying:

> Orlando West High School, one of Soweto's oldest schools has had no electricity for five years. The principal uses a tiny cubicle attached to the library as her office, and the school sole administration block. The lack of electricity gives every room a cavernous air, has rendered laboratories almost useless, and has ruled out the use of most teaching aids, such as slide projectors or overhead projectors.[32]

Although boards were expected to build schools, they never built any schools in Soweto. School were built by the local authority which was the Johannesburg Municipality. Revenue for building

schools came from different sources. This could have been the 38c school levy paid by all renters, could be part of the profit from the sorghum beer which was R4.4 million at the end of the 1975 fiscal year.[33] It was estimated in 1975 that Sowetans drank R17 million a year.[34] For Soweto, funds for building bigger and better schools were available, but were not used by boards. An example of an interior of a Black school is given on figure 4.3 below:

FIGURE 4.3 AN INTERIOR OF A BLACK SCHOOL

Source: Human Awareness, Break Time: The Changing Face of South Africa, p. 18.[35]

Soweto School Boards and Funding

Like most school boards, Soweto school boards faced the problem of funding. The custodians of the funds never disclosed to boards what funds were collected for Black education. It was, however, possible for the boards to calculate the funds due to them. Every renter in houses owned by the municipality paid 38c a

month towards education. This school levy was higher than the 25c per house charged by most local authorities. The higher levy was not reflected in that nature of school buildings and other educational facilities. Humphries indicate that Soweto had 112,064 houses in 1980. The school levy from these houses could be 112,064 x 12 x 38c. It is questionable why a flat school tax was levied on properties of different values. Houses on 90-year lease were better houses than four-room match-box houses. It is also strange that the Native Service Levy was R1 per week for Black employees in different earning brackets. This Native Service Levy was four times higher in Johannesburg than in smaller cities and towns. This higher levy was not reflected in schools. On a work force of 596.813 the levy was R596,813-00 each month. If 10% of the service levy was allocated to schools each year, the boards would have had more than R700,000.-00 a year.

Soweto school boards did not like boards in rural areas collect building fund or development fund for building of schools. Boards only administered privately-paid teachers' fund which was R1-00 per student per term. The boards could not buy land in Soweto and could not use ant land without the approval of the Johannesburg Municipality which was originally the custodian of Soweto and received funds from Soweto. The Urban Bantu Council (UBC) did not know much money the Municipality collected from the residents and how those funds were used for the schools and other social amenities. Though the level of illiteracy seems relatively lower in Soweto, the UBC was illiterate in fiscal matters.

The Functioning of Soweto School Boards

One way of looking at the functioning of Soweto boards is to get the situation as summarized by Zwelakhe Sisulu who had this to say:

> We have a peculiar system of teacher employment. the Department of Bantu education employs the bulk of teachers in Soweto. But we also have school boards who employ additional teachers paid from the coffers of the schools themselves., These have nothing to do with e Department. The school board use their discretion over whom to employ and you can imagine what happens. If you are friendly to a school board member you stand a good chance of teaching and this is not related to your educational qualifications. Few teachers in Soweto have university degrees, probably less than 10% It is appalling. If anything, with such poor facilities and as many as sixty pupils to a class our teachers need to be more qualified than other teachers in the country.[36]

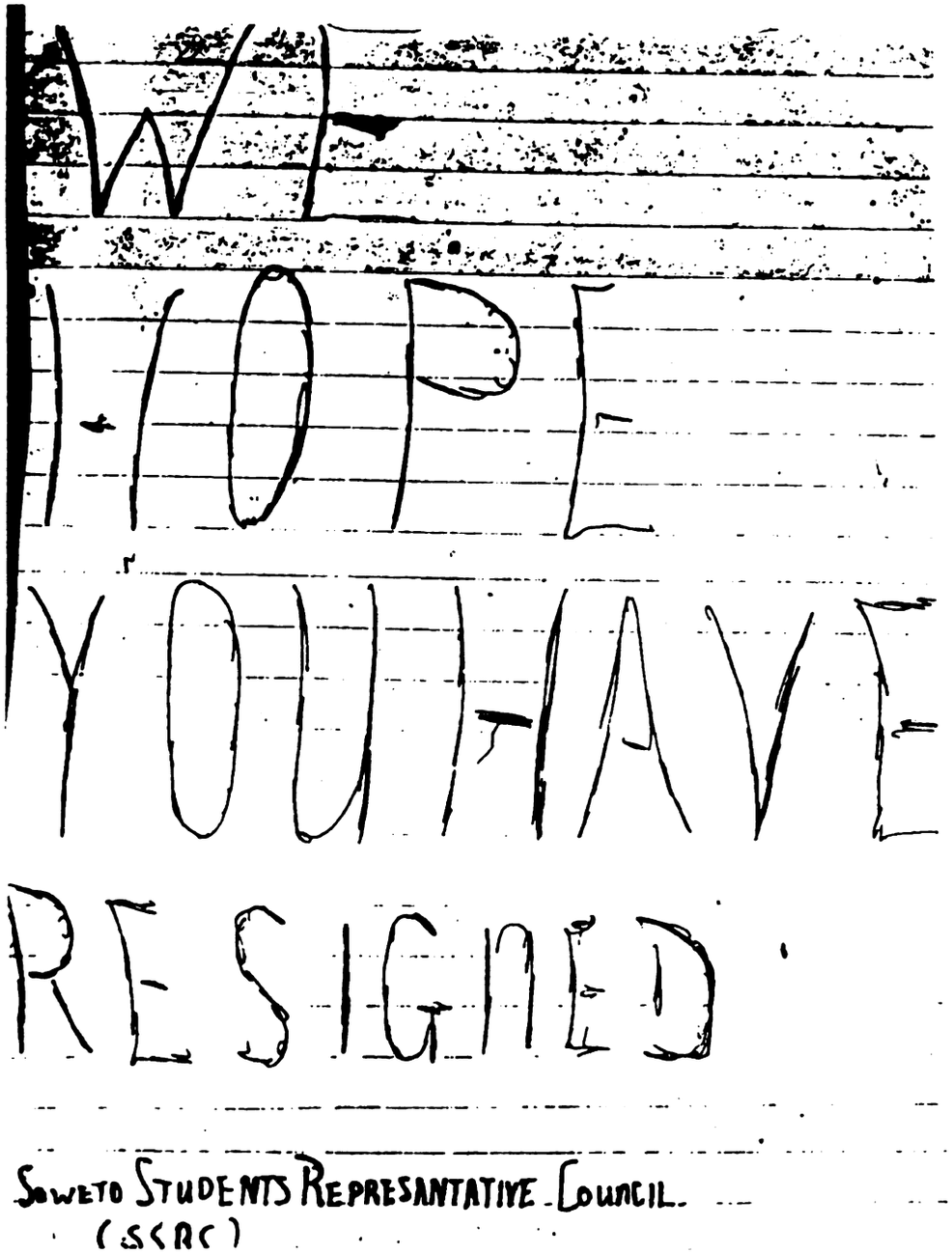
It was, therefore, under such conditions that the Bantu school boards operated in Soweto. The calibre of school board personnel did not differ much from other school boards. It was, however, educationally lower than that of the Edendale Urban Bantu School Board. The school population was divided into ethic groups, for an example, the Tswana School Board, the Southern Sotho School

Board and the Nguni School Board. This division aimed at linking of local school administration to tribal authorities so that students from the Zulu school would go to the University of Zululand while students from a Tswana school boards would go the University of Bophuthatswana. This gives a clear indication that Bantu school boards were not a local initiative but were part of the grand apartheid design. The model was, therefore, not decentralization of power but deconcentration and delegation of power by the central government which feared opposition to apartheid. The principal of Orlando High School, Kambule deplored this centralization by saying, "The fault will all education for Blacks was its firm foundation in paternalism. The missionary was a great father. He knew all the answers, so did the 1948 government.[37] This fatherly attitude was confirmed by Motau, chairman of the Hammanskraal Bantu School Board, who called de Jager, an Inspector of Pretoria East Circuit "*Onse oubass*" (our old master) and also by Gumede, chairman of the Newcastle Urban Bantu School Board, who addressed the Minister of Bantu Education as "father" when the Minister came to Newcastle in 1959.

Evidence indicates that the Soweto school boards failed in some major tasks because they were subverted by the White bureaucracy which often usurped the powers of the boards by abdicating their advisory position and dictating to them. This dictation was supported by the government which delegated power to the boards without allowing the power to disseminate to the people. The failure to share power with the Blacks was

boards issued instructions to teachers, directing them to teach in English from Grade 5 to grade 10. The board's directive countered the government directive which instructed teachers to use 50% English and 50% Afrikaans from Grade 7 to grade 10. To punish the board, two members of the Meadowland's School board in Soweto were dismissed. Other members of the school board then resigned in protest. Students took the clue from the Meadowlands School board and instructed all board members to resign because they had been rendered useless by the government. Students marched to the UBC buildings and delivered letters to urban Bantu Council board members as well as to Bantu school board members. Appendix G gives the explicit threat students made to board members. The letters stated that if board members did not resign, their house were going to be burnt down. Rent boycott and burning down of houses subsequently followed and peaked from 1983 to 1987. Figure 4.7 is an example students' instruction to board members and members of the UBC. This pressure on school board members though desired by the students, did not solve the problem of Black participation in their own education. The students then usurped some powers of the board members and those of the UBC. Figure 1 was a circular issued by student directed to students, parents, principal and teachers, tsotsies and shopkeepers. Students power came into being through intimidation, and violence. Violence gained its momentum and by 1983 students power had spread to the entire country.

FIGURE 4.4 STUDENTS' INSTRUCTION TO BOARD MEMBERS

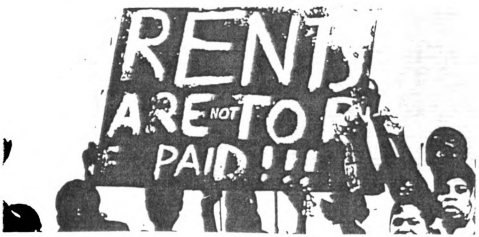


Source: Supreme Court of South Africa, Transvaal Division, v Twala and others, rol no.312.[38]

Evidence indicate that students' victory against the introduction of African entrapped students in web of unintended consequences. Some of these consequences are found in students' letters, circulares, placards and minutes of their meetings. The

area of the students activities were so vast that Sunday Times called Soweto students "a government in waiting."[39] Cheered by their successes and the English media, Soweto students attacked liquor outlets and urged and supported rent boycotts. Part of the rent and part of the profits from the liquor outlets were for Black education. Evidence suggests that to pressurize board members to resign emanated from the political impatience of the Black youth. Students' placards are indicative of this impatience and immaturity. Note the type of paper used, the language used and spelling of representative in placard Placard on figure 4.6 was originally "Rents are to be paid" there is a small inset of "not" between "are" and "to" so that the placard was changed to, "Rents are not to be paid".

FIGURE 4.5 STUDENTS PLACARDS ON JUNE 16, 1976



Source: Supreme Court of South Africa, Transvaal Division, v Twala and others, rol no. 312.[40]

Students held numerous demonstrations against the introduction of Africans. When the demonstrations were directed against the Urban Bantu Council (UBC), school boards members were included in what students regarded as "Useless Boys Club (UBC)." During the demonstrations students carried placards which are indicative of the maturity and the mood of the students. Figures 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7 and some of the records of these placards and students' letter requesting members of the "Useless Boys Clubs" to resign.

FIGURE 4.6 STUDENTS' PLACARDS ON PPT

Source: Supreme Court of South Africa, Transvaal Division, v Twala and others, rol no. 3.[41]

Though raised very high, Figure 4.6 is facing upside down. One placard says, "Do away with P.P.T" (privately paid teachers). Another says, "We demand our money back" These placards touched on

matters that were administered by school boards. Student were now doing what school boards should have long done. The boards should have refuse to employ privately-paid teachers and asked the government for salaries of teachers. What the students were saying was what had been the demands of the ANC since 1941. The ANC had stated that "The education of the African is matter of national importance requiring State effort for proper realization. The right of an African child to education, like children of other sections must be recognized as a State duty and responsibility."[42]

It is evident from the students' placards that students had lost the confidence in board members, who, themselves had lost trust and confidence in the government. Board members noticed that the attitude of White officials, circuit Inspectors and regional directors was Anti-African. "They were arrogant said," said S.P. Maphike, a school board member.[43] The officials were not consulting board members but were merely instructing Blacks. The resignation of board members ushered a period of anarchy. Nomavenda Mathiane captures this state of affairs as follows:

> I met a girl of about twenty who started school in 1974. Since then, she had experienced seven years of learning, five years of disruption and two years of limbo. Students today do as they please. A class can be busy at work in one classroom only to find the next room behaving as if it was a picnic. Loud music is played and boys and girls frolic around.

> I visited Thulare High School. ....Inside, the school is filthy and run down. Some classrooms are without doors. Broken desks lie over the place. An attempt is made to sweep the floors, but the whole place is grey from lack of polish. The walls compete for inscriptions of rival political groups. The toilets are no longer used because they are not cleaned. Today many classrooms and toilets are without roofs as the corrugated iron has been stolen, In some classes tiles on the floor have been removed and the ceiling in the staff room has been taken.[44]

What Mathiane describes is Soweto schools beyond the sophistic claimed by visitors to Soweto. One should not, however, close this chapter with the impression that it was the demise of the school boards which created this situation. The ungovernability of Soweto schools started before the Soweto Riots in 1976. Joyce Sikakane gives us a glimpse of the trouble with which Soweto school boards had to contend prior 1976. She gives these entries from a Phiri Higher Primary School principal's log book:

> 6/19/73 On arrival today I found the fence around the yard had been cut and the iron poles dug out. I reported the matter to the police and gave the names of the suspects. The police did nothing about the matter and I gave up.

2/16/74 On arrival at school today I found that the thugs had smashed the windows of the school cottage and damaged the caretaker's car. Matter reported to the police and when they did nothing about it, the school did the repairs.

2/22/74 On arrival at school today I found my office and the storeroom had been burgled. .... As a result of information I received from one of the pupils, I requested the police to accompany me to a certain house where I found the stolen goods. A middle aged man was arrested and later convicted.

10/31/74: Today I received a report that thugs had stopped some of the pupils from coming to school. This was followed by a fight which resulted in the death of one of the thugs and the wounding of five others.

(Thugs) would drag some of the girls to their neighborhood hide-outs. Some of these girls would returned to class at noon, weeping and ashamed to tell him (the principal) what had happened to them.[45]

These experiences were unique to Soweto and had to be dealt with by the Soweto Bantu School Boards. The shortage of housing, the rising crime rate and lack of support from local administrative

agencies in Soweto made the work of these boards unmanageable. Soweto was becoming ungovernable, therefore making local governance of Soweto schools also ungovernable.

Summary

Whether we look at Greytown, Edendale or any other school board area, we are faced by groups of often well-meaning people who were not trained for the positions they occupied or people who were given functions without the necessary power that goes with those functions. Boards were supposed to build schools, but were not exposed to the rightful sources of funds so that they tended to rely on building funds paid by students or left the tasks of building schools to local authorities. They were expected to employ teachers, but were not supplied with instruments for assessing teachers or-nor schooled in the recruitment, interviewing, orientation, and retention of teachers. These omissions weakened the boards. This attitude of government White officials subverted the activities of the boards. It was, therefore, mostly the human factor rather than an inherent structural defect that caused the abolition of school boards.

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2. Republic of South Africa. Educamus, June, 1964. p. 12.

3. Republic of South Africa. Official Yearbook 1976. Pretoria: Government Printers, 1978. p. 688.

4. Rosenthal, Eric, Encyclopedia of South Africa.

5. Macquarrie, J. W. The New Order in Bantu Education. Africa South, October-September 1957, pp. 33-45.

6. Ibid.

7. In 1966 I took course in Native Administration and in Race Studies. Both courses dealt with the administration of Blacks. The Race studies book stated that Black universities were built from White taxes just because they were funded from the Consolidated Revenue Fund. One of my classmates argued that White taxes were used for the White army while Black taxes were used forbidding White schools and for social services for the Whites.

8. Union of South Africa. Official Yearbook 1954-1955. Pretoria: Government Printers, 1956. p. 340.

9. In White areas Blacks were rent payers what was known as Black townships. These were dormitory townships earmarked for workers in these towns.

10. Carr, W.T.J. Soweto: Its creation, Life and Decline. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1990. p. 37.

11. Morris, Pauline. Soweto. Johannesburg:Urban Foundation, 1977. p. 58.

12. Dhlomo, O.D. "Education for what?", Paper read at the official opening of Buhle Buyeza Secondary School, March 28, 1973.

13. Republic of South Africa. Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953. Pretoria: Government Printers, 1956, p. 210.

14. When the Anglo-Zulu war was fought in 1879, Amakholwa Blacks joined the British forces against the Zulus. British settler views were that the might of the Zulus had to be destroyed in order to free the Zulus for the labor needed in the mines and for Christianization. These views were shared by some missionaries who urged their Black converts to join the British forces. It was claimed that the Zulu army stood for forces of darkness and the British army stood for forces of civilization and enlightenment.

15. Rosenthal, Eric. Op. cit., p. 165.

16. Ibid. p. 163.

17. Union of South Africa. Official Yearbook 1956-1957. Pretoria: Government Printers, 1958, p. 218.

18. Ibid. p. 219.

19. Ibid. p. 340.

20. Ibid. p. 341.

21. Ibid.

22. Forum, April, 1955. p. 3.

23. Remarks made by an ex-board member who had been unhappy with the manner Z.E.T.A. had requested that the board surrender R4,000.00.

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36. Sikakane, Joyce. Op. cit., p. 52.

37. Ibid.

38. Sunday Times, January, 12, 1977. p. 6.

39. Supreme Court of South Africa, Transvaal Division, v Twala and others. Op cit.

40. Ibid.

41. Mathiane, Nomavenda. South Africa: Diary of Troubled Times. New York: Freedom Press, 1989, p. 85.

42. Sikakane, Joyce. Op cit. p. 34.

43. Ibid. p. 33.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND REFLECTIONS

Re-statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study was to explore Bantu school boards from 1953 to 1976 within the context of apartheid and attempts at democratization through a devolution of authority and power from the White central government to Black communities. Objectives of the study were to trace the origin of Bantu school boards, explore local administrative structures that were supposed to work with Bantu school boards, examine the members of the boards and specifically look at the functioning of the Bantu school boards in building schools, and in the employment of teachers.

The major problem in the administration of Black schools was that the central government was a White minority government while the Bantu school boards represented a marginalized Black majority within apartheid South Africa. The diverse demands of educational provisions for the vast country were ignored by the government, with the resultant stifling of local initiative in the governance of the schools. Founded amidst opposition and distrust of the White government's intentions, Bantu schools boards were abolished by all homeland governments in 1972, attacked by Soweto students in 1976, denounced by Black teachers' associations and subverted by the White bureaucracy. Created by a distrusted Bantu Education Act of 1953, Bantu school boards ended in mistrust in 1978.

This study explored the decentralist trends that existed in Black education and White education. White education is largely controlled by provincial governments which have both regulatory and allocative functions. It was also pointed out that the decentralist trends existing in White school boards have degenerated into centralist tendencies. Nonetheless, there were times when White school boards were powerful and improved White education by providing transport to schools, enforcing compulsory education, reducing the teacher-pupil ratios and urging governments to build schools for Whites. The problem facing South Africa now is what type of district educational administrative bodies should a new South Africa evolve, adopt or retain?

Findings

This study found that school boards were rooted in the Afrikaner traditions of ensuring parental participation in the governance of education. For Afrikaners, it had always been important to include the parents' voice in the administration of schools in order to safeguard education from Anglicization. The popular notion that Bantu school boards were a creation of Verwoerd in 1953 was discounted by evidence. Evidence showed that the school board idea for Blacks was first introduced in 1883 by a Commission on Native Affairs in the Cape. That was 70 years before the Bantu Education Act of 1953. Evidence also showed that school boards for Blacks were also advocated by C.T. Loram, an American educationist who was the Superintendent of Native Education in the

1920s.[1] School boards for Blacks were also advocated by Edgar Brooks in 1930[2], by G.N. Welsh in 1939,[3] and by the joint deputation of the Native Representative Council, the African National Congress, the Local Bantu Advisory Board Congress and the African Teachers Federation in 1942.[4] Evidence suggests that the Bantu School boards introduced in 1953 were not the type of school boards advocated by the above-mentioned organizations and persons.

It may be argued that these organizations and persons wanted school boards which could bring about a sharing of power with the Blacks and wrestle Black education away from the central government. The creation of the Native Affairs Department in 1922 virtually placed Black education under the central government which monopolized the collection of taxes from Blacks and also kept the power to allocate funds for Black education. The school boards introduced by the central government in 1953 were tailored to fit into the grand apartheid scheme whose pillars were deconcentration and delegation of power rather than devolution of power. Bray defines deconcentration as a process "through which the central authority establishes field units (in order) to establish greater central control over distant areas."[5] He also defines delegation of power as "implying stronger degree of decision-making at the local level, (though) power in a delegated system still basically rests with the central government, the power being easily withdrawn without resort to legislation."[6] Some members of the Meadowlands Bantu School Board were terminated because they opposed the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of

instruction; this is indicative of the consequences of delegated powers. These powers are often withdrawn when they do not serve the interest of the power delegator. From the evidence gathered in the study, it can be argued that the South African state did not create Bantu school boards because it wanted to devolve power to Black people, but because it wanted to legitimize itself while retaining all the powers especially through "regulation of behavior, institutional and behavioral, and through allocation of resources; human, material and financial."[7] Boards were not empowered to regulate the behavior of teachers, students and institutions within their areas as the conditions of service were prescribed by the central government and the curriculum also sent down from the central government. Board members were only expected to police teachers, students and schools for the central government. When board members wrestled the power from the central government and instructed teachers in 1976 to use English as a medium of instruction, they were terminated by the Department.

The powers of the boards were non-existent in the allocation of human, material and financial resources. The central government retained these important functions by approving the appointment of all educational personnel from the members of the school boards to teachers. It was also the central government that stipulated the amount of school fees paid, the sizes and types of schools to be built and the cost of classrooms. The central government was so particular about curtailing the powers of the boards that boards had to submit their budgets for approval to circuit inspectors who

were representatives of the central government. For an example, in 1970, the researcher, as secretary of the Greytown Committee/Board submitted a budget which included, a two-stroke mower. The circuit inspector, who had no knowledge of the sloppy ground which had to be mowed, changed the two stroke mower to a four-stroke mower.

What the African National Congress, the Native Representative Council, the Joint Bantu Advisory Board Congress and the African Teachers Federation wanted were boards which would ensure devolution of power "to local bodies, which do not need to seek approval for their actions."[8] The spontaneous proliferation of grassroots organizations in Black communities springs from the desire to involve people's organizations in the administration of Black education. Grassroots organizations derive their power from the people who elect them rather than from the central government. Such grassroots organizations could improve the efficiency of education in South Africa by tapping local and private sources into the overall resource pool available for education.'[9] As Weiler points out, decentralization may "mobilize and generate resources not available under centralized conditions; and (it) can utilize available resources more efficiently."[10] This is more the case in Black communities where communal ownership for collective benefit has always been the way of life.

One of the findings was that Bantu school-boards operated within hegemonic structures whose aims were to protect and promote White supremacy and ensure that Blacks "should only be allowed in urban areas when (they) are willing to administer to the needs of

the White man."[11] Verwoerd, the Minister of Native Affairs, maintained that "Bantu Education had to stand with both feet in the reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society."[12] The Forum summarized White government intentions by saying that Verwoerd "would equip the Natives for their humble inferior station in life. They would be taught to expect little- and therefore ask for little."[13] The three boards studied knew little of educational matters, expected little and asked for little. When the Greytown Bantu School Committee/Board, was made aware of educational needs, it asked for and received three separate schools. The same applied at Edendale when the Bantu Commissioner was asked to release funds for building of Amakholwa High School, the commissioner complied without question. However, it was not clear from the study how much mistaken identity caused White local authorities to release funds for building of Black schools mentioned above. The researcher's name often mistaken by White bureaucracy who thought they were dealing with the chief minister of KwaZulu might have influenced the result of the study. Despite the possibility of this mistaken identity, the study discovered that there were possibilities for board members to have used White local authorities and bureaucracies for building of schools. It was obvious during the years of this study that the hegemon did not prepare or create opportunities for board members to undertake the massive transformative tasks needed by Black education. Some of the board members were accommodating intellectuals. The Chairman of the Edendale Urban Bantu School

Board was so accommodating that he sided with White ZETA officials and asked the researcher where he had seen a school with all the facilities the researcher required. What the chairman had learned to accept was that Black schools were inferior and different from schools of other racial groups. The chairman had seen many Indian, White and Colored schools in Pietermaritzburg but never thought that Blacks could have such schools.

In Freire's language, White government was exercising false-generosity by first invading and deleting Blacks and then posing as their liberator. The White man in figure 5.1 on the next page says to a Black child, "Don't you understand? We are doing this for your own good."[14] The White man in the picture is indicative of the White government's paternalism which devalued and deleted Blacks in the governance of their education and then imposed White Government officials as the parents of Black children.

Figure 5.1 A portrait of pseudo-generosity

Source: Africa South, March 1956, p. 18.[15]

The omission of Black parents brought anarchy and dissolution of traditional Black education in which parents had played a great role in the execution and governance. In traditional Black education, education was a collective and communal responsibility in which elders played a significant role. "African parentage" was not restricted to biological parents, but was enjoyed and exercised by all elders. African students often talk of "a group of mothers" when they mean Eurocentric elder women. African languages do not have the Eurocentric terms "man" and "woman." What in Eurocentric terms is a "man" is in African languages a father, a husband and a boy. White men were excluded from Black parentage and therefore could not take the place of Black parents. Bantu Education failed to convince Black students that it was doing anything for their good, hence the students' rebellion of 1976 and the subsequent loss of trust for Bantu education. White policy-makers restricted the membership of local Black educational administrative structures to biological parents, and this left untapped vast educational human resources within the community. If policy-makers had not unilaterally designed local administrative structures but had worked together with Blacks in the formulation of local administrative structures, these structure would have started where the Black people were. The student rebellion of 1976 was also a rebellion against White government omission of Black parents in the governance of their education. That African youth saw their parents being degraded by Whites is evident in Wally Serote's poem where he said:

I come from there,

The children there have no toys, they play with mud,

The boys and girls have nothing to do,

Their minds are laboratories and their bodies apparatus;

I come from there,

The parents there are children of other men and women,

There, the old just sit and wait for death

Like people wait for a train.[16]

White policy-makers could not know what was good for Black children and, therefore, could not plan for their good. They often planned for the good of apartheid. Afrikaans as second medium of instruction for Black students was not for their good. This false generosity wrecked Bantu school boards which were equipped for their humble inferior station within the hegemonic tentacles of White government bureaucracies.

All three boards studied had difficulties with their allocative functions because White government had not prepared Blacks for these functions, and Black aspirations were diametrically opposed to government intent. The government wanted to develop rural areas despite the massive amount of Black urbanization which had been taking place since White capital accumulation from 1850, with its resultant displacement of Blacks. This displacement was legislated by the Land Act of 1913 and peaked after 1953. By 1970, Black development was directed at the homelands. The White circuit inspector was against the building project by the Greytown School/Committee Board because he

maintained that there was no point in local authorities spending money on schools that were going to be taken over by KwaZulu Government.

Although the Edendale Urban Bantu School Board had regarded itself as an urban institution, it was placed under KwaZulu Government in 1972. Access to urban facilities was minimized. For Amakholwa High school, that meant a loss of a tarred 1-1/2 mile road. The Bantu Local Regional Authority was not equipped for the maintenance of tarred roads, so the road was changed into a dirt road. "Between 1972 and 1976 the number of secondary schools in Soweto only doubled, while the number of secondary school attendance almost trebled from 12,656 to 34,656."[17] These numbers indicate only the students who had pink cards, i.e. students whose parents were legal residents of Soweto. These numbers ignored thousands of prospective students who did not qualify for admission and were, therefore, fodder for militant activities in the 1976 riots. The government was building schools in rural areas with a hope that some students would move to these rural areas. Board members were not told about these intentions. An example of this occurred when the Minister of Bantu Education visited Newcastle in 1958. Gumede, the chairman of the school board, indicated to the Minister that Blacks in Newcastle needed more schools. The Minister's reply was that the government had planned more houses and more schools for Blacks at Madadeni. Twelve years later, Madadeni was established as a rural community.

Attempts by boards to build schools were often thwarted by governmental housing policy. Black urban dwellers were considered temporary residents who were deprived of residents' rights when they were too old to minister to the needs of the Whites. From 1968 Black housing in urban areas declined while the government spent "between 1972 and 1975, R138 million for housing in the homelands as compared to only 27 million in urban areas."[18] Funds collected in the urban areas were sent to develop homelands. "In the fiscal year ending in April 1975, the (Local Bantu Administrative Johannesburg) Board gave R1,239,090 from profits on White liquor bought by Blacks, and retained only R309,770-00," says Sikakane.[19] It should be remembered, too, that building schools was coupled to housing in such a way that there was a single school for 400 houses. The government was trying to sweep back the ocean with a broom.[20] The reduction of funds on housing, resulted in the reduction of pink cards for prospective students whose parents were on the house waiting lists. Confrontation between the rejected students and board members was inevitable. Although the shortage of housing was felt much by the Urban Bantu Councils (UBC), their rejection also led to the rejection of Bantu school boards as viable local administrative bodies. In rejecting Urban Bantu Councils, students called them "Useless Boys Clubs," meaning that board members were merely the apparatus of the central government, which decided for them, directed them and dismissed them when it found them not collaborative and compliant. Students saw these local structures as hegemonic, created to give

local Black educational administrative bodies a semblance of power, when, actually, all powers were retained by the central government. "Boys" connotes a servile attitude as Blacks are regarded as "perpetual under-sixteens by the Whites in South Africa," says Biko.[21] It was true, however, that board structures were dominated by males. What was so striking was that Black women were always in the majority in parents' meeting, and they showed more interest in school matters; but when it came to the election of school committees and school boards, males were elected, most probably because White politics was unisexual and male dominated. One of the major reasons for this was that school committee meetings and school board meetings were always held in the evenings. Most women felt that they could not be attending to school matters in the evening, when transport and safety were not assured. Traditional Black phallocracy also impeded women's participation in educational administrative bodies.

Students rebelled against White established authority and what appeared to be their satellites. This study agrees with Price who maintained that the Soweto riots "were a rebellion against established authority rather than an insurrection, which sought to replace an established authority with an alternative form of government."[22] As there was no replacement of authority in 1976, anarchy set in. It was no wonder that ten years later, Soweto communities found some Blacks removing the doors, windows and corrugated roofing from schools and using the same for building their shacks. Blacks in Soweto vandalized schools because they

felt that the schools were not theirs. Schools belonged to the hated government, which denied them job opportunities, houses and better education. Black schools were becoming symbols of an oppressive government.

A closer study of the abolition of Bantu school boards and other Black local administrative structures indicates that ungovernability did not come into being because of a call by the ANC in 1986. Ungovernability was an inherent flaw of the apartheid structures which were designed to defraud Blacks. The student riots of 1976 also became unmanageable as students found themselves faced with an unacceptable situation. The volatile situation in Soweto gained its momentum and swallowed students into a vortex of activities which was beyond their understanding and control. The omission of Black parents from the governance of Black schools gave Black students too much power. School boards had told the government not to introduce Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, but the White government ignored the boards. The government undermined its own structures, the Bantu school boards. Students then took matters into their hands. They spoke the language of death, destruction and disobedience. The government responded to this defiance by removing Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and by abolishing the term "Bantu Education." To Black students, the message was that the government understood only the language of death, destruction and disobedience. It was this language which caused Bantu school boards to be abolished in Soweto in 1976. Student power replaced board members. Student

power has brought attention and focus on the plight of Black students in the urban areas. It was student power which brought about the erection of better school buildings in the urban areas. Students succeeded where board members failed. In the early 1980s principals recognized the power of students and used it. At Imbali at Edendale, the local authority stated it would not get electricity into the school for six months. When the researcher went to the town manager (White) and told him that students wanted to know why they could not get electricity in the school, the town manager ordered the researcher out of his office because he maintained that he did not deal with principals of schools, but dealt only with regional directors (Whites). The town manager, however, changed his arrogant attitude and decision when he learnt from the researcher that the students had stated that they would come and inquire for themselves if they were not satisfied with the researcher's answer. The outcome of the visit was that the school had electricity two hours later, although inspectors and school committees had failed for months and months to get electricity for the school. Student success in achieving what boards failed to achieve can be partially ascribed to the layers of bureaucracies administering Black lives. School boards failed in most of their tasks because the government did not respect them, never trained them nor gave them funds for running of schools.

Evidence suggests that Bantu school boards were, by design and intentionality, the White policy outpost of the central

government which deconcentrated powers without losing control. The government sought to provide its own brand of self-determination so that Blacks could be distracted from the self-determination clearly spelt out by the African National Congress in its interpretation of the Atlantic Charter in 1941. Bantu Education was what Freire calls pseudo-generosity and what Bourdieu calls symbolic violence. As violence begets violence, Bantu education met with counter-violence which also led to the abolition of Bantu school boards in 1978.

Reflections

As has been seen from the previous discussion Bantu school boards' administrative inertia was caused by several factors. Among these, were administrative incompetencies of board members and white bureaucracies in local administrative positions, confused, enviable and unclear channels of communication between policy-makers and policy-implementers. Add to these problems the dire shortage of competent and qualified teachers, a shortage of Black community educational leaders, and the poverty of educational facilities. The insensitivities of White policy-makers to the needs of Black education further complicated matters..

The data revealed troubling arrogant ignorance amongst White bureaucrats who were custodians of funds for Black education and who had to act as advisors for board members. In most cases, White bureaucrats assumed positions of authority exceeding the powers granted to them by the Bantu Education Act. For instance, to make

a magistrate a Bantu Commissioner caused him to dabble in Black education affairs when his education, training and occupational activities did not allow him the capabilities required by Black education. It was perhaps this White domination and hegemony which sabotaged Black local educational administrative activities and rendered the Bantu school boards powerless in executing their major educational tasks.

Blacks cannot, however, raise saintly flags and heap all the blame on White bureaucrats because Blacks accepted being conditioned for having schools administered for them. This caused Blacks to position themselves for domination and for hegemonic tethers. Accommodating and hegemonic intellectuals within board structures saw their positions as means of serving the Department of Bantu Educations instead of being means of transforming the education for the betterment of Black communities. Couple these accommodationist and hegemonic attitudes to Black administrative incompetencies which sprang from lack of adequate preparation. South African educational administrators from inspectors, down to principals, heads of departments and board and committee members are not trained for their duties and responsibilities. Board members lacked in technical skills, human skills and conceptual skills. Black education demanded constructive and expansive transformative educational management and leadership. That was not forthcoming from board members who were most of the time bogged down to inconsequential tasks while they missed the big picture.

Bantu school boards also failed because of lack of constructive communication between them and the White administrative apex which formulated policies. The White administrative apex operated on a top-down administrative style. It was deaf to the voices from the Black base and only seemed to understand the language of death, destruction and fire. The Black youth that spoke that intimidating language was heard and responded to by the Department, while board members failed to get the Department to listen to them. A bottom-up communication would have enabled street-level policy implementers to have an input in the policy making. Communication among all the partners involved in Black education would have dispelled White paternalistic racism, mistrust and in-fighting among these partners. Mutual trust would have fostered collective action sustained by and strengthened by school board congresses, conferences and on-going training sessions.

The poverty of educational facilities demanded more than the boards could afford to provide. White school boards had declared to the government in 1913 that it was not their duty to build schools. Bantu school boards undertook to build schools when Black education was ill-funded and these boards had no control over local funds. The Native Service Levy, the Native School Levy and the African Beer Revenue Account were all controlled by White local authorities who used these funds without consulting Blacks. Most of these funds were used for supporting apartheid structures, especially the homeland governments which had opted for

independence. Independence without a sound economic base proved to be fraudulent as homeland governments became a periphery of the South African core.

Evidence suggests that it would be impolitic to adopt the existing school boards found in the Cape, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. These have degenerated into deconcentration of power rather than sharing it. The school board concept was tarnished by its association with Verwoerd. It is, therefore, suggested that South Africa creates new emancipatory designations for local administrative bodies called District Educational Councils (DEC).

The government used Bantu School boards for pseudoparticipation and hegemonic activities without power-sharing with Black communities. Power shifts to local communities and regional governments in a proportionate, power-sharing manner is being introduced by the new government. The central government may have to delegate, deconcentrate and devolve as much power as well-thought-out planning dictates. The balance in the three tier structures has to take into consideration historical imperatives, latest findings on decentralization/centralization debates and the whole conundrum of management and leadership trends. What people down there do has more impact on policy-making than the sheer creation of policies. Good policies have to be implemented by people. The changing dynamics of residential areas calls for re-thinking about our educational leadership in such a way that it embraces all voting citizens within a district. Bantu school

boards adopted a paternalistic attitude towards teachers instead of building a partnership based on trust. They also accepted the paternalistic attitude adopted by White officials in the Department.

To avoid a repetition of the mistakes of the past, South Africa needs to embark on a massive re-education of leadership for the democratization of local administrative bodies. Appley contends that training should enable a leader to determine:

A. Where we are (Inventory).

B. What we want people to do (Planning).

C. What people are needed to do it (Organize).

D. Determine with what the people need to do it (Organize Physical Resources).

E. How well people should do it (Standard Performance).

F. How well they do it (Progress Review)

G. What help is needed to do it (Development and Control).

H. What doing it will pay (Reward and Incentives).[23]

Such training of leaders requires specialized programs that harmonize with the age, the learning styles of educational leaders as well as the nature of the content being taught. Attempts should be made to reconcile different age groups, ethnic groups, political groups, and racial groups found in the same residential areas. The period of transition has seen an influx of Blacks into the so-called White areas and the flight of Coloreds, Indians and Whites who originally occupied these areas. South Africans should be reconciled without asking, "What you were yesterday or last

week."[24] For the formation of progressive local administrative bodies, we need to create political, ethnic and racial brotherhood and sisterhood among South Africans whom apartheid had cast into warring factions. The Black youth need to be de-lionized and re-membered into a self-respecting peaceful student body. "Black South Africans need to reclaim the mantle of leadership and authority from the youth."[25] We cannot hope to build local educational administrative governance on anarchy, the tyranny of violence and on governance by toddling totalitarians. This last recommendation is prompted by Nomavenda Mathiane who closes her book by saying:

> If history will judge the present Black youth harshly for the blunders it has incurred, then it will judge the adults even more harshly for not leading when they were supposed to lead.[26]

However, the most harshly judged will be the Black educators and educationists for their failure to suggest emancipatory educational alternatives. Although there were major flaws in the Bantu school board structures, it was evident that many of the weaknesses were caused by the human agency which was involved in the implementation of the policies. Blacks who were in these local administrative structures were not passive recipients of policies made by the White superstructure, but were constantly involved in re-shaping, re-creating and re-directing educational policies as

they implemented them. The educational policies being formulated by the present government of transition will be finally determined by their implementors at the base of the administrative ladder. Educational legislation alone cannot do much unless the people understand and support legislation. Bantu school boards failed because Blacks did not understand them. Blacks did not want to support the legislation which was designed to exclude them from meaningful opportunities for advancement and self-realization.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Extract from the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951

keeping themselves informed, your Commissioners give a somewhat detailed and comprehensive description in this chapter of the existing systems of Bantu education.

237. Initiative in starting schools of various kinds has rested until very recently almost entirely with religious bodies, and has given rise to much local friction and rivalry in certain areas. This culminated in the enforcement of the "five mile limit" by the Native Affairs Department (see par. 113). Although the Provincial Education Departments have initiated schools of their own the number of these schools is relatively unimportant when compared with the very large number of schools which year after year have been established by religious bodies. Bantu communities have shown a growing tendency to initiate schools of their own, more especially in the Transvaal. A great many of the schools now classified as "Government" were in fact established by religious bodies or Bantu communities but have since been taken over, in so far as financial responsibility and control are concerned, by Provincial Departments (see para. 173). This process has proceeded fairly rapidly in Natal and the Transvaal, more slowly in the Free State and hardly at all in the Cape Province. The Central Government took the initiative in founding two reformatories to which Bantu delinquents were admitted, until recently, with other non-Europeans. The South African Native College at Fort Hare came into being as the result of a joint effort between the State and interested Churches, the latter providing and conducting the hostels. The Agricultural College at Fort Cox was started in 1930 by the Native Affairs Department, while the Transkeian General Council was responsible for the establishment of three agricultural schools, two of which have recently been closed. In the field of industrial education the initiative was, until very recently, taken practically exclusively by religious bodies, when the Transvaal Education Department started an industrial school at Vlakfontein, near Pretoria. With three recent exceptions in the Transvaal all the teacher training colleges in South Africa have been started through the initiative of the churches.

For diagram relating to Control of Schools, see page 220.

238. Responsibility for and control of schools for the Bantu is a very involved matter. There are in general four categories of schools:—

(*a*) *Private schools* started by religious bodies, tribes or communities, or by individuals. These schools are under no obligation towards Governmental authorities, but if they so wish they may apply for recognition by the respective Provincial Education Departments and be registered. This gives their work official recognition and entitles them to qualify for state-aid. Most private schools seek registration by departments so that as funds become available they may qualify for state-aid. There is, however, at least one denomination, the Seventh Day Adventists, which does not seek financial aid and conducts its own school system even to the extent of training and certificating its own teachers.

(*b*) *Subsidized Mission Schools* are schools founded by church organizations or mission societies and housed in buildings which are owned by the respective societies and in respect of which the State either pays or does not pay any subsidy towards the rental. These schools operate according to the syllabus prescribed by the education departments concerned.

(*c*) *Government Schools*.—These are schools which are conducted by an education department. They may have been started by the department or the department may have taken them over from a mission or some other body. There is considerable divergence of practice among the provinces concerning ownership of buildings, responsibility for maintenance, control of staff, the status of teachers and internal control. In the Cape Province there are relatively few Government or Departmental schools; there are only 24 out of a total of 2,269. These schools are controlled by European school boards which expended £2,855 on maintenance, grounds, rates and insurance in 1948-49 in respect of such schools. In Natal the position is very different. Out of 1,112 Bantu schools no less than 247 are classified as Departmental or Government schools, including one training school for nursery school teachers. According to departmental statistics the Natal Education Department owns the buildings and is entirely responsible for the maintenance of only 12 of these schools. Out of 995 classrooms used by 247 departmental schools in June, 1950, only 136 or 13·7 per cent. were owned by the Department, 812 or 81·6 per cent. were leased, and 47 or 4·7 per cent. were used but rent was not paid. Where buildings are leased in the ordinary way the department is not responsible for maintenance but in the case of buildings owned by municipalities the terms of the lease are that the lessor shall be responsible for all external repairs and renovations and the lessee shall be responsible for internal repairs and renovations. Natal Government schools are administered and controlled directly by the Department. In the Transvaal the distinction between departmental and community schools is very slight; both types of schools have departmental superintendents assisted by local school committees. Buildings may or may not be owned by the department. In the Free State certain schools in urban areas are classified as departmental but they are in reality amalgamated mission or municipally built schools conducted by the department in buildings which may or may not belong to the Department. The teachers in these Free State departmental schools are not civil servants but are regarded as employees of the management of the particular school. School committees assist in local control and often particular denominations have the right to nominate teachers for certain designated posts.

(*d*) *Community or Tribal Schools* are schools which have either been initiated by tribes or communities or which have evolved by the amalgamation of several previously existing schools into a school for the maintenance of which the tribe or community has assumed responsibility. In the Transvaal, where there are a considerable number of these schools, such schools fall under the superintendency of a departmental official in the same way as a Departmental school but the responsibility to provide and maintain buildings rests with the tribe or community.

In the Transvaal, Community Schools are estimated by the Chief Inspector to comprise 40 per cent. of all schools. The communities pay for a considerable number of teachers in these schools.

239. The forms of local control exercised in the different provinces and applicable to different types of school reflect the underlying differences between the categories of schools mentioned above.

240. In the Cape Province there are three types of local control of Bantu schools, viz.—

(*a*) control by School Boards;
(*b*) control by School Committees; and
(*c*) control by Managers.

Extract from the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951 Continued

Training and industrial schools are controlled by managers, but the control of high, secondary and primary schools is in the hands of either school boards, school committees or managers.

The controlling bodies are directly responsible to the Cape Education Department, their functions and duties being the same.

241. Their main duties are—

(*a*) general supervision of the schools under their control (maintenance of buildings, grounds, etc.);
(*b*) selection and nomination of teachers for appointment;
(*c*) dealing with and submitting reports to the Department on all matters affecting members of the staff of the respective schools (leave, salary, etc.);
(*d*) investigation of complaints against members of the staff and reports to the Department thereon;
(*e*) acting generally as the correspondent in all matters affecting the school.

242. In Natal each school is required to have a school committee consisting of a chairman (nominated by the Director of Education for Government schools; while in the case of aided schools the chairman shall be the manager of the school), a secretary (who is the principal of the school but without voting rights) and four members elected by parents at an annual school meeting.

The powers and duties of these committees are—

(*a*) to advise the manager or the Director, as the case may be, on any matter affecting the school;
(*b*) to investigate complaints by parents;
(*c*) to offer suggestions for the improvement of the school premises, equipment and general work of the school;
(*d*) to assist the principal in maintaining a good spirit;
(*e*) to arrange satisfactory boarding accommodation for the teachers and to settle complaints arising from this; and
(*f*) to arouse the interest of the community in the welfare of the school.

No financial responsibility is incurred by any person becoming a member of the committee and the members are not remunerated for their services.

Apart from these school committees there are no other forms of local control which serve as a link between the Department and the school manager on the one hand, and the school and parents on the other.

243. The Free State regulations concerning school committees recognize only two categories of schools: United schools and denominational schools. The duties of school committees are as follows:—

"To bring to the notice of the executive committee* any matter which, in the opinion of the committee, concerns the welfare and the efficiency of the school and the condition of the school buildings and grounds. Any member of such committee shall have the right to enter any school or class under the supervision of the committee, provided he does not interfere with the work which is carried on therein nor interfere with the teacher in the performance of his professional duties.

"To exclude a pupil from school on the ground of immorality, habitual bad conduct, want of cleanliness or any other ground which the committee deems sufficient in the interest of the school, provided, however, that the parent of such pupil shall have the right to appeal against such exclusion to the executive committee.

"The principal of the school shall have the right to suspend any child on his own authority if he has reasonable grounds for believing that such child should be excluded on the grounds herein mentioned, such suspension to be reported immediately, in writing by the principal to the manager of the school, who shall forthwith convene a special meeting of the committee to investigate the case.

"To enquire into any written complaint connected with the school or the teaching staff.

"To require any teacher to attend any meeting of the committee to give such information as may be required.

"To recommend to the manager of the school the suspension pending due enquiry of any teacher on the staff, if a definite written charge of misconduct or breach of any regulation has been brought against such teacher, provided that no such recommendation be made until such teacher has been afforded an opportunity of being heard in his defence.

"To recommend to the executive committee that an enquiry be instituted if, in its opinion, any teacher on the staff of the school—

(i) does not possess the necessary qualifications for his post; or
(ii) is incompetent to give instruction through the prescribed mediums; or
(iii) through some physical or mental defect has become incapable of giving efficient instruction.

"To make recommendations to the executive committee on any matters contained in or arising out of the report on the school by an inspector of schools.

Appointment of teachers."

United Schools.

(i) As far as the staffing regulations will allow, each of the denominations combining to form the amalgamation shall be represented by one teacher on the staff for the sake of its religious instruction and each denomination shall nominate the teacher by whom it is to be represented.

(ii) These teachers are to be regarded as belonging to the denomination that nominated them as well as to the united school.

(iii) If the school committee is not satisfied with the nominee of a denomination, it may refuse to appoint him, and refer the matter back to the denomination concerned, stating reasons for its refusal to appoint the nominee of the denomination. If, however, the denomination concerned insists on the appointment of its original nominee, it shall have the right of appeal to the Department, whose decision shall be final.

Where the school committee has reason to become dissatisfied with the appointed nominee of any denomination concerned in the amalgamation it may take such action against the teacher as is provided for under these regulations.

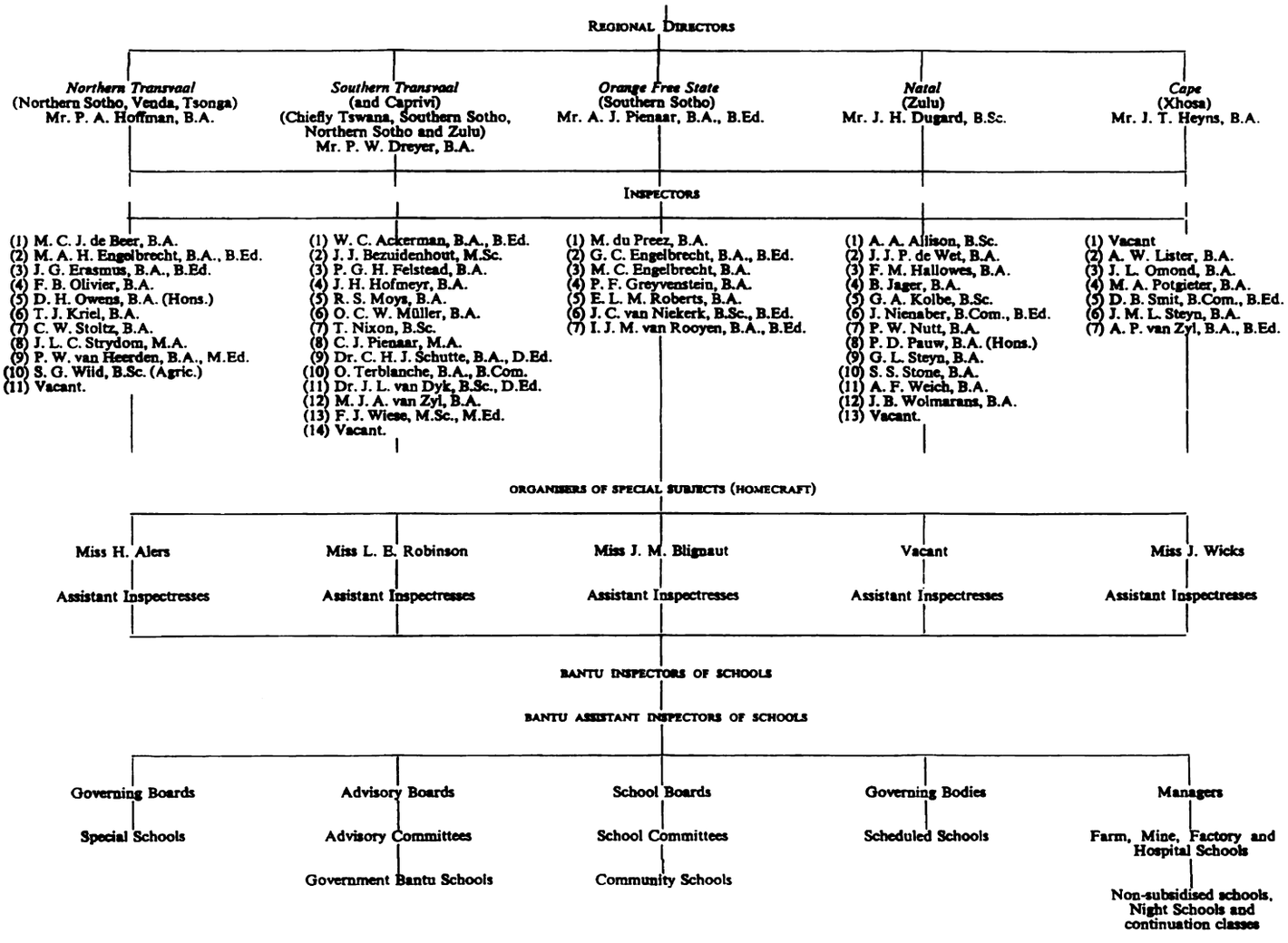
(iv) Where the number of teachers on the staff is larger than the number of denominations represented on the committee, the additional teachers shall be appointed by the committee as a whole, and the church membership of these additional teachers shall not be considered, provided that their character is satisfactory.

(v) Whenever a vacancy occurs on the teaching staff, the body by whom the retiring teacher was nominated shall have the right and duty of nominating a successor.

* In amalgamated or united schools the *ex officio* members of the school committee constitute the executive committee.

APPENDIX B

Bantu education showing regional divisions and school boards



APPENDIX C

A 1974 Departmental circular on Medium on Instruction

DEPARTEMENT VAN BANTOE-ONDERWYS,
DEPARTMENT OF BANTU EDUCATION,

PRETORIA.

17.4.1974

TO: REGIONAL DIRECTORS
CIRCUIT INSPECTORS

TRANSVAAL
ORANGE FREE STATE
NATAL
CAPE

DEPARTMENTAL CIRCULAR NO: ..6... OF 1974. /File: 6/8/37

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION AT THE SECONDARY LEVEL

1. Concerning the medium of instruction in secondary classes (Std 5, Forms I-V) in relation to the implementation of the new 12-year structure in 1975, the Honourable the Minister has decided as follows for all secondary classes in White regions:-

   (a) That the status quo in the use of both official languag on a 50-50 basis, for the purpose of instruction at the secondary level will be maintained.

   (b) Should practical difficulties arise in giving instructi in half of the subjects through the medium of one or other of the official languages, departmental approval must be obtained for any deviation from the above decis Departmental approval in such cases will be dependent largely upon the availability, or non-availability, of teachers competent to teach the particular subject thro the official language concerned.

2. Schools which in the past have already received approval to deviate from the laid-down policy need not apply again.

3. Should practical difficulties be experienced in future at ne schools or where new courses/subjects are introduced the nec sary application requesting permission to deviate from the established policy must be submitted.

4. Applications from schools must be submitted to Head Office through the normal channels, and must bear the recommendatio of the Circuit Inspector and Regional Director.

G.J. Rousseau

ACTING SECRETARY FOR BANTU EDUCATION

APPENDIX D

A 1975 Departmental Circular on Medium on Instruction

[redacted] M.A.H.Engelbrecht
[redacted] x 361

Verw. Nr./Ref. No. 6/8/3

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA—REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

DEPARTEMENT VAN BANTOE-ONDERWYS,
DEPARTMENT OF BANTU EDUCATION,
PRETORIA. 0001
7 February 1975

DEPARTMENTAL CIRCULAR NO. 7 OF 1975
FILE NO. 6/8/3

TO :

1. SCHOOL BOARDS AND COMMITTEE BOARDS
2. REGIONAL DIRECTORS
3. CIRCUIT INSPECTORS

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION OF SCHOOLS IN WHITE AREA

1. It appears that a few School Boards somehow got the impression that they had the right to decide what medium of instruction should be used in their schools. This is entirely wrong. It is a professional matter over which no school board has any jurisdiction.

2. The Department's policy on this matter is explained to principals of schools in Circular No. 6 of 1975, a copy of which is included. Any contradictory instructions issued by School Boards should be revoked immediately.

SECRETARY FOR BANTU EDUCATION

APPENDIX E

The Minister of Bantu Administration on Medium of Instruction

STATEMENT OF THE HONOURABLE M. C. BOTHA M.P. MINSITER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT AND OF BANTU EDUCATION

Decision s with regard to the medium of instruction are contained in the following letter which I have written to the leaders of the Bantu deputation from Sowed who expressed agreement there with during discussion which they had with me, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Education and the Secretary for Bantu Education.

"it affords me pleasure to hereby furnish you with particulars of my decisions in connection with the medium of instruction in Bantu Schools. Falling under the Department of Bantu Education, following on the interviews with representatives and leaders of Soweto had with me, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Education and the Secretary for Bantu Education.

The following principles are applicable to the medium of instruction:

A. For obvious and universally accepted educational reasons, the greatest possible value is still attached to the mother tongue as a medium of instruction.

B. Lacking full availability of mother tongue as a medium of instruction, both official languages should ideally be available as media.

C. Although both official languages should be used as media of instruction, it is necessary to approve deviation on the grounds of prevailing circumstances.

APPENDIX F

Lists of Soweto Schools Showing Ethnic Divisions

Ordinary Meeting of the Urban Bantu Council: 25 November 1976: minutes: 542

PIMVILLE AREA

NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	TYPE
Ithateng	Twana	Lower Primary school
Batsogile	Twana	Higher Primary school
Welizibuko	Pedi	Higher Primary school
Sithuthile	Xosa	Lower Primary school
Pimville Tsonga	Zulu	Higher Primary school
Combined	Tsonga	Higher/Lower Primary school
B.E.D. Industrial	Mixed	Industrial
Winnie Ngwekazi	Nguni	Lower Primary school
Hlalefang	South Sotho	Lower Primary school
Tehebedisano	South Sotho	Higher Primary school
Roman Catholic	Mixed	Higher Primary school
Pimville Bantu	Zulu	Higher Primary school
Mdelwa Hlongwane	Zulu	Higher Primary school
Musi High	Mixed	High school

Councilor Cheunyane said he report does not supply the Committee with the information asked for. The Committee wanted to know the number of schools built since 1968 from the Bantu Service Levy. He wanted to know the formula followed by the authorities in arranging the priorities for the building of schools

Councilor Motha, Xulu and Senior Township manager addressed the meeting

RESOLVED AND RECOMMENDED:
That the Director Development be requested to indicate the schools built from the "Teach Fund and those built from the Bantu Service Levy in Sowed from the list of schools contained in his report.
ADOTPED

That the Director Development supply the Urban Bantu Council with the formula on which priorities for the erection of schools is based.
ADOTPED

That full details with regard to the names and site numbers of the school s in Meadowlands and Diepkloof, the number of pupils in each school as well as the ethnic group catered for in each school is based.
ADOTPED

Lists of Soweto Schools Showing Ethnic Divisions Continued

Ordinary Meeting of the Urban Bantu Council: 25 November 1976: minutes: 543

MFOLO/ZONDI COMPLEX

NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	TYPE
Emisebeni	Zulu	Lower Primary School
Vukayibambe	Zulu	Lower/Higher Primary School
Risuna Combined	Shangaan	Lower/Higher Primary School
HeHlalang	Twana	Junior Secondary School
Tshedimoso	Twana	Higher Primary School
Igugu	Zulu	Lower Primary School
Fred Clark	Zulu	Higher Primary School
Vukuzenzele	Zulu	Higher Primary School
Ncube	Zulu	Junior Secondary School
Ikwezi	Zulu	Lower Higher Primary School
Phakamani	Zulu	Lower Higher Primary School
Uvuyo	Zulu	Lower Higher Primary School
Emthandweni	Zulu	Lower Higher Primary School
Emathafeni	Zulu	Lower Higher Primary School
Usindiso	Zul	Higher Primary School

SENOANA EAST AND WEST COMPLEX

NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	TYPE
Phenyo	North Sotho	Lower Primary School
Motsaneng	South Sotho	Lower Primary School
Mapetla Lower Primary	South Sotho	Lower Primary School
Lo-Itekile	Twana	Higher Primary School
Sedibathuto	Twana	Lower Primary School
Megatong	Tswana	Lower Primary School
Mapetla Junio Secondary Sec	South Sotho	Junior Secondary School
Enkanyezini	Zulu	Higher Primary School
Pumuzile	Zulu	Higher Primary School
Khotso	South Sotho	Lower Primary School
Phiri H/P	South Sotho	Higher Primary School
Malpo Ext Indust.	South Sotho	Higher Primary School
Emaweni	Zulu	Lower Primary School
Bafikile	Zulu	Lower Primary School
Sibongile	Zulu	Lower Primary School
Sekano Ntoane	Mixed	High School
Senoane J/S	Zulu	Junior Secondary School
Tiakeni	Tsonga	Lower Primary School
Tshilidzi	Venda	Lower Primary School
Chaiwalo J/S	Venda/Tsonga	Junior Secondary School

Lists of Soweto Schools Showing Ethnic Divisions Continued

Ordinary Meeting of the Urban Bantu Council: 25 November 1976: minutes: 544

SENOANE EAST AND WEST COMPLEX (Continued)

NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	TYPE
Isipho Community School	Xhosa	Lower Primary School
Nonto Community	Zulu	Lower/Higher Primary School
Emadlelweni	Xhosa	
Lilydale	Zulu	Higher Primary School
Hlakanipahani	Zulu	Lower Primary School
Ibhongo	Xhosa	Junior Secondary School

SENOANA EAST AND WEST COMPLEX

NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	TYPE
Tau-Pedi	Tswana	Higher Primary School
Mmila	South Sotho	Higher Primary School
Merafe	Tswana	Lower Primary School
Lumeland	South Sotho	Lower Primary School
Tlholohelo	South Sotho	Lower Primary School
Bonegang	South Sotho	Higher Primary School
Lerechabetse	Tswana	Higher Primary School
Atamelang	Tswana	Lower Primary School
Naledi High	Combined	Lower Primary School
Thaba-tshehlo	South Sotho	High School
Michael-Seageng	Tswana	Lower Primary School
Khauhelo	Tswana	Higher Primary School
Naledi Tswana S.	Tswana	Lower Primary School
Ikemeleng	South Sotho	Junior Secondary School
Karabo	South Sotho	Lower Primary School

ORLANDO WEST AREA

NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	TYPE
Orlando West	Mixed	Higher Primary School
Phuti	Zulu	Lower Primary School
Bhelle Community	Mixed	Higher Primary School
Thloreng	Nguni	Lower Primary School
Mzambo	Nguni/Xhosa	Lower Primary School
Thualsizwe	Nguni	Higher Primary School

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