AFRICANIZATION OF EDUCATION
IN
A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

by

P.M. MACGARE

S.T.D. (UNIN) B.A. & B.ED (UNISA)
DASED & M.ED (BISHOP'S UNIVERSITY, CANADA)

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PROF. E.J. MOCKE

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IN MEMORIAM

My dad, Fire, who lived strong and died strong on October 25, 1999 at the height of my data collection for this dissertation. To him I will forever be indebted for my academic achievement.

O šomile! MaNgwana - a- Lekuka
Motho wa boKakatlela - a-Letolo
Motho wa bo Mmatumula - se-morithing
Motho wa boKgobokanang maebana
› Tlhare sa morithi se keno

Translation

Bravo! MaNgwana the Swift carrier of spoils
A clan member of Knee-Jerkers
A kin of Uprooters of those that rest in tree shades
A relative of peace doves charmer
The tree of peace is right here

DECLARATION OF MY OWN WORK

I, **PETRUS MANKGEGE MACGARE,** declare that the dissertation *Africanization of Education in a Democratic South Africa* is a product of my research and that the sources have been duly acknowledged.

No part of this report has been used in my M.Ed. Study.

P.M. MACGARE
JANUARY 2003

KEY WORDS

Africanization

Authority

Democratisation

Educand

Education

Educator

Essential characteristics

Freedom

Pedagogic Structure

Renaissance

.....

SUMMARY

This study sought to establish the nodal points between Africanization, Democracy and Education. It also sought to investigate the much-vaunted African Renaissance and its educational implications. It is generally believed that these concepts - especially the first two - are mutually exclusive.

Against the background of the above, a phenomenological examination of democracy and education was undertaken, with the spotlight falling on the USA as an example of liberal democracy, France as an example of social democracy and Russia as an example of Communism and Enlightenment, and African democracy in the general sense. Their educational aims and democratic structures also came under the spotlight. Tables were provided to highlight their essential characteristics.

As policy determines the life and spirit of any country, democracy and education policy in South Africa were examined, with the focus falling mainly on the new constitution and the South African Schools' Act, and the impact they have on education practice.

Africanization and the African Renaissance have recently entered the political discourse in South African politics. The historicity of the concept was traced back to Europe, and its parallelism on the South African political landscape and the effect of the African Renaissance on educational practice was investigated. A phenomenological description was conducted. This led to the establishment of factors promoting the African Renaissance and those that militate against it.

The next step was the synchronization of Africanization and democracy. The African political systems, African values and traditions were revisited. In addition, the ANC's education policy was also examined as its president, Thabo Mbeki is a staunch proponent of the African Renaissance concept. A phenomenological analysis of Africanization and democracy, with the emphasis falling on educational practice, was

conducted. On the strength of this investigation, it was possible to arrive at well-researched conclusions and recommendations.

It was found that African democracy had elements of democracy in the conventional sense, but that this did not reach the level of the modern system of democracy. It was recommended that the two be wittingly blended together in the furtherance of the African Renaissance and that schools could provide fertile ground for that. It was further recommended that empirical research be conducted to determine the damage caused to education and the African Renaissance by illegal teachers'/students' strikes and parental apathy on matters related to their children's education.

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The following individuals are also worth mentioning:

My wife, Maria, and my five children, who have been supportive throughout this research, despite the inconveniences it at times caused. I would like to single out my dear son, Somadoda Mathibela Macgare, who painstakingly typed the concept report. I would also like to thank Ms M, Lemmer, who typed the final report.

Lastly, I would like to thank all my friends and relatives who constantly uttered words of encouragement when the odds were stacked against me and the chips went down.

ABBREVIATIONS IN THIS STUDY

ACTP	:	American College Testing Program
AEB	:	Afrikaner Eenheidsbeweging (Afrikaner Unity Movement)
ANC	:	African National Congress
AZAPO	:	Azanian People's Organization
B.C	:	Before Christ
BCM	:	Black Consciousness Movement
BOCES	:	Boards of Cooperative Educational Services
CEPD	:	Centre for Educational Policy Development
COSAS	:	Congress of South African Students
COSATU	:	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CRS	:	Congressional Research Council Services
CSSA	:	Chief State School Officer
DET	:	Department of Education and Training
ERS	:	Education Renewal Strategy
ESAs	:	Educational Service Agencies
GNU	:	Government of National Unity
HSRC	:	Human Sciences Research Council
IEUS	:	Intermediate Education Units
IGF	:	I am Going to France
IFP	:	Inkatha Freedom Party
IIE	:	Institute of International Education
IMF	:	International Monetary Fund
NAEGEP	:	National Education Goals Panel
NAEP	:	National Assessment of Educational Progress
NAPTOSA	:	National Professional Teachers' Organization of South Africa
NECC	:	National Education Coordinating Committee
No.	:	Number
OBE	:	Outcomes-Based Education
PAC	:	Pan-Africanist Congress

par.	:	paragraph
RAU	:	Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit (Rand Afrikaans University)
SABC	:	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACP	:	South African Communist Party
SADTU	:	South African Democratic Teachers' Union
SAEE	:	Survey of total Employment and Earnings
SASA	:	South African Schools' Act
SAT	:	Scholastic Aptitude Test
SDE	:	State Department of Education
SEDS	:	State Education Departments
TRC	:	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
TV	:	Television
UDF	:	United Democratic Front
USA	:	United States of America
USSR	:	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VF	:	Vryheidsfront (Freedom Front)
Vol.	:	Volume
Wata	:	World Association of Travel Agents
WEB	:	William Edward Burghardt
ZCC	:	Zion Christian Church

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CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL ORIENTATION

1.1. INTRODUCTION.

South Africa is situated on the Southern tip of Africa, approximately between 23^0 and 35^0 south latitudes, and 15^0 and 25^0 west longitudes (vide Appendix B). It borders on Zimbabwe in the North, Botswana in the Northwest, Namibia in the west, Mozambique and Swaziland in the east, and the Free State and KwaZulu-Natal sandwich the former British protectorate of Lesotho in the west and east respectively. It is surrounded by the warm Indian Ocean in the east and the cold Atlantic Ocean in the west.

A firmer grasp of the South African education system necessitates that one should look back at the past. Communities are constituted by their past (Beyer, 1988 : 152). Towards the end of the fifteenth century, regular voyages to the East, passing the southern tip of Africa, were undertaken by the Portuguese. Later in 1652, the Dutch East India Company established a halfway station at the Cape of Good Hope, which formed the southernmost tip on the African continent (Vos and Brits , 1987:52). The task of establishing a refreshment station was entrusted to Jan van Riebeeck. He built a fort to bear the name of the Cape of Good Hope, capable of housing some eighty men, to plant a garden in the best and most fertile land and to keep on good terms with the native Africans and the Khoi-San (Walker, 1965:30).

When the station grew larger, more manpower was needed, which resulted in the importation of the Indian and Malaysian slaves. It is also worth mentioning that the Europeans also came into contact with blacks, who had a culture different from that of the Europeans and the Malaysian slaves at the Cape. This led to a series of clashes, the worst of which came on December 16, 1838. A force of more than 12 000 invaded the Voortrekker laager (a dwelling of whites who were moving into the interior of South Africa). Armed with rifles, the Voortrekkers mowed down the Zulus. The incident left 3 000 dead Zulus and a handful of wounded Europeans (Reader's Digest, 1992:7). The Ncome River, at which the battle was fought, was renamed Blood River. The event is celebrated annually as Reconciliation Day.

The intermingling of different races at the Cape gave rise to the coloured population. At the time of writing (2001), the South African population was 40,5 million (Statistics South Africa, 1999 : 7). The proportional breakdown was 76,7% Africans; 10,9% whites; 8,9% coloured; 2,6% Indian and 0,9% unspecified/other. Table 1.1 shows the total population by province, and Table 1.2 shows the proportional breakdown by race.

TABLE 1.1 : POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA BY PROVINCE AND GENDER, 1996

Province	Male	Female	Total
Eastern Cape	2 908 056	3 394 469	6 302 525
Free State	1 298 348	1 335 156	2 633 504
Gauteng	3 750 845	3 597 578	7 348 423
KwaZulu-Natal	3 950 527	4 466 493	8 417 021
Mpumalanga	1 362 028	1 438 683	2 800 711
Northern Cape	41 281	427 639	840 321
Northern Province	2 253 072	2 676 296	4 929 368
North West	1 649 835	1 704 990	3 354 825
Western Cape	1 935 494	2 027 381	3 956 875
South Africa	**19 520 887**	**21 062 685**	**40 583 573**

Source : Statistics South Africa, 1999 : 7

TABLE 1.2 : PROPORTIONAL BREAKDOWN AND GROWTH RATES OF THE POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA BY POPULATION GROUP

Population Group	Percentages 1996	Percentage growth rate per annum 1996 - 2001
African	76,7	2,4
White	10,9	0,9
Coloured	8,9	1,9
Indian	2,6	1,6
Unspecified/Other	0,9	1,5
Total	**100,0**	**2,2**

Source : Statistics South Africa, 1996 : 6

All these races had different cultures and this was, and still is, a major source of friction. Small wonder that

> "... no romance or fiction could remotely equal the history of South Africa. It is a surging, restless record of adventure, a mighty human drama played by an incredible variety of characters" (Bulpin, 1969 : 1).

From 1652 up to 2001, education was in different hands and under different authorities. After the establishment of the Boer Republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, these two republics were influenced by the Dutch and German models, whilst Natal, which was predominantly English, followed the English model (Dekker and Van Schalkwyk, 1996 : 456). The missionaries who came to South Africa, did a lot towards the upliftment of blacks (Mminele, 1983 : 303). Africans primarily attended missionary schools, although the vast majority enjoyed no educational opportunities (Dekker and Van Schalkwyk, 1996 : 456). The type of education provided by the missionaries was not discriminatory in nature.

Matters came to a head in 1948, when the Nationalist Party won the national elections on a separatist ticket. The new government showed from the start that it intended to check and eliminate the trends towards interracial integration (Davenport, 1991 : 328). Blacks were barred from white schools and they were not allowed to go to certain cinemas or swimming pools. Where races were likely to mix, separate facilities were provided (Watson, 1989 : 397). Separating races was almost an obsession.

Although blacks and liberal whites were opposed to Apartheid schooling when it was introduced, opposition acquired a more rhetorical ballast in the early 1970s, culminating in the June 16, 1976 riots, which started in Soweto and spread across the whole of South Africa. As the government of the day was led by a predominantly white Afrikaner party, the government made instruction in Afrikaans mandatory in black schools alongside English, on a 50/50 basis. This incident was to set in motion a chain of disturbances throughout the country, which continued spasmodically until 1980, and

then returned in a different form in 1984 -1985 (Davenport, 1991 : 389). Dekker and Van Schalkwyk (1996 : 457) point out that the government responded by launching reform initiatives such as

- providing educational opportunities for Africans
- phasing out disparities in finance
- reforming the curriculum and training more African teachers

In addition, the Department of Bantu Education was renamed the Department of Education and Training (DET).

In 1977, the government clamped down on the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) which was instrumental in the mobilization of the 1976 riots. Opposition to Bantu Education (as African education was called) was silenced. The opposition reared its head again in 1979 when the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) was formed. Its aim was to strive for an education for all that is dynamic, free and compulsory, and the betterment of society (Christie, 1986 : 255). Although it was meant to be a non-racial learners' organization, its membership remained predominantly African, and in most cases exclusively African. It failed to attract membership from whites, as the latter experienced an educational cosiness throughout.

The formation of COSAS led to renewed violence and class boycotts in black schools in the 1980s. The revolts and class boycotts started in Cape Town in 1980 and rapidly spread throughout the whole country. Tens of thousands of black learners left their desks in protest against education. The revolts which started in the Cape, spread to the Transvaal and Natal. They started in the coloured and Indian schools and spread to the DET schools. Christie (1986 : 245) identified the following causes of the boycott:

- Schools were poorly equipped and in a bad state of repair
- A shortage of qualified teachers and the dismissal of political teachers
- Learners also protested against corporal punishment
- Learners demanded independent student representative councils

In the same year, the government responded by appointing a commission of inquiry under the chairmanship of Professor J P de Lange, principal of the Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit (RAU), to look into alternative education for South Africa. This was conducted under the auspices of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), a government research body. In its recommendations, the commission proposed a single education system, with education of equal quality for all the people (Christie, 1986 : 269). The government, however, did not implement the commission's recommendations. This led to renewed violence in 1984. African education was so seriously disrupted during this period that a whole generation of marginalised youth was created. The United Democratic Front (UDF) made calls for people's education - an ideological strategy embodying a form of democratic schooling run by the community (Dekker and Van Schalkwyk, 1996 : 457).

The unending crisis in black education led to the formation of the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC), which took up the cudgels and conducted more research into an alternative education system for South Africa. It was composed of a team of three reputable professors and three honorary doctors and a number of influential educationists. After its investigation, it published a report in the form of twelve booklets on various education topics, the contents of which were unveiled to the media on March 21, 1993. It was a well-researched and comprehensive education blueprint for alternative education in South Africa (City Press, March 21, 1993). A unified national education department was recommended. The following policy options for the future were also suggested:

- The multilingualism of the country could be usefully regarded as a source rather than a problem
- The immediate context of the school was of enormous importance in affecting the success of language learning and language use
- These contexts varied widely in South Africa across regions and in rural and urban areas. Policies for language education should take account of these differences

- Decisions about suitability and acceptability for particular purposes were often made on emotional rather than rational grounds, and the consequences could be problematic
- It noted that, in most emerging proposals, compulsory schooling was seen as about seven years of formal schooling and about two years of formal middle-schooling (City Press, March 21, 1993).

On the other hand, and almost simultaneously with the above-mentioned research project, the government initiated its own research project for educational reform, which became known as the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS), which was announced by the Minister of Education on May 18, 1990. The ERS was occasioned by the continued criticism of the education system. Eleven principles were used as a norm for the provision of education (Education Renewal Strategy, 1992 : 15). Those principles were as follows:

- Equal education opportunities, including equal standards, should be available to all learners
- A balance between commonality and diversity in education
- Freedom of choice for learners
- Relevant curricula that take cognisance of person-power needs of the country
- A positive linkage between formal and non-formal education
- An acceptable relationship between state and parental responsibilities for formal education
- Both the state and the private sector are responsible for non-formal education
- State support for private education must be adequate
- A healthy balance between administrative centralization and decentralization
- Acknowledgement of the professional status of educators is essential
- Provision for education based on continuing research

The above-named principles were formulated because the present system did not measure up to this set of principles. Race has been used in providing education instead of different bases arising naturally from society (Educational Research Strategy, 1992 : 16). Figure 1.1 illustrates the provision of education according to race and culture.

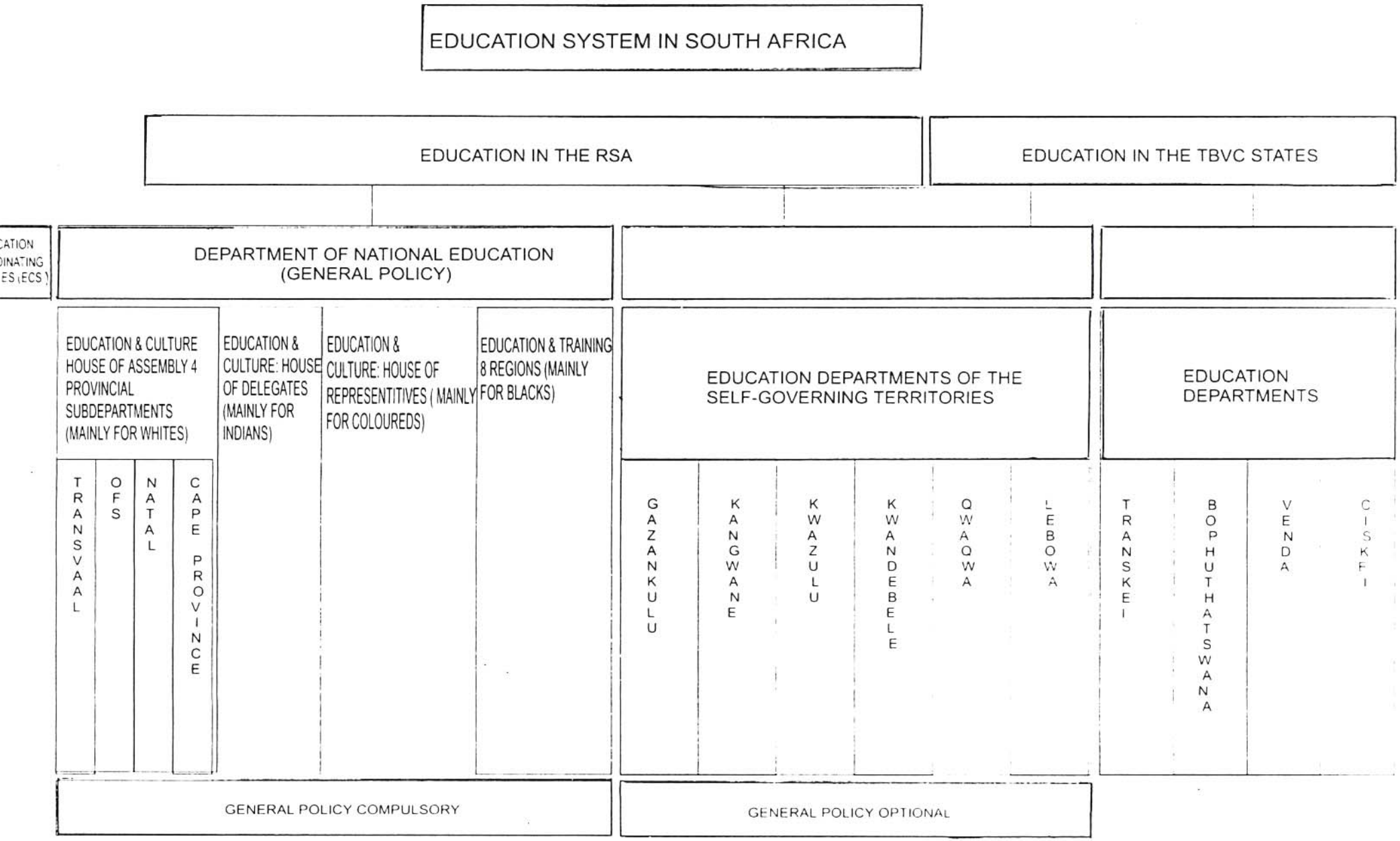
Despite this, unrest in black communities and black schools continued unabated. In 1993, another dimension was added to a list of grievances in black schools. The pupils, led by COSAS, demanded the scrapping of the R72 (US $9) examination fee paid by the grade 12s as examination registration. The DET responded by reducing it to R48 (US $6), without consulting anybody. COSAS was adamant that the examination fee be scrapped completely, and made a call for the strike action which was to start on April 28, 1993. Reacting to the reduction, the COSAS spokesperson said:

> "We see this as another reflection of the government's tactics from denying students *(sic)*, particularly those from disadvantaged communities, from sitting for the examinations" (South African Broadcasting Corporation Television [SABC-TV], May 15, 1993).

The issue was finally resolved by President F.W. de Klerk and the ANC leader, Nelson Mandela (vide Appendix A). At this stage, it was already clear that the ANC, though not yet in power, was exercising enormous influence on the South African political landscape. It was agreed that the examination fee be scrapped. Outside financial assistance for the payment of R16,8 million ($2,1 million) to the DET was sought (Citizen, May 21, 1993). The whites, coloureds and Indians were also refunded their examination fees.

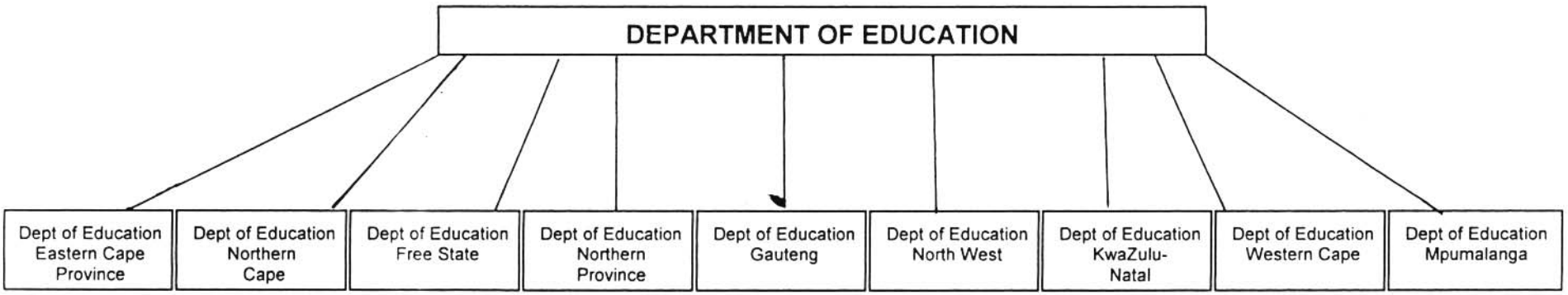
The cry for a democratic education system grew even louder until the April 27, 1994 elections. Following the April 1994 elections, a non-racial education system based on the principle of equity was instituted, providing for central as well as local organization of education (Pretorius and Lemmer, 1998 : 13). All the old divisions based on race and ethnicity were done away with. Figure 1.2 illustrates a schematic presentation of the organization of education in South Africa in 1994.

FIGURE 1.1 : SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA BEFORE 1994



SOURCE: DEKKER AND VAN SCHALKWYK, 1996 : 469

FIGURE 1.2 : SCHEMATIC PRESENTATION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA



Source : Pretorius and Lemmer, 1998 : 14

The first president of a democratic South Africa, Nelson Mandela, was known around the globe as a reconciliation man. He promoted democracy in education as follows:

- He made education (nominally) accessible to all
- People had the right to receive education in the official language of their choice
- Everyone had the right to establish, at their own expense, independent educational institutions (Act 108, 1996, par. 29 (1), (2), (3))
- School governance was representative of parents, educators and learners (Act 84, 1996, par. 24 (1)(a), (b), (c))
- South Africa had the very first black education minister in its history (vide Appendix A).

Laudable as these changes are, their impact was not immediately felt. These changes antagonized conservative whites who detested the intermingling of races. They also antagonized some sections of the black population who felt that they were too Eurocentric and ran against the grain of African culture.

His successor, Thabo Mbeki, is an African Renaissance man because of his bold advocacy of the concept. This thesis will therefore make an in-depth study of Africanization as such, as well as its implications for teaching in South Africa. The study will also look into democracy as a form of governance and the feasibility of a marriage between Western democracy and African philosophy to form a new form of democracy. The complexity of the South African situation creates many problems, which will be attended to next.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

On April 27, 1994, South Africans of all races went to the polls to elect a new government, representative of all the people, after four and a half decades of Apartheid rule in which white people were regarded as superior and blacks as inferior. The blacks and other non-European races were relegated to a position of legal and political

inferiority (Davenport, 1991 : 30). In addition to the obvious imbalances created by the system, this state of affairs was frustrating and embarrassing to South Africans of all race groups. The spirit after the election was mainly that of reconciliation, nation-building and forging a common patriotism in a multiracial and multilingual democratic South Africa. Another dimension of the problem is that it is impossible to have an undemocratic regime today and a democratic regime tomorrow (Cloete, 1993 : 180).

Two main aspects which were neglected during the earlier history of South Africa (1652 - 1994) were democratization and Africanization. The aim of this scientific investigation will be to give an answer to the following main problem: Is the idea of Africanization feasible in a post-modern (democratic) society? The following relevant problems will also be investigated:

- Did democracy function in earlier African communities?
- What implications does the idea of an African Renaissance have for education in South Africa?

Researching the problems stated above, would entail that a well-defined hypothesis be formulated.

1.3 HYPOTHESES

Educational research, in order to be sound, must make use of a carefully formulated hypothesis (Lehmann and Mehrens, 1979 : 14). A hypothesis can be defined as a tentative proposition which is subject to verification through subsequent investigation (Bell, 1993 : 18). A hypothesis is a tentative answer to the problem stated in the study (Lehmann and Mehrens, 1979 : 14).

A hypothesis and a problem both contribute to the knowledge which confirms or refutes an existing theory (Mavhivha, 1998 : 5). A problem is generally put in the form of a question and is therefore testable. A hypothesis is a suggested solution (vide 1.3 par. 1 supra) and it is formulated as an explanation and should be testable.

Against the background of the above, the hypotheses in this study were the following:

- It is possible to Africanize the democratic orientated educational system in South Africa
- There is a likelihood that democracy was in existence in the earlier African communities
- It is feasible that the African Renaissance might enhance a democratic education in South Africa, and vice versa.

A study of this nature requires well-definined aims, which will be attended to next.

1.4 AIM OF THIS STUDY

This research project seeks to investigate the feasibility of an Africanization policy in South Africa, with special reference to the role of education. It will further investigate the relation between democratization and Africanization and the feasibility of an educational system that enhances these philosophies.

There is a common perception that links everything African with inefficiency. Although every lifestyle has its own weaknesses on close scrutiny, this project will investigate the African philosophy scientifically to bring to light the essentials. The elements of the traditional African institutions will be closely scrutinized alongside Western forms of democracy. This can be possible only if a scientific research methodology is used.

1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A research is a systematic inquiry into a subject in order to discover or revise facts and theories (Random House College Dictionary, 1988 : 122). "Method" is related to Latin, methodus; Greek, methodos; and meta + hodes, a way by which a scientific researcher/scientist must select a method permitting access to a phenomenon. The method is determined to a large extent by the nature of the phenomenon or by the

sphere of investigation (Van Rensburg, Landman and Bodenstein, 1994 : 442). Briefly stated, a method is a plan or system of action (Random House College Dictionary, 1988 : 841). It is also absolutely necessary that the concept phenomenon be explained.

The word "phenomenon" is derived from Greek, phainomenon, which means "appearance", "the essential reality". Legoo means "I speak", "I let it be heard" (Van Rensburg, Landman and Bodenstein, 1994 : 484). The phenomenon under investigation in this research project is education. The researcher seeks to discover and uncover the phenomenon education with a view to establish whether it can occupy a common terrain with Africanization and democracy. By its very nature, this research beckons the researcher to use a phenomenological, a comparative, a historical and the interpretative method. Phenomenologists maintain that science will rediscover its own roots. This method will also be beneficial to this study. The phenomenological method will be examined first.

1.5.1 The Phenomenological Method

Phenomenology as a method rose in the nineteenth century when the excessive emphasis on the natural sciences and the consequent practical possibilities that emerged, led to man's reduction to the level of a natural object. The very methods that were intended to elucidate the nature of a human being, drew a veil over him (Du Plooy, Griesel and Oberholzer, 1982 : 217). Viewed from that angle, man was regarded as measurable and calculable. This obscured man's true nature.

Phenomenology can be regarded as a philosophy of human consciousness (Higgs, 1995 : 9). Consciousness in this case means an intentionality (Van Rensburg, Landman and Bodenstein, 1994 : 343).

Methods of research led science to be alienated from its own roots. These roots are human beings and the world in which they live. Science has succeeded in reducing human existence in its fulness to dull, abstract facts that mean nothing

to the bulk of humanity. The world has been shrunk to fit mathematical formulae (Higgs, 1995 : 9).

In contrast, phenomenology is a way of thinking, involving man and interpreting man as being-a-person (Du Plooy, 1982 : 206). It enables the researcher to reach the eidos, what is really hidden of the phenomenon. This is possible through radical thinking, which also merits examination.

"Radical" is derived from Latin, radix, which means "root". Therefore, radical thinking is the type of thinking that penetrates (to) the roots of the fundamentals of the agogic. It seeks to bring to light the essence of the phenomenon (Van Rensburg, Landman and Bodenstein, 1994 : 506). Phenomenologically orientated pedagogical thinking has in mind contemplative enunciation and proclamation of real essences of the pedagogic reality (Killian and Viljoen, 1974 : 15).

Against the background of the above, it can be justly stated that phenomenology is an effort to rediscover and re-experience existence in itself directly, stripping it of the layer of secondary scientific constructions (Higgs, 1995 : 9).

The researcher proceeding from the initial ontologic, anthropologic premise undertakes his investigation to expose the essential structure of the education phenomenon (Griessel, Du Plooy and Oberholzer, 1993 : 225). The source just mentioned identifies nine steps of phenomenogical thinking.

1.5.1.1 First step

The researcher decides that he is going to allow the phenomenon to speak for itself (Griessel, Fourie, Visser, Söhnge and Stone, 1976 : 36 and Griessel et. al. 1993 : 225). He removes the prejudiced obscurities which cloak the education reality.

1.5.1.2 Second step

The researcher turns to as wide a variety of education situations as possible. Besides the South African system, this study will also examine the American, French and Russian education systems. The examination of various education realities enables the researcher to get a firm grip on the education reality. He names the various education realities that he turns to. In this study, other education realities will be called liberal, socialistic and communistic.

1.5.1.3 Third step

Proceeding further, the researcher tests the real essentiality and the meaning of the formulated essences. This will be done by means of tables throughout the research project of which the main purpose is to highlight the essential features (vide Table 2.9). The researcher "acts away" the non-essentials of a phenomenon.

1.5.1.4 Fourth step

The "acting away" of the non-essentials leads to their separation from the essentials of the education phenomenon. The researcher looks for lasting and indispensable features without which the phenomenon is no longer what it is (vide Tables 2.3 to 2.9). The researcher purposefully separates the incidental from the essential so that the essential may speak even more clearly (Griessel, et. al. 1993 : 227).

1.5.1.5 Fifth step

At this stage, the researcher talks to other educationists with a view to verify the essentiality and meaning of the education essences. The practitioners in question can be those in Empirical Education, Didactics, History of Education and Comparative Education.

1.5.1.6 Sixth step

Scientific practice is characterized by its constant search. The pedagogician as a pedagogic practitioner is in search of the truth over which he will never have a complete and firm grip (Griessel, 1976 : 39 and Griessel, 1993 : 227). He must continually re-evaluate the essences he has revealed to establish whether there are any contradictions.

1.5.1.7 Seventh step

On completion of the previous steps, the researcher examines the conceptual formulations he has devised in terms of his broader knowledge of the phenomenon (Griessel, 1993 : 228).

1.5.1.8 Eighth step

The researcher is aware, at this stage, of the close links that characterize the various essences. He should establish whether one essence serves as a precondition for the appearance of another.

1.5.1.9 Ninth step

By this time, the researcher has progressed to an expert comprehension of universal essences in education. He has reached a stage where he can point out clearly the mistakes of metaphysical views such as communism, socialism and liberalism (Griessel, 1993 : 229).

In this study, after clearly stating the problem and formulating the hypotheses, the researcher goes on to examine democracy, Africanization and the African Renaissance as well as an education policy that enhances the African Renaissance.

The success of this study in arriving at verifiable conclusions might be ascribed to this method. This method further beckons the researcher to engage himself in some comparative study. Against the background of this claim, the comparative method will be discussed next.

1.5.2 The Comparative Method

Carter and Merkel (19773 : 202) regard a comparative method firstly as a system of study which aims, through examination of existing policies or those that have existed in the past, to assemble a definite body of material from which the investigator, by selection, comparison and elimination, may discover the ideal types of progressive forces of political history. They also define it as a system of study which involves the collection, classification, analysis and description of governmental unit so as to ascertain similarities and differences.

In this study, tables will be drawn up to classify different types of democracies with a view to comparison and highlighting their essential characteristics. Africanization, education and democracy will also be examined along the same lines to arrive at their eidos - "what they essentially are". As this method will also be used extensively in this study, a historical account of its development is necessary.

Several commentators suggest that the comparative method dates back to Plato. It was continued by Aristotle, who adopted a more inductive approach. He collected many travellers' tales about the animals they saw in their travels and compared them (Holmes, 1985 : 38). Hilker justified the use of the comparative method in social sciences when they used it to induce general principles about laws. He travelled through Austria, Hungary, Italy and England observing men, things and constitutions before he returned to Paris. In his monumental work of thirty-two books, he classified his observations into six parts, namely:

- Law and forms of government
- Military arrangements and taxation
- Manners and customs and their dependence on climatic conditions

- Economic matters
- Religion
- Roman, French and feudal laws (Holmes, 1985 : 39)

He was not the last one to use the comparative method, as to compare is human. Man makes use of comparison when he observes, analyses, evaluates, eliminates, selects, sorts, arranges, classifies objects of phenomena on the basis of similarities and differences (Vos and Brits, 1987 : 17). This method was also used by J. S. Mills, who identified the following steps of comparative study:

- The collection of data, using objective observation
- The careful classification of data
- The search for explanation by ascribing to each event an antecedent cause or causes
- The formulation of tentative hypotheses
- The collection of further confirming evidence
- The statement of universal laws whose validity can be provided (Holmes, 1981 : 39).

This method was known as a cross-disciplinary approach and was also pursued by Isaac Kandel, Nicholas Hans, George Bereday and Brian Holmes (Tretheway, 1976 : 55).

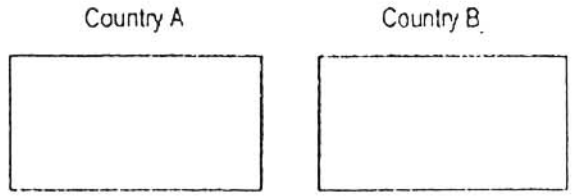
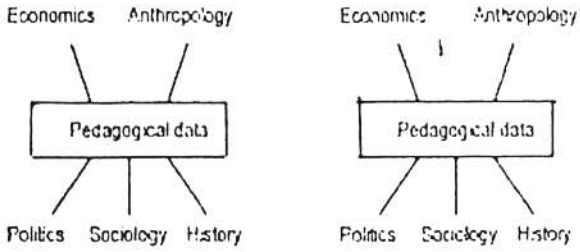
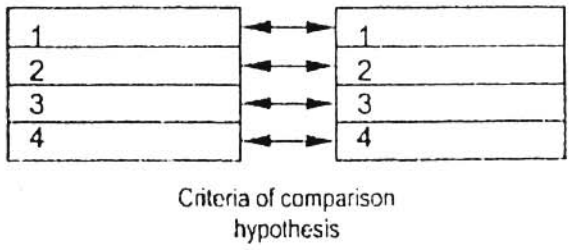
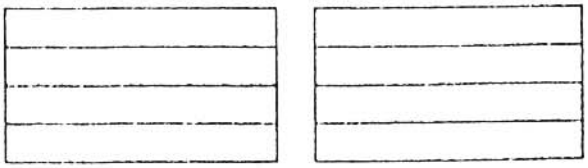
Another advocate of the comparative method, George Bereday, increased the steps to include the following:

- Selecting a topic or problem
- Collecting and collating data relevant to the topic in selected countries
- Interpreting the data, applying such disciplines as are relevant to an understanding of it in a social context
- Juxtaposing the interpreted data in order to reveal possible bases for comparison

- Developing hypotheses
- Testing hypotheses by comparative analysis of interpreted data
- Drawing conclusions (Tretheway, 1976 : 76).

Figure 1.3 shows how this works.

FIGURE 1.3 : COMPARATIVE METHOD

Area Studies	Stage 1 Description	Pedagogical data only	
	Stage 2 Interpretation	Explanation of pedagogical data through application of relevant discipline	
Comparative Studies	Stage 3 Juxtaposition	Matching data Establishing criteria of comparison Formulating hypothesis	
	Stage 4 Comparison	Simultaneous comparison (by rotation or fusion) to test hypothesis	

Source : Trethewey, 1976 : 76

Vos and Brits (1987 : 25) also approve of this method. Their approach approximates the approach followed in this study. The steps followed in this study are:

- Selecting a topic
- Literature review
- Statement of the problem
- Clarification of the aim of study
- Hypothesis formulation
- Spelling out the research methodology
- Explanation of terminology
- Giving a layout of programme or study
- Investigation, juxtaposition and comparative analysis
- Drawing conclusions

This study will be lacking in quality without the utilization of the historical method as communities are constituted by their past (Beyer, 1988 : 152). Actually, other researchers regard the comparative method as a historical method up to the present. Against this background, a study of the historical method will be undertaken.

1.5.3 The Historical Method

Everything exists in time, whether past, present or future. Every practice or undertaking, whether it occurs in politics, the economy, social life, the church or religion in general, language, culture, education, or whatever, has a history which in turn influences the present or the future. The traditions, customs, practices and norms which have developed in a community over a long period, cannot be ignored when new structures are created. History is a force which has an impact on both the present and the future. This is also the case in education (Van Rensburg, Landman and Bodenstein, 1994 : 406).

Evidence of the above claim will be discernable throughout this research project. The report will begin with a broad outline of past events in South Africa, leading up to the April 27, 1994 democratic elections (vide 1.1). Any discussion will also, as a matter of fact, be preceded or accompanied by reference to the past experiences of communities and nations (vide chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5).

Mminele (1994 : 20) identifies the following values of historical method:

- The student researcher is afforded the opportunity to improve his or her project, gathering and organizing data, interpreting findings and presenting a logical synthesis
- The student researcher learns to write academic papers, and with more practice, he or she matures in this skill
- The acquisition of this skill engenders a feeling of intellectual growth and personal satisfaction in the student researcher
- The student researcher obtains a specialized knowledge of a definite phase of historical education
- The scientific approach to historical education is better appreciated after one has had an opportunity of applying it on a small scale
- The student researcher develops the facility of analysing different viewpoints on educational issues, especially controversial ones, ending up taking sides in an intelligent manner
- The deeper the student researcher gets acquainted with the roots of an educational problem, the clearer will be his of her conception of the historical forces and other interrelationships of school and society

The last statement implies that the phenomenological method, the comparative method and the historical method supplement one another. Table 1.3 below, shows their interrelatedness.

TABLE 1.3 : PHENOMENOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS OF THE METHODS IN THIS STUDY

Methods	Characteristics
Phenomenological	Revealing essential characteristics
Comparative	Comparison of essential characteristics
Historical	Reference to the past, present and future
Interpretative	Interpreting all data collected during research

1.5.4 The Interpretative Method

Having identified a hypothesis, the researcher sets out on an intensive search for information and collection of source material (Mminele, 1994 : 52). This is a vital step in research because no research can be written without having a source or sources. This vital step is called heuristics. The word "heuristics" is derived from the Greek word heuristich and the French word heuristicus. The Greek word heuristikein means to discover or to serve as an aid to learning, discovery or problem-solving (Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 1993 : 545).

In this study both primary and secondary sources will be subjected to a critical examination. All sources collected should be subjected to a rigorous scientific analysis to determine their genuineness (Mminele, 1994 : 65). This rigorous scientific analysis is called hermeneutics . Hermeneutics is the study of the methodological principles of interpretation (Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 1993 : 543). In examining the sources, the researcher will try to establish the following points:

- Temporization, i.e. when was the source composed? Outdated sources might portray a picture which has long changed.
- Localization, i.e. where was the source produced?
- Authorship, i.e. who wrote the source? It is important to establish whether the author is an authority in the field he wrote about.
- Authenticity, i.e. is the information authentic? Some of the information from old publications might no more be correct.
- Integrity, i.e. is the information uncorrupted? This is related to item three above.

After the heuristic and hermeneutic examination, the study will make a synthesis. A synthesis amounts to the combining of the constituent elements of separate material or abstract entities into a single or unified entity (Random House College Dictionary, 1988 : 1334).

After evaluating the data, the researcher should strive to show the real meaning of his or her data by showing their interrelations (Mminele, 1994 : 66). This is discernable in Chapter 5, where the study pools all the data on Africanization, democracy and education to establish their interrelatedness. The last aspect of synthesis, according to Mminele (1994 : 71), is the writing of the report itself.

1.6 EXPLANATION OF TERMINOLOGY

It is absolutely essential to define Africanization, education and democracy, as these are key concepts in this research project. In addition, concepts such as state and government education and education system and policy will also receive attention, as education does not take place in a vacuum, but in a particular country in pursuit of a definite policy.

1.6.1 State

A state and government, though related, are not synonymous (Cloete, 1993 : 31). A state is a well-defined piece of territory inhabited by a group of people who have been traditionally associated with that territory (Coulter, 1997 : 27). Cloete's definition is more precise and specific. He regards a state as a territory with public institutions which have to perform numerous activities to serve the people living in that territory (Cloete, 1993 : 30). The state consists of citizens with their rights and duties, institutions and jurisdictions, principles and powers (Lipson, 1993 : 46). This is where the government steps in, to protect those rights and duties.

1.6.2 Government

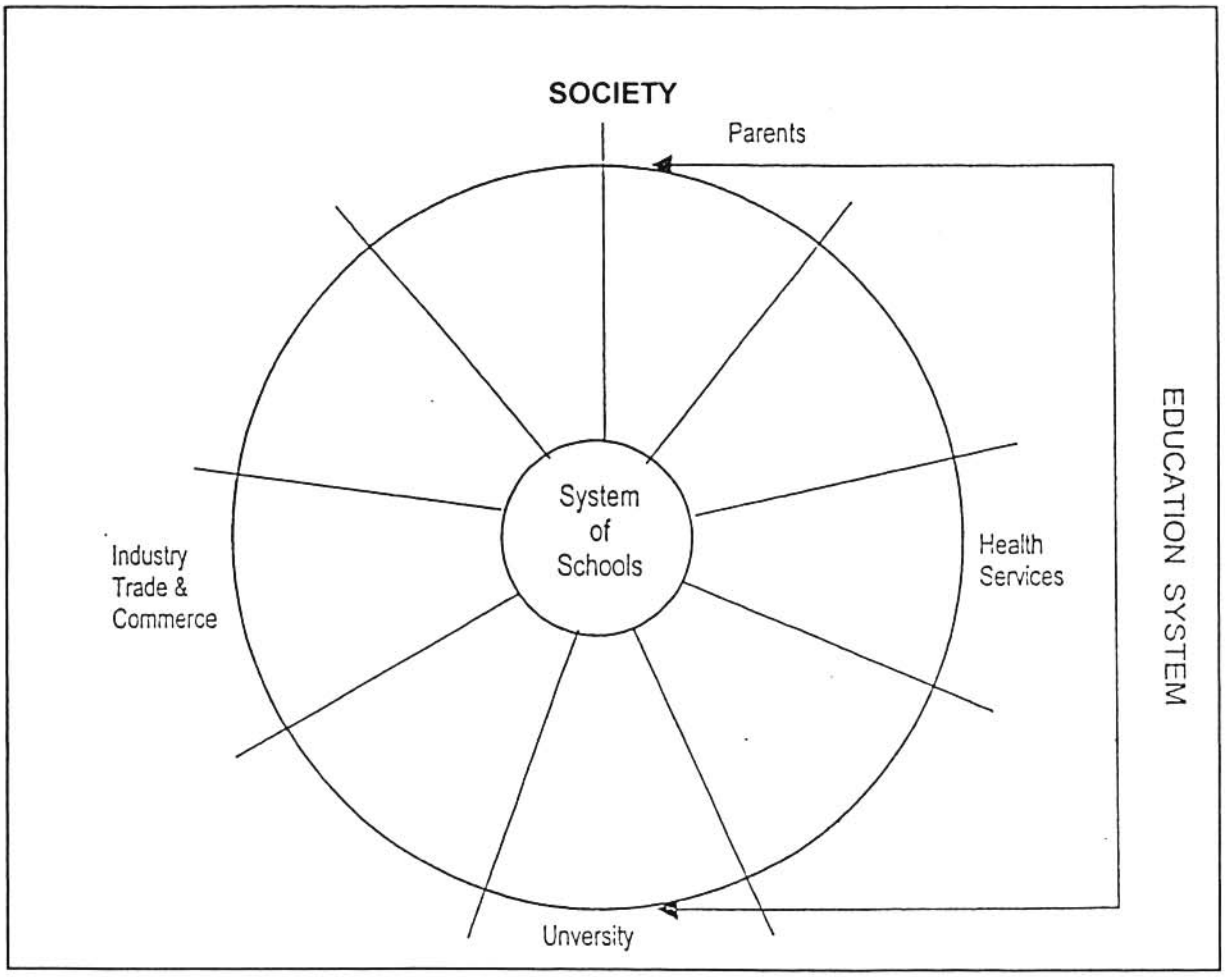
The state comprises another narrower concept - that of government. Every state has its own government, those specific persons who hold official positions and wield authority on behalf of the state. This implies that government changes, while the state continues (Lipson, 1993 : 46). Cloete (1993 : 30) is also supportive of the above description of government. He insists that government is used to refer to the body of political office bearers who serve under top legislation, for example, the cabinet consisting of the head of state and the ministers appointed by him to administer state departments. The government has legislative and judicial functions (Coulter, 1997 : 87). The legislature passes laws to govern the country, the executive directs the state towards certain goals or interests, and the judiciary applies laws when there is a dispute about those laws. Both the state and the government play an immensely significant role in the education of the child. The aforesaid cannot happen without education and an education system.

1.6.3 Education and Education System

Meanings regarding the concept "education" are many and varied. Van Rensburg, Landman and Bodenstein (1994 : 366) define education as a conscious, purposive intervention by the adult in the life of a non-adult to bring him to (intellectual) independence. It can also be viewed as the action or process of educating or being educated (Webster School Dictionary, 1994 : 281). More specifically, education is a systematic training and instruction designed to impart knowledge and develop skills (Oxford Paperback, 1994 : 255). The last definition is applicable to this study. In the educative act, the educator (parent) imparts norms and values to the educand. He promotes a particular philosophy of life. For education in a more formal sense to take place, there has to be an education system.

The education system represents a particular cohesion or interwovenness. It is an interwoven structure in which various bodies have a role to play with regard to the efficience of public education. It is an interwovenness of social structures such as state, family, school, church, political parties and trade unions (Vos and Brits, 1987 : 37). Figure 1.4 throws more light on this.

FIGURE 1.4



Vos and Brits, 1987 : 35

It is almost impossible to talk eloquently about an education system without making mention of schools.

1.6.4 School

Its etymology is traceable to French, schola, and Greek, schole, which means "an organization that provides instruction"; "an institution for the teaching of children". The Random House College Dictionary (1988 : 1178) puts it slightly differently. It defines a school as "an institution for teaching persons under college age".

In this study, it is used to refer to the latter, but where it is used in the context of an initiation school for Africans, it refers to those children undergoing initiation to manhood at that time, their instructors and herbalists, without in any way restricting it to an age group or academic level. A school as an ontological /anthropological societal relationship is characterized by the following:

- Authority structure (there has to be school governance).
- Commonality (binding or living together to achieve an aim). This implies pedagogic encountering. The need for direction makes a child reach out to a fellow-being who can guarantee him a safe space from where he can control a strange world by exploring and conquering it (Van Rensburg, Landman and Bodenstein, 1994 : 374).
- Mutual bondedness (pedagogic engagement).
- Structurality (systematic assimilation) (Van der Westhuizen, Erasmus, Janson, Mentz and Theron, 1996 : 24).

The educative task does not take place haphazardly. Specific requirements have to be adhered to. This brings into the picture the issue of policy.

1.6.5 Policy

A policy is clearly a matter of the authoritative allocation of values (Ball, 1990 : 3). Policies project images of an ideal society. They cannot be divorced from interests, from conflict, from domination or from justice.

Knezevich (1984 : 278), in agreement with the above, defines it as a general and goal-orientated statement of intent to act or behave in a particular manner when confronted with a given result within some point in time. It is enunciated as a guideline or a recommended course of action.

A policy differs from a decision. A decision is more or less an explicit selection from a range of options (Harrop, 1995 : 1). On the other hand, a policy involves a bundle of decisions and how they are put into practice. Harrop further points out that a policy encourages us to trace beyond the point of initiation to the point of delivery. Policies are concerned with making things happen or not happen. They are courses of action designed to promote, maintain or prevent states of affairs. Public policy is purposive action by or for government. A policy has a target group - the people whom the policy is to affect (Rist, 1995 : 20).

Depending on a country's policy, it becomes easy to refer to a particular country as communistic, socialistic or democratic. As the concept occupies centre-stage in this research project, it will be discussed next.

1.6.6 Democracy

The word "democracy" has no single and precise meaning. Knowledgeable people trace it back to Plato's "republic". Plato's republic brings us closest to the origins of political philosophy. It stands near the beginning of philosophy's primary concern with human life, as well as the initial entry of philosophy into the area of public discourse about human affairs (Howland, 1993 : 12). Plato regards a settled community of human beings as those who are cooperating together to fulfil their needs and to promote their common welfare (Melling, 1987 : 75).

This leads to what Aristotle call a eudaimonia. Eudaimonia means " the good life", and as such, a composite of honour and pleasure (Aristotle, 1988 : xxiii). Plato further maintains that a just society can only be the one ruled by philosophers (Barker, 1994 : ix). Although this sounds discriminatory and undemocratic, he justifies it by pointing out that their use of power is legitimized

by virtue of their long education and training (Coulter, 1997 : 13). He confirms that electing such leaders would be a formidable task, but "we must grapple with it to the best of our ability" (Cornford, 1974 : 63).

The leaders to rule over a polis (state), portrayed by Plato, should be

- strong
- swift
- brave
- high-spirited
- gentle
- endowed with a taste for philosophy (Davies and Vaughn, 1908 : xv)

Democracy in its broadest sense includes

- political equality and responsive rule
- political participation and administrative regulation
- an electoral process
- civil liberties
- open and accountable rulers (Beetham, 1994 : 2)

Beetham (1994 : 16) further identifies the following conditions for democracy:

(a) Basic freedoms

- Each citizen has the right to freedom of speech and expression
- Each citizen has the right to freedom of movement
- Each citizen has the right to freedom of association
- Each citizen has the right to equal treatment under the law
- Each citizen has the right to freedom of worship

(b) Citizenship and participation

- The political community must have a common, standardized form of legal membership compatible with basic freedom
- Citizens have an equal right to run for elective office
- Citizens have equal rights to vote in all elections and referendums
- Citizens' votes must be decisive under all decision mechanisms
- Mechanisms must be available for citizens to vote directly on substantive outcomes
- There must be a voting system which allows for the expression of a majority preferences in multi-sided contests
- Where votes for representatives are conducted, these votes must be regular and at specified intervals
- Regular opinion polls must be conducted by an appropriate agency
- There must be a presumption that all issues will be decided by a referendum, and clear guidelines when a referendum may be foregone
- All issues not specifically prohibited from majority decision must be open to majority decision via one of the appropriate mechanisms

(c) Administrative codes

- There must be appropriate codes of procedure for employees in public bodies
- There must be regularly produced evidence that public decisions are being put into effect
- There must be appropriate time limits placed on the realization of the substance of public decisions
- There must be instituted adequate appeal and redress mechanisms with respect to public bodies and their functions
- There must be freedom of information from all government bodies

(d) Publicity

There must be a constant and formal process of public notification of decisions, options, arguments, issues and outcomes.

(e) Social rights

- Every citizen has the right to adequate health care
- Every citizen has the right to adequate education

1.6.7 Aficanization

To Aficanize is to bring under the influence of , control, culture or civil supremacy of Africans, and especially black Africans (Webster School Dictionary, 1991 : 21). Africanization can therefore be defined as the process of bringing under the influence of, control, culture or civil supremacy of Africans, and especially black Africans. African in South Africa, and in this study, refers to Ndebeles, Pedis, Sothos, Swazis, Tsongas, Tswanas, Vendas, Xhosas and Zulus. It is synonymous with blacks. It has to do with African pride and identity. It is based on the foundation of a belief that " we are of Africa and our freedom is linked to the whole continent of Africa " (Sowetan, December 2, 1998).

Africanization was first advocated by the Ghanese leader, the late Kwame Nkrumah, the late president of Tanzania Julius Nyerere(who died in September 1999), the black American civil rights leader William Edward Burghart (W.E.B) Du Bois and George Padmore from the Caribbean. The concept of Africanization will be elaborated in Chapter 4 of this study.

1.7 PROGRAMME OF THE STUDY

The first few pages of this report are set aside for dedication, declaration and

acknowledgements. This is followed by a general orientation chapter. The situation of South Africa, its demography and population are discussed briefly with a view to highlighting education development over the years. Diagrams illustrating the provision of education on a race/ethnic basis are included, as well as a schematic representation of the structure of education in South Africa at present. Every research is necessitated by a problem.

The problem for the research project is clearly stated and the aim well-defined. This is followed by a hypothesis formulation, as every study has to have a hypothesis (a tentative answer to the stated problem). The aim of the research project is also clearly spelt out.

Scientific research, or any research for that matter, does not take place haphazardly. Specific methods or plans of action have to be followed. The study spells out clearly the research methods to be followed to arrive at verifiable solutions. Diagrams showing how they work, are provided. Key concepts used in the report are also clearly explained, leading up to the explanation of a lay out of the programme of study, which is also explained diagrammatically.

As the thrust of this research project falls on democracy, education and Africanization, the first two are examined first. The philosophical presumptions of democracy, as well as the different types of democracies, are explained in details. The study cites the United States of America (USA) as an example of liberal democracy, France as a social democracy and Russia as an example of communism and enlightenment. A cursory discussion of African democracy is also undertaken. A phenomenological study of their democratic structures is undertaken, thereby bringing to light their differences and similarities. As the direction followed by education is determined by a country's policy, a study of education and policy in the South African context is undertaken. In this section on democracy and education policy in South Africa, the researcher investigates the essence of democracy.

Among others, this is embracive of democracy as a philosophy, democracy as a way of

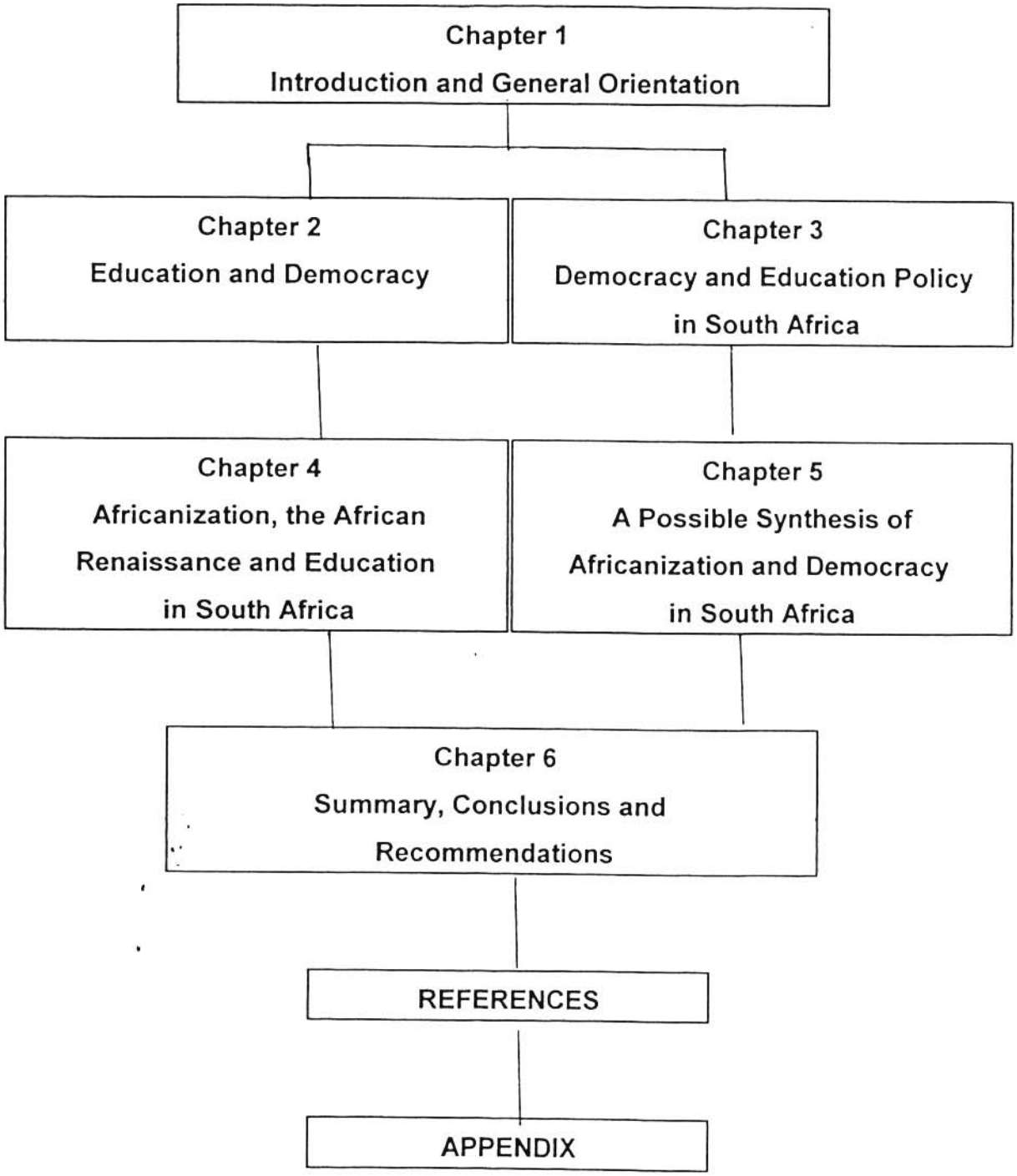
being human and democracy as a way of guiding human actions. The research investigates how this is realized in the legislation of a democratic South Africa. The constitution and powers and functions of the school governing bodies as set out in the South African Schools' Act (SASA), are closely examined to establish whether they are in line with the democratic norms. A phenomenological analysis of SASA and the democratic norms is also conducted. All these lead up to the main thrust of this study, Africanization and its twin concept, the African Renaissance, and how this is implemented in legislation.

A broad outline of the (European) Renaissance, its origin and its spread, is given. Parallels between the European Renaissance, also called the Italian Renaissance, and the African Renaissance are drawn, with the main focus falling on their educational significance. Factors promotive of the African Renaissance and those that militate against the concept, are highlighted. This leads up to the climax of the study - the synchronization of Africanization, democracy and education. A phenomenological analysis is conducted to establish the differences and similarities between Africanization and democracy. In addition, the ANC's education policy is also examined as its leader, Thabo Mbeki, is a strong proponent of the African Renaissance concept. As any research is conducted with a view to arrive at scientific conclusions and to make recommendations, the last chapter is devoted to that.

In the last chapter, the researcher refers back to the problem stated and the hypothesis formulated and how the problem and the hypothesis were investigated systematically. The writer rounds up his research by making recommendations which will serve as helpful strategies for education planners.

As the central concepts in this research project are democracy, education and Africanization, the writer will make an intensive examination of the concepts "education' and "democracy" in the next chapter.

FIGURE 1.5 : PROGRAMME OF THE STUDY



CHAPTER 2 : EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Theories about how to govern, are as old as governments themselves (Coulter, 1997 : 2). Ever since creation, men have always sought to run their affairs in an organised manner. To this end, education has always been an essential component of man's daily activities.

Governments are many and varied and so are their education systems. Some countries are democratic, while others are not. The two major competing democracies are democracy as it is known in Western countries, and communism. The two systems, though divergent, claim to provide solutions to their adherents. The advocates of communism present it to their followers as democratic, to capture the imagination of their followers. Their countries are referred to as democratic republics, as was the case with the former Soviet Union (Steyn, De Klerk and Du Plessis, 1999 : 2).

Democracy is used to refer to a specific form of government (Cloete, 1993 : 6). It is also a philosophy, a way of life, that is prescriptive in character (Möller, 2000 : 154). In this sense, it is a set of ideas that prescribed the mutual actions of people, not only concerning politics, but also life as a whole. Democracy is nearly as old as Western civilization (Steyn, De Klerk and Du Plessis, 1999 : 3). It developed through stages over the ages and stood the test of time (Steyn, De Klerk and Du Plessis, 1999 : 3). The source also points out that different cultures and civilizations on different continents have accepted democracy as the best way of government.

Democracy can be traced back to the Greek city-states of Athens during the fifteenth century Before Christ (B.C.). In the first democracy, an elaborate system ensured that "the people", or demos, would be self-governing and would control its officials (Lipson, 1993 ; 223). This political arrangement excluded women and slaves. In Pericles' time, citizens enjoyed specific democratic rights. Those rights were freedom and equality.

The French Revolution, that took place towards the end of the eighteenth century, also popularized liberty, equality and freedom, which are key concepts in a democracy today. Today it is understood to mean "Power to the People" (Steyn, De Klerk and Du Plessis, 1999 : 4) and it is associated with slogans like "The People shall Govern!"

Möller (2000 : 155) identifies the following philosophical presumptions of a democracy:

- The presupposition of self-government
- The presupposition of rationality
- The presupposition of morality
- The presupposition of equality
- The ability of progress as a presupposition
- The presupposition of majority government
- The presupposition of freedom

Arblaster (1994 : 14) reduced the above-mentioned to the following:

- Government by the people
- A government representative of the general will
- Majority rule
- Equality and the general interest
- Representation and direct democracy

In agreement with the above, the United Nations' Organization, which, amongst others, promotes peace around the globe, identifies the following philosophical presuppositions:

- Rejection of violence and commitment to the prevention of violent conflicts through dialogue and negotiations
- Commitment to meeting the developmental needs of future generations
- Promotion of the equal rights and opportunities of men and women
- Recognition of the rights of everyone to freedom of expression, opinion and information

- Devotion to freedom, justice, democracy, tolerance, solidarity, cooperation, pluralism, cultural diversity and dialogue between nations and individuals, between ethnic, religious, cultural and other groups, and between individuals (Peace Magazine, March/April 1999 : 7)

The central conception in any democracy is freedom (Cloete, 1993 : 12). Cloete further distinguishes between negative and positive freedom. Table 2.1 illustrates the general features of four different types of democracies:

TABLE 2.1 : DIFFERENT TYPES OF DEMOCRACIES

	Liberal	Social	Communist	African
1.	Decentralised state	Centralised state	Centralised state	Centralised state
2.	Decentralised control of education	Centralised control of education	Centralised control of education	Decentralised control of education
3.	The will of the people reflected in education	The will of the people reflected in education	The will of the Communist Party reflected in education	The will of the people reflected in education
4.	Teaching methods adapted to children	Teaching methods adapted to children	Socialization receives more attention	Socialization receives more attention
5.	Individualization and socialization receive equal attention	Individualization and socialization receive equal attention	Socialization receives more attention	Socialization receives more attention
6.	Teacher training differs from state to state	Teacher training is uniform	Teacher training is uniform	Teacher training is uniform

2.2 DIFFERENT TYPES OF DEMOCRACIES AND THEIR EDUCATION SYSTEMS

2.2.1 The U.S.A. as an Example of Liberal Democracy

2.2.1.1 Background information

America is the fourth largest country in the world, covering an area of 9.8 million square kilometres (km^2). Its population was estimated at 255 million in 1992(Dekker and Van Schalkwyk, 1996 :5 37 The statistical abstract of America estimates it at 305, 999 million. The white population forms the largest majority, followed by blacks, Hispanics, Asians and, lastly, the American Indians. Table 2.2(a) shows the population breakdown.

TABLE 2.2 (a) : POPULATION BREAKDOWN ACCORDING TO RACE

Population group	Number
Whites	225 532 000
Blacks	35 454 000
Hispanics	31 366 000
Asians	11 245 000
American Indians	2 402 000
Total	**305 999 000**

Source : 1999 Statistical abstract of the United States of America

Although the early American settlers were from divergent backgrounds, they had one thing in common - a quest for freedom. The historical background of the American settlers kindled a spirit of self-esteem right from the onset. For this reason, the United States is a nation second to none in international power, superior in all standards (King, 1964 : 113). Its constitution is widely lauded around the globe as a good model of liberalism. Its introduction states:

> "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessing of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America" (The Constitution of the United States of America, February 6,1992).

With this in mind, it is necessary to trace the history of liberalism. Liberalism has a longer history than the ideologies considered in this study (Eccleshall, Vincent, Richard, Kenny, MacKenzie and Wilford, 1994 : 28). Liberalism is a political or social philosophy advocating freedom for the individual and governmental guarantees of individual rights and civil liberties (Random House College Dictionary, 1988 : 772).

The genesis of liberalism can be traced back to the seventeenth century and it coincided with the dissolution of the feudal relations and the emergence of a modern capitalist society. There is a sense that liberalism has achieved something of a pyrrhic victory (Foley, 1994 : 5). With the collapse of the former Soviet bloc, it is once again fashionable to talk of the end of an ideology and the unabashed victory of liberal values. Liberals have been on the forefront of movements to emancipate individuals from political, religious, commercial and other constraints on their activities (Eccleshall, et al. 1994 : 30). The source also describes liberalism as a heroic venture in which bearers of the torch of freedom emerge as magnanimous individuals intent on creating a fairer, more pluralistic society. This pluralistic society gives individuals ample space to shape their lives according to their own conscience and preferences.

Macridis (1996 : 26) contends that the individual - his or her experiences and interests - is the basic concept associated with the origin and growth of liberalism and liberal societies. He also points out that, in liberalism,

knowledge and truth are derived from the judgement of the individual. His experiences are also formed by his association with the world outside:

> "There is no established truth. Individual experience becomes supreme value in itself, and the joining of many individual experiences in deliberation is the best possible way for a community to make decisions" (Macridis, 1996 : 25).

Barker (1994 : 44) holds that liberalism has four distinct strands:

- An assertion of the individual's political, intellectual and religious liberty
- An assertion of the individual's rights in the existing distribution of property and capital
- A belief that the rights and powers that go with possession of property, are necessary and desirable for all individuals, and that, if necessary, the state should act in such a way as to make these rights and powers accessible to all
- A critical appraisal of constitutional arrangements, together with proposals for their improvement

Another noteworthy feature of liberalism is that all liberals believe that liberty is positive, in the sense that its exercise involves free action by individuals. In keeping with this, every American citizen may vote, irrespective of wealth, gender, race or ethnicity, provided that he or she is not serving a sentence for a crime (Bowles, 1993 : 45). The aims of American education are in line with liberal democracy.

2.2.1.2 The aims of education

In America, the greatest exponent of liberal democracy in the world, educational objectives are strongly influenced by the federal constitution

(Dekker and Van Schalkwyk, 1996 : 552). Education is not mentioned in the constitution, thereby making it the competence of state governments.

The United States is divided into 50 states in all, and by implication into 50 different education systems. In keeping with liberal democracy, there is also an exclusive division between state and church.

In 1963, the American Supreme Court ruled that reading the Bible and reciting the Lord's prayer should be regarded as religious ceremonies, and that practising these ceremonies in public schools, constituted a violation of the first and fourteenth amendments (Dekker and Van Schalkwyk, 1996 : 992).

Table 2.2(b) shows the 50 American states, and by implication the 50 American education systems.

TABLE 2.2 (b) : 50 AMERICAN STATES

No	State	Capital	Area (km^2)	Resident population mid-1989 in '000	Estimated resident population mid-1992 in '000
1.	Maine	Augusta	86 156	1 222	1 235
2.	New Hampshire	Concord	24 032	1 107	1 111
3.	Vernon	Montpellier	24 900	567	570
4.	Massachusetts	Boston	21 456	5 913	5 998
5.	Connecticut	Hartford	12 997	3 239	3 281
6.	Rhode Island	Providence	3 140	998	1 005
7.	New York	Albany	127 190	17 950	18 119
8.	New Jersey	Trenton	20 169	7 736	7789
9.	Pennsylvania	Harrisburg	117 348	12 040	12 009
10.	Delaware	Dover	5 295	673	689
11.	Maryland	Annapolis	27 092	4 694	4 908
12.	West-Virginia	Charlestown	62 760	1 857	1 812
13.	Virginia	Richmond	105586	6 098	6 377
14.	North Carolina	Raleigh	136 571	6 571	6 843
15.	South Carolina	Columbia	80 582	3 512	3 603
16.	Georgia	Atlanta	152 576	6 436	6 751
17.	Florida	Tallahassee	151 939	12 671	13 488
18.	Alabama	Montgomery	133 915	4 118	4 136
19.	Tennessee	Nashville	109 152	4 910	5 024
20.	Kentucky	Frankfort	104 661	3 727	3 755
21.	Arkansas	Little Rock	137 754	2 406	2 399
22.	Mississippi	Jackson	123 516	2 621	2 614
23.	Louisiana	Baton Rouge	123 677	4 382	4287
24.	Oklahoma	Oklahoma City	181 186	3 224	3 212
25.	Texas	Austin	691 030	16 991	17 656

26.	Ohio	Columbus	107 044	10 907	11 016
27.	Michigan	Lansing	151 586	9 273	9 437
28.	Indiana	Indianapolis	93 720	5 593	5 662
29.	Illinois	Springfield	145 934	111 658	111 631
30.	Wisconsin	Madison	145 436	4 867	5 007
31.	Minnesota	St Paul	218 601	4 353	4 480
32.	Iowa	Des Moines	145 753	2 840	2 812
33.	Missouri	Jefferson City	180 516	5 159	5 193
34.	Kansas	Topeka	213 098	2 513	2 523
35.	Nebraska	Lincoln	200 350	1 611	1 606
36.	South Dakota	Pierre	199 730	715	711
37.	North Dakota	Bismarck	183 119	660	636
38.	Montana	Helena	380 848	806	824
39.	Idaho	Boise	216 432	1 014	1 067
40.	Wyoming	Cheyenne	253 326	475	466
41.	Colorado	Denver	269 596	3 317	3 470
42.	Utah	Salt Lake City	19 889	1 707	1 813
43.	Nevada	Caron City	286 352	1 111	1 327
44.	Arizona	Phoenix	295 260	3 556	3 832
45.	New Mexico	Santa Fé	314 926	1 528	1 581
46.	Washington	Olympia	76 479	4 761	5 736
47.	Oregon	Salem	251 419	2 820	2 977
48.	California	Sacrament	411 049	29 063	30 867
49.	Alaska	Juneau	1 530 700	527	587
50.	Hawaii	Honolulu	16 759	1 112	1 160
51.	District of Columbia		178	604	589
Total			**9 372 779**	**248 239**	**255 681**

Source : Dekker and Van Schalkwyk, 1996 : 539

The aims of the American education also differ from level to level. In some kindergarten programmes, teachers are orientated towards an academic curriculum that is more student-orientated or "developmentally appropriate" (McNergney and Herbert, 1998 : 177).

In line with liberal democracy, the goals of the American elementary schools are broad and varied. Wynn (1977 : 138) identifies the following:

- Health and physical development of children
- Mental health and personality development
- Development of the skills of effective participation in a democratic society
- Development of the values consistent with democratic living
- Creative living

Because of these broad aims, the American public school is to be considered the foundation of American democracy (Vos and Brits, 1987 : 155). Classroom teachers often focus on language, arts, mathematics, science, social studies and health, while specialist teachers offer instruction in art, music, physical education and special education (McNergney and Herbert, 1998 : 177). High schools also offer a variety of subjects, which make it possible for students to follow different streams. This is also a reflection of liberal democracy.

In keeping with liberal democracy, America's education objectives are not firmly established (Dekker and Van Schalkwyk, 1996 : 553). They are frequently adapted to the changing practical situation. Dekker and Van Schalkwyk (1996 : 553) condense them into the following four aims:

- Creating unity in the midst of ethnic and cultural diversity
- Nurturing the democratic ideals of liberty and equality in practice
- Encouraging individual development
- Improving social conditions and national progress

Although American education is the competence of the respective states, an attempt was made to set up national goals in the 1990s. President George Bush Sr (414th president of the United States) and the nation's governors met at Charlottesville, Virginia, in 1989, where it was agreed to set national education goals (Congressional Research Council Services [CRS], January 1992 : 1). The six goals they agreed upon, were the following:

- All children will start school ready to learn
- A high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90%
- Students will leave grades 4, 8 and 12 having demonstrated competency over challenging subject matter including English, maths, science, history and geography. Every school in America will ensure that students learn to use their minds well so that they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning and productive employment in the modern economy
- The U.S.A. will be world leader in maths and science
- Every adult in America will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship
- Every school in America will be free of drugs and violence and will offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning

As these goals were supposed to be attained by the year 2000, they came to be known as America 2000. From the moment of the announcement of America 2000, Congress started working tirelessly towards its attainment. The CRS Report (November 30, 1992 : 4) points out that legislation such as the Adult Education Act, April 9, 1991 and the Education Act, June 27, 1991 were some of the legislation enacted to set the reform effort in motion. A ten member National Education Goals Panel (NAEGEP) was set up in July 1990, even before legislation to monitor the reform effort was passed. The CRS further points out that the ten member NAEGEP

Panel (NAEGEP) was set up in July 1990, even before legislation to monitor the reform effort was passed. The CRS further points out that the ten member NAEGEP consisted of the Secretary of Education, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, the president's Chief of Staff and the Assistant to the president for Economic Policy, as well as six governors.

In line with liberal democracy, each of the 50 states in the Union is responsible for its own system of public instruction (Postlewaite, 1995 : 1034). This, however, does not absolutely exclude federal government's involvement in educational matters. The national government equally plays a significant role in education for the optimum development of the individual. The president's inclusion of governors is evidence of this.

Many congresses were held since the announcement of the goals. The CRS Report (November 30, 1992 : 4) indicates that the 102 nd congress considered the following strategies for the attainment of the America 2000 goals:

- Establishing national curriculum standards
- Understanding comprehensive, systematic reform of state and local education
- Restructuring of individual schools
- Deregulating schools
- Rewarding and sanctioning schools

Between 1994 and 1996, the federal government provided financial assistance to the states that submitted plans for ways they might help students meet national standards (McNergney and Herbert, 1998 : 379). The Congress of the United States of America has constitutional powers to allocate funds for education, but has no control over it (Vos and Brits, 1990 : 150).

An attempt at setting up national standards led to a wide application of tests such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) for college admission, the American College Testing Program (ACTP) and the nationally funded National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). Of all these tests, NAEP is most widely administered. "NAEP is of great importance with regard to the effort to measure progress toward National Education Goals. It produces results that are nationally representative of all students" (CRS Report, November 30, 1992 : 4).

The November 30, 1992 CRS Report further points out that in keeping with liberal democracy, in the area of national curriculum, proponents do not envision a single national curriculum. Curricula vary according to the organization and educational aims of the individual schools and community (Vos and Brits, 1990 : 156). What takes place in schools, is largely defined by community members' sense of what should be perpetuated (McNergney and Herbert, 1998 : 378). This sounds like a negation of the spirit of America 2000, but the CRS Report (November 30, 1992 : 4) states the following:

> "What they generally advocate, is a system under which professional groups of subject matter specialists and other reach consensus on what pupils across the country ought to know at different age or grade level in each major subject area."

Liberal democracy is also evident in the area of the administration of education in the U.S.A..

2.2.1.3 Administration and control of education in the U.S.A.

Although no specific mention of public education is made in the constitution, the federal government has always had a hand in shaping

education (McNergney and Herbert, 1998 : 226).

> "The interpretation of the tenth amendment of the constitution that education is the responsibility of the various states has led to the development of an individual education system for each of the 50 states" (Dekker and Van Schalkwyk, 1996 : 553).

Dekker and Van Schalkwyk further point out that there are many similarities and differences among the various systems. The administration and control of education in the U.S.A. can aptly be summarized as follows: "They are a federal concern, a state responsibility, and conducted with local control" (Clabaugh, 1990 : 408).

State governments vary in the degree of centralized control that they exercise. The major of them confer a large amount of control to local governing bodies known as local school boards (Postlewaite, 1995 : 1034). The three branches of government - executive, legislative and judicial - also share legal authority for school related matters. The state's role is so pronounced that a state government also has the authority to take over local school districts (Clabaugh, 1990 : 422). This happens when state officials are firmly convinced that such district officials fail to maintain and sustain the required standards. The role of the federal government will be discussed in the following subsection.

(a) The role of the federal government

The structure of the American government is based on the 1787 constitution and subsequent amendments (Dekker and Van Schalkwyk, 1996 : 554). The federal government consists of three coordinated levels:

- The executive, resting with the president
- Legislative power, consisting of two elected houses of Congress
- Judicial power

Dekker and Van Schalkwyk further point out that all three sections have been extremely active in policy-making. President Clinton's Education Reform Bill (Goals 2000 : Educate America Act) allocates money for a system of national standards and assessment for grades kindergarten through grade 12 (McNergney and Herbert, 1998 : 227).

Vos and Brits (1990 : 150) identify the following broad areas of federal support:

- Vocational education
- Help for areas affected by federal activities (e.g. military bases and space programmes)
- Compensatory education for socially handicapped children
- Educational support services

"The federal government has participated in efforts to equalize school financial allocations, provide access to education for the poor and for handicapped children, to desegregate schools, and to satisfy new public pressures increased quality and accountability in schools" (Dekker and Van Schalkwyk, 1996 : 555).

Its role is coordinated by the federal Department of Education and its nine regional offices. The department is headed by a secretary with a ministerial rank. The federal education policy, which is validated by the senate, is administered throughout the country by the Department of Education in Washington D.C. and

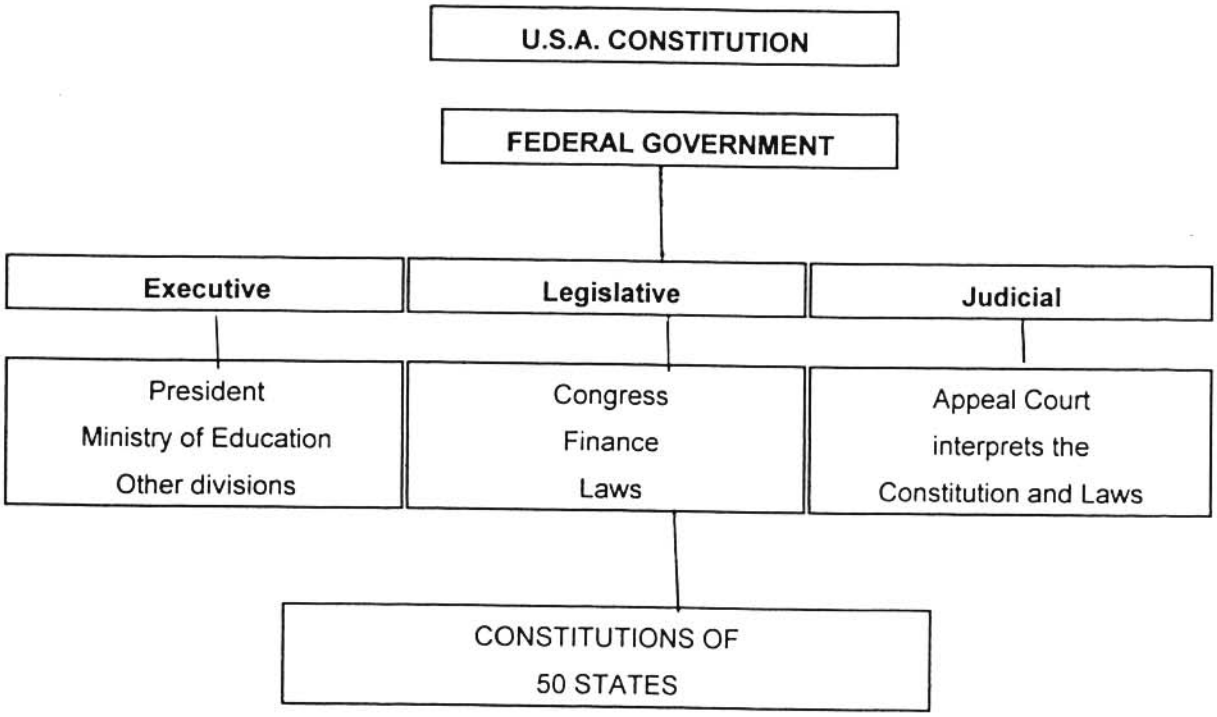
its nine regional offices (Dekker and Van Schalkwyk, 1996 : 555). The Education Department is responsible for the distribution of money in support of education (Vos and Brits, 1990 : 150).

In 1995, fourteen federal departments, including the Office of Education, and more than 22 agencies and programmes were involved in the organization of federal programmes for education (McNergney and Herbert, 1998 : 226). The administration of federal education programmes is managed by the following:

- Bureau for School Systems
- Bureau for Vocational and Adult Education
- Bureau for the Handicapped
- Bureau for Post-secondary Education
- Bureau for Indian Education (Dekker and Van Schalkwyk, 1996 : 555).

In short, it can be stated that Congress attends to public education by passing laws. The main responsibility for running public schools is in the hands of State Education Departments (SEDS) through State Boards of Education. Figure 2.1 shows the place occupied by education in the federal government. The role of the state in education will be discussed next.

FIGURE 2.1 : THE PLACE OCCUPIED BY EDUCATION IN THE U.S.A. CONSTITUTION



Source : Dekker and Van Schalkwyk, 1996 : 554

(b) The role of the state in education

In every case, the respective state governments have taken up the authority to operate public schools offered by the Tenth Amendment. Their involvement in schooling has become so extensive that, if state government ceased to exist, there would be no public education (Clabaugh, 1990 : 422).

In each state, the Department of Education and its controlling Board of Education and Chief School Officer hold central authority for the state's education enterprise (Vos and Brits, 1990 :152). Every state incorporates a Board of Education in its governance. In keeping with liberal democracy, the members of

the State Boards of Education are appointed or elected. There has been a recent trend in favour of direct election. All states, except Wisconsin, have State Boards of Education. State Boards of Education regulate educational practice and advise governors and state legislators about the conduct of educational business (McNergney and Herbert, 1998 : 235). In keeping with liberal democracy, the scope of their authority vary from state to state. They are generally charged with writing regulations that give specificity to the general mandates of state legislation (Clabaugh, 1990 : 425). A State Board of Education is headed by a Superintendent or Chief State School Officer (CSSO). Dekker and Van Schalkwyk (1996 : 557) hold that the main task of this board is to formulate legislation relevant to the schools. In keeping with liberal democracy, in some states the regulation of colleges and universities is managed by special boards.

The CSSO or superintendent is the chief state executive of the State Department of Education (SDE). The SDE is staffed by career professionals. These are the individuals who translate the regulations of the State Boards of Education in policies, practices and standards (Clabaugh, 1990 : 427). Board members are elected by the people or appointed by the state governor, and usually serve terms ranging from two to six years (Vos and Brits, 1990 : 151). They are empowered to formulate policies relating to education affairs such as allocation of school funds, certification of teachers, textbook and library services and provision of records, school calender and education statistics. They make momentous decisions about textbook adoption (McNergney and Herbert, 1998 : 235). In keeping with liberal democracy, the procedures vary from state to state, but generally a state board approves a list of textbooks from which local districts may select.

Should state legislators decide to write school codes, state department staffers advise them as the bill is written. They also assist the State Board of Education in writing regulations that implement that law (Clabaugh, 1990 : 427). State board members in the populous states of Texas, California and Florida, influence schools in other states by shaping the content of textbooks that are sold across the nation (McNergney and Herbert, 1998 : 235). Dekker and Van Schalkwyk (1996 : 557) identify the following functions of the superintendent:

- He has to take the initiative in planning and implementing improvement in education
- His activities include the direct administration of schools and services
- Through regulation he has to ensure that

    i. The standard of education is maintained
    ii. School buses and buildings remain safe
    iii. Curricula requirements are met

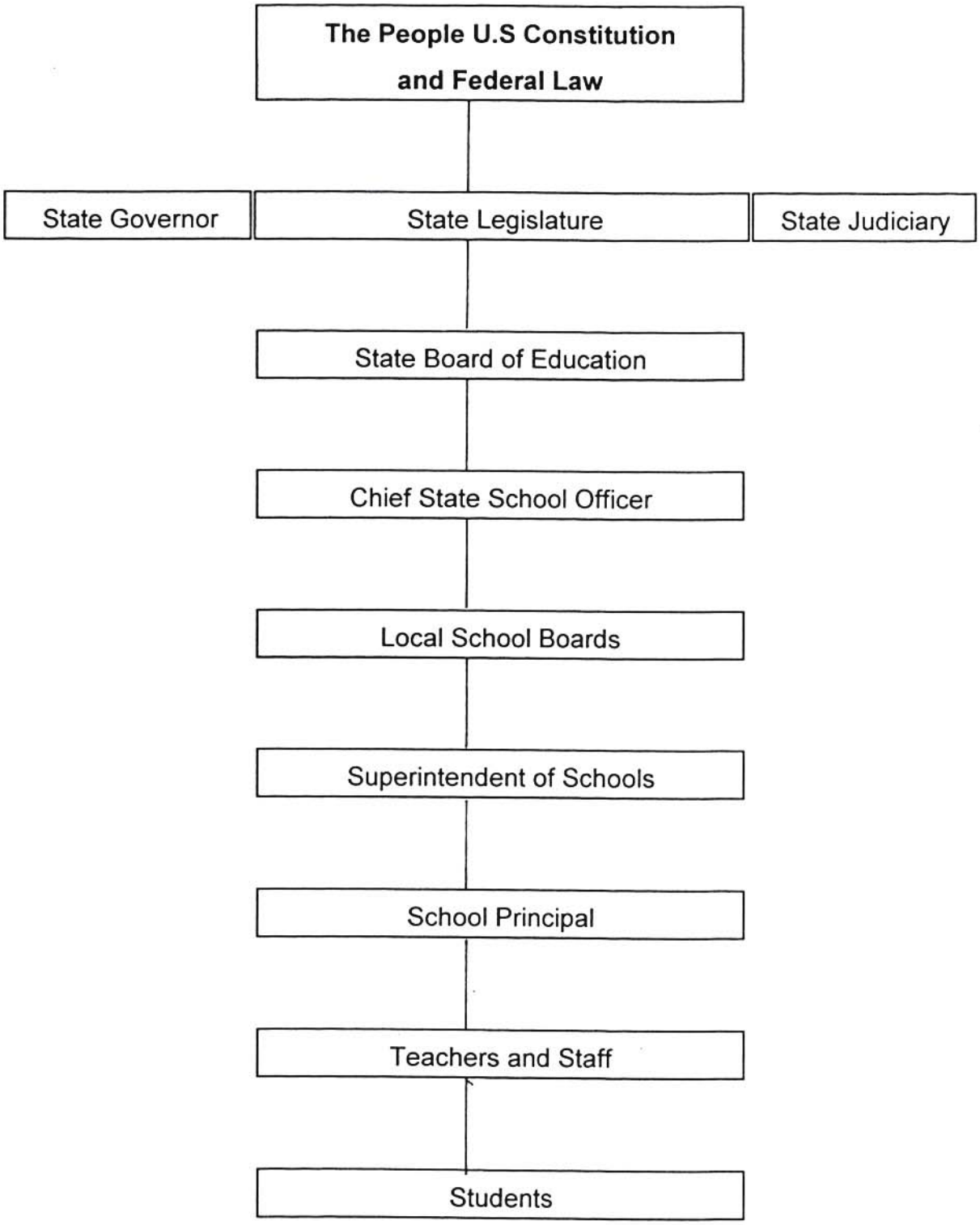
In addition, Clabaugh (1990 :415) identifies the following functions of a State Department of Education:

- Provide textbooks
- Authorize funds for testing and scoring
- Provide diagnostic services in public schools, public centres, or mobile units located off the non-public school premises
- Loan instructional materials and equipment to non-public school students, provided it cannot be converted to religious use
- Provide money for field trips that enrich secular studies

Clabaugh also makes mention of intermediate regional units. Figure 2.2 illustrates the structure of education at state level.

In many states, regional school agencies function between SEDS and local school districts. They occur between the levels of the State Department of Education and local school districts (Dekker and Van Schalkwyk, 1996 : 557). An average intermediate unit includes 20 to 30 school districts and the number of units in a state ranges from two in Alaska to more than fifty in California and Michigan. These units have a coordinating function in a number of districts where educational service cannot be performed individually (Clabaugh, 1990 : 427). Often they also serve as a central clearing-house for instructional materials, offer in-service training to teachers and provide a variety of specialized services.

FIGURE 2.2 : THE STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION AT STATE LEVEL



Source : McNergney and Herbert, 1998 : 231

In keeping with liberal democracy, the intermediate units have different names in different states. They are known as intermediate education units (IEUS), educational service agencies (AESAS), or boards of cooperative educational services (BOCES) (McNergney and Herbert, 1998 : 558). Dekker and Van Schalkwyk (1996 : 558) point out that, earlier, intermediate units were voluntary consortiums, but in recent years, there has been a tendency towards legalized regional units. At present, at least eight states have regional units and in four others, legislation makes provision for such units. As Americans are defenders of liberal democracy, they regard this as yet another bureaucratic addition to education threatening local control. They do not accept these changes readily in all states. Sometimes, organizational units cooperate to increase their power, to reduce uncertainty, to increase performance by ensuring a steady flow of resources, and to protect themselves (McNergney and Herbert, 1998 : 236). They do so by sharing information, people, funds and equipment. Below the regional intermediate units is found the school districts.

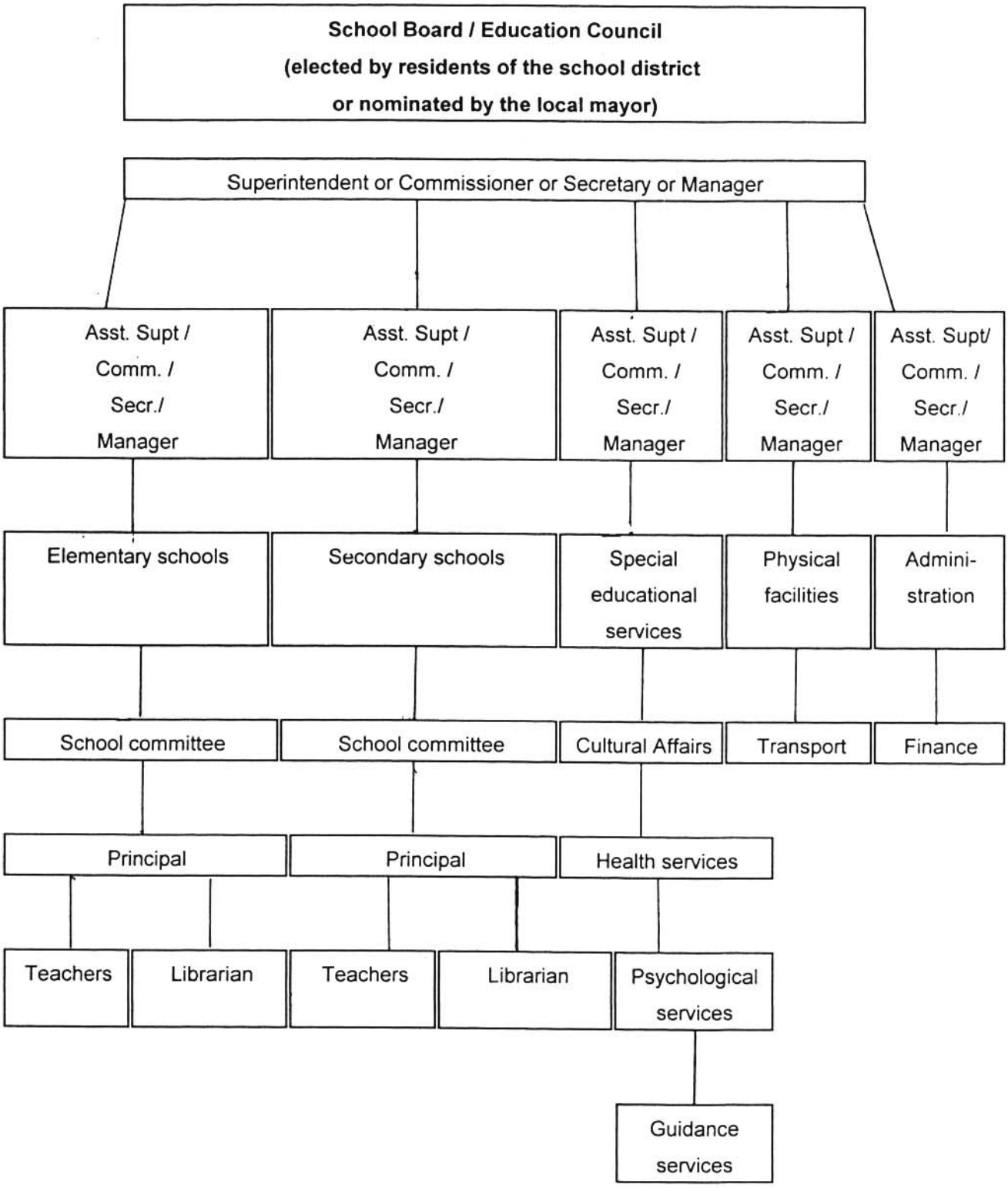
(c) The role played by local bodies

In order to provide for more effective control and better teaching facilities, education opportunities and school buildings, there is a continuous trend to consolidate smaller districts into larger units (Vos and Brits, 1990 : 152). The size and resources of school districts vary greatly. In 1990/1991, there were 15 358 school districts (Dekker and Van Schalkwyk, 1996 : 558). Some small districts may not even have secondary schools and are dependent on neighbouring districts for post-primary education.

In the 1990s, the day to day running and paying for the nation's schools was the chief responsibility of some 127 000 school districts. Today, the number of districts has shrunk and both state and federal control has increased at school district expense. Despite this trend, however, America's vast public school system is still conducted with a great deal of local control (Clabaugh, 1990 : 427).

Local school boards are one of the most common, visible examples of democracy in action (McNergney and Herbert, 1998 : 239). McNergney and Herbert justify this claim by pointing out that, because overseeing education is a power reserved for the states, local school boards are agents of the states. They are the basic administrative units of American public spending. This is where federal, state and local dollars are dispersed as schools are built or closed, instructional programmes inaugurated or folded, teachers hired or fired (Clabaugh, 1990 : 428). These are bodies of elected or appointed public servants with responsibility to provide advice and consent on the operation of public schools (McNergney and Herbert, 1998 : 239). Figure 2.3 shows the control of education at school board level.

FIGURE 2.3 : THE CONTROL OF EDUCATION AT SCHOOL BOARD LEVEL



Source : Vos and Barnard, 1990 : 153

Local school boards are agents of the states. They do most of their business in the evening and they are not paid for their services. They staff the more than 15 000 boards of education (Clabaugh, 1990 : 428).

The school board members regard their schools in much the same way as their constituency. School board members try to interpret the public will and to exercise their own personal judgement in governing the public education system (McNergney and Herbert, 1998 : 239). They have got to make sure that their school is the best.

Wynn (1977 : 343) and McNergney and Herbert (1998 : 239) identify the following duties of the local school boards:

- The appointment of teaching, supervisory and administrative staff and other personnel
- The purchase of supplies and equipment
- The levying of taxes or the submission of estimates to some other body
- The adoption of courses of study
- The framing of regulations for the management of schools
- The enforcement of the school attendance law

Dekker and Van Schalkwyk (1996 : 558) reduced the functions of the local school board to the following:

- Collecting funds
- Acquiring premises and constructing buildings
- Providing curricula

- Employing teachers and administrative personnel
- Admitting pupils to schools

A school also has its own governance (site-based management) which will also come under scrutiny.

(d) The issue of site-based management

In essence, site-based management is an administrative style in which the principal involves the staff and the students in the running of the school. Proponents believe that people who are most affected by educational decisions ought to be involved in those decisions (McNergney and Herbert, 1998 : 196). Care should be taken not to allow it to generate into a populist management style where students take decisions in issues which are too big for them to handle. The students are still too young and inexperienced, and have not yet achieved liability in the eyes of the law (Steyn, De Klerk and Du Plessis, 1999 : 116). This handled carefully, leads to increased accountability (Cloete, 1993 : 23).

Site-based management occurs mostly in areas that are perceived as being in crisis (McNergney and Herbert, 1998 : 250). Examples of such places are Chicago (Illinois), Dade County (Florida) and Rochester (New York).

In wrapping up a discussion on liberal democracy, it is essential to penetrate to its essential characteristics and how these have a bearing on educational practice. Table 2.3 represents a phenomenological analysis of the previous discussion on liberal school governance in the U.S.A.

TABLE 2.3 : A PHENOMENOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF SCHOOL GOVERNANCE IN AMERICA

No	Characteristic	Definition	Educational practice
1.	Decentralized state	Power vested in local agencies	Local bodies run education
2.	Decentralized control of education	Control of education by local bodies and not the Federal Government	Schools run by State Boards of Education and District Boards of Education
3.	Individualization	Individuals receive more attention	Creation of a learning environment that meets individual needs
4.	Diversified curricula	Many study directions	A wide variety of subjects and study directions to choose from
5.	Representativeness	Representative of the will of the people	The inclusion of a wider spectrum of people in school governance
6.	Restricted federal intervention	The involvement of federal government on a limited scale	Federal Government's effort in maintaining national standards in maths and science

The meanings of democracy differ, depending on who defines it and for what purpose. In the next section, another type of "democracy", namely communism, will be analysed.

2.2.2 Russia as an Example of Communism and Enlightenment

2.2.2.1 Background information

Russia is the greatest state in the Commonwealth of Independent States, occupying 75% of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). It is by far the largest country in the world, covering an area of 19 068 000 square kilometres. It has one of the largest populations in the world, numbering 147 400 000 (Dekker and Van Schalkwyk, 1996 : 225).

Dekker and Van Schalkwyk further point out that there are over 100 ethnic groups speaking different languages. The largest group is Russian (83%), with the rest of the country consisting of Tartars (4%) and Ukrainians (3%). Russian is the main language spoken by the majority of the population.

Before the demise of the USSR in 1991, of which Russia was a major component, rigid communism prevailed. There is a thin layer of demarcation between communism and social democracy. In its original form it was regarded as scientific socialism (Coulter, 1997 : 185). In conventional language and in literature books, the two concepts are used synonymously . Even the Soviet was referred to as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The USSR was a geopolitical entity (Thomas, 1992 : 43). However, there is a difference between socialism and communism.

Socialism is a preparatory stage where the state will be tutor of a new generation (Leach, 1993 : 156). The new generation comes after a revolution which overthrows an oppressive regime. Such a revolution took place in France in 1789 (French Revolution), in which the Bourbon monarchy was overthrown, and in March 1917 in Russia. During the March 1917 revolution in Russia, the czarist government collapsed and a provisional government was established (Random House College Dictionary, 1988 : 1156).

After the overthrow of the oppressive regime, which was dominated by the privileged class, the new generation will be dominated by the proletariat, which will ensure that no residue of the old society will remain to influence the new one (Leach, 11993 : 156). Everything will be swept away by the dictatorship of the proletariat utilising the power of the state. When this is pursued to the extreme, it ends up with a situation where the proletariat becomes the new oppressors. The state will wither away. The result will be a stateless society in which all would be equal and share equally in the

resources of the state. When the state has withered away, the entire world would unite into a vast world economy where all people would benefit (Coulter, 1997 : 191).

A society organized along these lines, results in real power residing in the Communist Party with its leader as the most powerful single individual in the country (Lipson, 1993 : 211). The USSR was under a strongly centralist communist government with a centralized education system. In 1985, the picture changed when Mikhael Gorbachev ascended the seat of power and introduced fundamental reforms, known as glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring). All in all, this was an invitation to think afresh, to change established policies and to experiment with new ones (Lipson, 1993 : 208). This led to decentralization on the political and educational terrain and a shift in the education aims which have hitherto been communist-orientated.

2.2.2.2 The aims of education

It is absolutely necessary to examine the aims of Russian education before the demise of communism to determine how far it has travelled along the road of democratization. The primary aim of education was to create the New Soviet Union Man - a dedicated socialist, who would produce according to his abilities and consume according to his needs (Vos and Brits, 1990 : 131). Vos and Brits identify the following aims:

- Intellectual education and materialistic outlook on life
- Moral education aimed at elevating the development of conscious socialist morality in every individual, which includes love for work and love for the country and its peoples
- Polytechnic education aimed at eliminating the differences in esteem with which mental and physical work are reviewed, with emphasis on productive labour

- Aesthetic education aimed at promoting appreciation for different forms of art
- Physical education aimed at promoting strong and healthy individuals

Dekker and Van Schalkwyk (1996 : 241) put them differently. According to them, the aims were:

- A love of knowledge and work should be imparted to pupils and they should be taught to respect people who work
- The communist life view should be instilled in pupils
- Pupils should be educated in the spirit of communist morality and be taught to be infinitely loyal to the country and its people
- Pupils should be guided towards a spirit of proletarian internationalism

Everything was geared towards building a communist society. Dekker and Van Schalkwyk further point out that the pupils should display the following characteristics:

- They should be well-versed in Marxist-Leninist ideas
- They should respect Soviet law and socialist order
- They should be skilled in different fields of economic and social-cultural construction
- They should participate actively in social and state activities
- They should be ready to defend the social fatherland selflessly
- They should guard and promote the country's material and spiritual well-being

Table 2.4 is a phenomenological description of Russian education during communism.

TABLE 2.4 : A PHENOMENOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF RUSSIAN EDUCATION DURING COMMUNISM

No.	Characteristic	Definition	Educational practice
1.	Centralized	Control vested in one central authority	Control of education by the Communist Party
2.	Communism	Zero-tolerance of non-communist education	Learners to be well-versed in Marxist-Leninist ideas
3.	Patriotism	Readiness to defend fatherland	Learners to be taught that the Soviet Union is the greatest in the world
4.	Loyalty	Readiness to accept the country's law	Learners taught to guard and promote the country's well-being
5.	Love for workers	Emphasis on productive labour	Learners taught to respect workers
6.	Materialism	Emphasis on a strong economy	Learners to be skilled in different fields of economic activity
7.	Physical fitness	Production of healthy and strong individuals	Learners' participation in cultural activities and sports
8.	Social education	Provision of moral, intellectual and polytechnic education	Learners' acquisition of a conscious scientific and materialistic outlook on life

Communism began losing ground as an absolute ideology (Vos and Brits, 1990 : 131). This had an influence on education. In 1983, education came under increasing scrutiny and criticism. The criticism was directed at the authoritarian nature of schooling, which resulted in formalism, superficial learning and the inability of pupils to innovate (Dekker and Van Schalkwyk, 1996 : 229). That necessitated reforms. Those reforms were implemented in the form of five year plans. Throughout Soviet history, five year plans set the standard for all political, economic and social policy (Thomas, 1992 : 45). The most important of these five year plans was the Thirteenth Five-Year Plan. It was founded on the 1988 educational

reforms, which were based upon the realisation that fundamental change was required throughout the entire education system. Thomas (1992 : 53) describes those reforms in terms of the desired output of the education system and on the implementation services required for producing the output.

(1) Output objectives

- The development programme should initiate democratization of the school by promoting
  - free choice of leadership
  - free choice of teaching methods
  - new teaching methods that would encourage humanistic relationships
  - freedom of students to choose their future vocations
- The development programme should improve the quality of learning by
  - diversifying classroom content
  - diversifying classroom conduct
- The development programme should improve the relevance of instruction in terms of
  - upbringing education
  - aesthetic education
  - technical education
  - closing the gap between social science and real life
  - upgrading youth organizations

(2) Implementation of services

- If the output goals are to be attained, improvements are needed in the quality and quantity of

  - teachers, administrators and supervisors
  - new curricula and textbooks
  - buildings, equipment and supplies
  - material incentives for upgrading the teaching profession
  - organizational structures responsible for providing the above

- These developments led the USSR State Committee on Public Education to adopt the following goals in 1888:

  - To maximize the development of the child's abilities
  - To further the humanization of education
  - To achieve the all-round democratization of education by having teachers, parents and students play a greater role in governance (Dekker and Van Schalkwyk, 1996 : 242)

- In addition to the above, the Congress of the People's Deputies of the USSR gathered in Moscow in the summer of 1988 and decided to introduce the following changes in the classroom, which were a radical departure from original communism (Educational Forum, Vol. 63, No. 3, Spring 1999 : 220):

  - Abolishing student uniforms and initiating freer, more flexible rules for classroom behaviour

- Students were no longer required to stand at attention when responding to the teacher or await the teacher's permission to be seated
- Teachers were no longer responsible for injecting Marxist-Leninist philosophy or the party line
- Teachers were allowed to deviate from textbooks and use their own materials from sources of their own choosing
- Both teachers and students could question and learn about errors and crimes in past Soviet regimes
- Teachers were told that their methods of instruction should allow young people to solve varied problems systematically (Educational Forum, Vol. 63, No. 3, Spring 1999 : 222)

- Educational Forum, Vol. 63, No. 3, Spring 1999 also states that the importance of global education was emphasized for the following reasons:

  - It teaches about the interdependence of world cultures
  - It increases social and cultural awareness and communications
  - It transforms and integrates a culture and a nation into a world community and from a closed society to an open one
  - It provides an opportunity to study one's own culture in the light of other world cultures
  - It provides a humanistic, interdisciplinary approach
  - It provides a way of structuring the core curriculum

- It assists in the development of a project culture (including separate national identities and across national borders
- It increases the possibility to integrate critical thinking skills into an integrated curriculum

Table 2.5 illustrates the characteristics and educational practices of Russian education during democratization.

TABLE 2.5 : A PHENOMENOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF RUSSIAN EDUCATION DURING DEMOCRATIZATION

No.	Characteristic	Definition	Educational practice
1.	Decentralization	Control by state and local bodies	Control of education by state and local bodies
2.	Anti-communist	Discrediting communism	Teachers and learners could question errors of the Soviet Union
3.	Democratization	Promotion of democratic principles	Cultivation of critical learning skills in learners
4.	Interdependence	Getting to know other cultures	A humanistic, inter-disciplinary approach to learning
5.	Individualization	Recognition of individual differences	A wide variety subjects to choose from
6.	Freedom	Opposed to communist authoritarianism	Flexible teaching methods and choice of textbooks
7.	Autonomy	Minimum state interference	Schools run by school councils

The administration and control of education also followed the same pattern as the aims.

2.2.2.3 The administration and control of education in Russia

The political situation that prevailed in Russia during the time of communism, is giving way to democratization. Presently, communism is losing ground as ideology (Vos and Brits, 1990 : 131). During the time of communism, the national education policy originated in the Presidium, elected by the Supreme Soviet. In keeping with communism, laws on education issued by the Supreme Soviets of the USSR were binding to all republics (Vos and Brits, 1990 : 132). There was a single Ministry of Education (Ministerro Prosveshscheniya) for the whole Soviet Union. The main purpose of the single ministry was for the overall synchronization of effort in tackling problems in a uniform way (Holmes, 1985 : 141). This arrangement contributed towards ensuring a communist education for all children and youth.

Vos and Brits (1990 : 132) point out that the Ministry of Education in the USSR was affected by three channels:

- Pre-school education, general education and the development of the pedagogical sciences in the country fell under the Ministry of Education of the USSR
- Specialized secondary and higher education fell under the Ministry of Education of the USSR
- Vocational-technical education fell under the State Committee of the Council of Ministers of the USSR for Vocational Technical Education
- Promotion and coordination of pedagogical science and research in the country
- Elaboration and carrying out of measures on the further development and improvement of the system of people's education and presenting the corresponding proposals for the consideration of the government

- Specification of targets for the current and long-term educational plans in collaboration with the Councils of Ministers of the republics
- Determining the content of general secondary polytechnic education and labour training of the pupils
- Improvement of the education curricula for secondary schools of general education
- Preparation and publishing of school textbooks
- Rendering assistance to republics of the Union in improving the management of schools and pre-school and tertiary education establishments
- Fostering improvement in the professional skills of teachers and other workers in education
- Development of foreign relations in the field of education

Oblast (regional) and raion (district) control of education, school committees and parent associations existed under the watchful eye of the Communist Party. The course of events took a new direction after the 1988 educational reforms which initiated democratic principles in leadership, teaching methods and interpersonal relationships (Thomas, 1992 : 59). The nature of administration became more flexible and less autocratic (Dekker and Van Schalkwyk, 1996 : 242). With the disintegration of the USSR, Russia is now composed of a Commonwealth of Independent States and each is now responsible for its own education. The system of state managerial bodies now supervising education, consists of the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation, local ministries of education, local boards of education, main administrations, committees and departments at regional level, krai (municipal) level as well as administrative structures of governance for autonomous republics.

Dekker and Van Schalkwyk (1996 : 242) identify the following functions of the new Ministry of Education:

- Implementing an integrated policy in the areas of pre-school, vocational, specialized secondary and extra-mural institutions, the training and retraining of teachers, promoting research in education
- Providing development of a new core content of education corresponding to global standards of education for all types of educational institutions
- Implementing a federally designed personnel policy aimed at effective training, retraining and employment of qualified workers and specialists
- Representing the interests of the Russian Federation in the field of education within the Commonwealth of Independent States as well as on an international level
- Providing an expert evaluation of federal and local projects and programmes

At present, a large premium is placed on decentralization:

> "It is widely thought that the time of unitary management is past, because it was linked to administrative command methods of management, formalism and excessive organization in school affairs, and that the introduction of democratic principles maximize decentralization (Soviet Education, Vol. 32, No. 7, July 1990 : 27).

Soviet Education further points out that the centralization of power is undemocratic and therefore detrimental to restructuring of the school system, and out of step with the spirit of the times. From this statement it can justifiably be concluded that the spirit of the times is democracy.

> "The practical adoption of a four-level model of organization (school principal, his deputies, members of administration and self-government at all levels) created favourable conditions for turning the teaching and upbringing activities carried out via the school, the family and the social environment in to a pedagogically administered process" (Soviet Education, Vol. 33, No. 7, July 1990 : 32)

Despite the inclination towards decentralization, breaking with the past is very difficult. The party is still serving in the role of the political guarantor of school self-administration. Soviet Education indicates that, among others, the party still plays the following roles:

- It stands up for the strategic interests of pedagogical collective and students
- It studies and resolves actual conflicts in school life
- It supports everything that is useful and valuable that is brought forth by the process of self-government
- Along with representatives of the school council, the trade union committees and parent committees, it is working through strategic problems of mapping out prospective directions, the content, forms and methods of pedagogical interaction and the criteria of its effectiveness at particular stages of collectives development.

The disintegration of the Soviet Union and the subsequent movement to replace communism with capitalism and democracy, have profoundly affected Russian education and society (Education Forum, Vol. 63, No.3, Spring 1999). One of the local administrative structures brought about by this transformation is the school councils.

Many school councils have been set up in many regions. In some places they were set up as substitutes for pedagogical councils and parents' and student committees. Among Moscow school councils, educators make up 68,4%, students make up 2,6% and the rest consists of parents and representatives of the labour collectives and public organizations (Russian Education and Society, July 1992 ; 90).

The above developments show the vast territory Russia has already traversed in the democratization process. School councils represent a wide spectrum of Russian society that encourages participation. In a democracy, participation is encouraged (Coulter, 1997 : 21). Thus, every person will make known personal questions, beliefs or convictions about the activity of each public institution and also the officials who work in these institutions (Cloete, 1993 : 40).

Although the school councils are a Russian version of the much-acclaimed South African Parents, Teachers and Student Associations (PTSA), they meet with resistance from other quarters of Russian society. Opponents of school councils hold that:

> "... hypertrophied decentralization in administration is fraught with disorderliness and chaos in work and lack of coordination in administrative and upbringing activities, leading to conflict situations in the collective and regular disruption in work" (Soviet Education, Vol. 32, No. 7, July 1990 : 34).

Russian Education and Society (July 1992 : 90) lists the following functions of school councils:

- The school councils organize school meetings
- They organize school excursions

- They organize student concerts and the work of special interest circles and sections
- They organize work with parents, students' meals, open-door days and propaganda for pedagogical knowledge
- They draft school curricula and run examinations
- They draft the school's long-range plans and see to the protection of students' health
- They are concerned with the welfare of teachers
- They play a role in the organization of joint activities outside class

The sweeping powers that school councils have, have created an intolerable discrepancy between rights and obligations (Russian Education and Society, July 1992 : 95). Disciplining students has become an extremely difficult task. Russian Education and Society states:

> "Students are free to enrol or transfer to any school that has free places available throughout the school year, in any class, to select profiles of instruction that are available in that school, to determine the form, pace and frame for mastery of the compulsory level of education ... they are offered to take an examination in any subject in the event that they do not agree with the year's grades, and so on."

This leads one to conclude that, at present, Russian education is in a state of confusion. There is yet another type of democracy that is sandwiched between liberal and communist democracies. It contains the elements of both. That democracy is called social democracy. A study of this political arrangement will be undertaken in the next subsection.

2.2.3 FRANCE AS AN EXAMPLE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

2.2.3.1 Background information

France, with a population of 58 million (I am going to France [IGF], 1995 - 1996), has a long history of centralization. The French tradition of central control can be traced back to the centralization tendency manifested in the Roman Empire before Christ (Vos and Brits, 1990 : 119). Vos and Brits point out that the Roman Catholic Church, whose doctrines still form part of every man's way of thinking, perpetuated a centralized and hierarchical form of administration. Barnard (194 : 121) claim that " voor die Franse Rewolusie het konings en kardinale alle staatkundige en kerklike aangeleenthede onderskeidelik outoritêr beheer". (Kings and cardinals ruled autocratically over France before the French Revolution.)

Historians argue that the first signs of democracy appeared in France in 1789 with the overthrow of the Ancien Regime during the French Revolution. The French Revolution began in 1789 with the overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy and ended with Napoleon's seizure of power (Random House College Dictionary, 1988 : 528). The meeting of the Etats Generoux (Estates General) in 1789, turned into what was to become known as the Assembleè Constituants, or "Constituent Assembly" (IGF, 1995 - 1996 : 17). Feudal rights were abolished, a Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed, and a parliamentary monarchy instituted. After the French Revolution, France went through the vicissitudes of an empire under Napoleon (1804 - 1830), the 1830 to 1848 revolts, which resulted in the fall of the monarchy and the Second Empire under Napoleon III up to his fall in 1870. Thereafter, France remained a republic up to the present. The 1958 constitution gave France a system which is a hybrid between a presidential and a parliamentary regime (Harrop, 1995 : 27). This is characteristic of social democracy. France is a republic whose

president is elected directly by the people (World Association of Travel [Wata], 4/10/1999 : 1 of 8). In keeping with social democracy, he names the prime minister, who is responsible to him and to parliament.

Believers in social democracy hold that all are equal in a democracy, the democratic will is the communal will, and democracy is grounded in the free choice of the individual (Eccleshall, et al. 1994 : 96). Eccleshall further points out that socialism is seen as providing a climate in which the great and historically revolutionary values of liberalism can flourish. Socialism does not reject the principle of liberalism. It claims that it can fulfil them.

Confirming the above, Foley (1994 : 21) asserts that:

> "Social democracy could be said to be an attempts to put in place a structure of rules, mechanisms and institutions which will have the effect of breaking up concentration of power and restoring and redistributing it to those who lost it".

A country's political arrangements almost invariably have an influence on the education aims. The next subsection will be devoted to an examination of the aims of education in France.

2.2.3.2 The aims of education in France

"'n Sekulêre staatskoolstelsel verskaf gratis onderwys aan alle leerlinge vanaf hull sesde tot hulle 16de lewensjaar" (Barnard, 1984 : 126). France has a system of secular education which provides free education to every child between the ages of six and sixteen (Vos and Brits, 1990 : 123). The aims of the French educational system are as follows:

- To promote equal opportunities (Postlewaite, 1995 : 332)
- Preparing the youth to meet future economic challenges and to provide qualified personnel needed for the economy
- The law of orientation No. 89 of July 10, 1989, states : "To lead within ten years the whole of an age group at least to the level of the certificate of professional capacity (CAPE) or patent of professional studies (BEP) and 80% for the level of the baccalaureate" (Wata, 4/10/1999 : 1 of 8).
- France has a peculiarly French institution - the Grandes Ecoles. The curricula are geared to the constant evolution of scientific and economic affairs in the world, and the continual advancement of knowledge (Vos and Brits, 1990 : 129).
- Students undergo academic and technical training to meet future challenges. Academic training takes place at L'ecole secondaire and technical training at Sections de Techniciens Superior and the Institutes Universitaires de Technology (IGF, 1995 - 1996 : 111). There are 1 700 schools across France.
- IGF further points out that, in the field of research, the research budget equals 2,4% of the gross domestic product. Examples of research centres are the Public Scientific and Technical Institutions, the National Scientific Research Centre, the National Health and Medical Research Institute, the National Institute for Agricultural Research and the Louis Pasteur Institute, which was founded at the initiative of Louis Pasteur in 1887.

In keeping with social democracy, France has a centralised administration of education.

2.2.3.3 The administration of French education

What strikes the eye at once when one examines the French education

system, is its high degree of centralization (Meyer, 1969 : 205). In supporting this claim, Barnard (1984 : 122) asserts that "Frankryk dien as 'n voorbeeld van 'n demokratiese staat met 'n hoog gesentraliseerde onderwysstelsel". The outstanding feature of French government and education, is centralization (Vos and Brits, 1990 : 120). It is by historical tradition extremely centralized (Wata, 4/10/99 : 2 of 8). Wata further points out that as from 1982, France was engaged in a significant action of decentralization, which deeply modified the field of respective attributions of public administration and local authorities. Despite that, in keeping with social democracy, the state plays a significant role.

> "This bureaucratic national education system is, however, not intended to indoctrinate and subjugate the individual to the will of the state, but rather to foster national solidarity and a spirit of unity among its citizens" (Vos and Brits, 1990 : 120).

Educational administration in France takes place on four levels, namely national, regional, departmental and communalistic.

(a) National control of education

The Ministry of Education's control over education is almost total (Postlewaite, 1995 : 335). Within the government, the Minister of National Education, Search and Technology is responsible for education policies (Wata, 4/10/99 : 2 of 8). He is a cabinet member. Social democracy professes thoroughness in its activities. It comes as no surprise that the minister is assisted by the deputy minister in charge of school teaching. Wata further points out that the Minister of Youth and Sports, as well as the minister in charge of culture, contributes to the organization of

education actions for the benefit of young people.

Machinery has been created which is capable of dealing with every phase of the nation's education. Through this system, the state has extended control over every school in France, with the result that the local autonomy and initiative in education as it exits in the U.S.A. and England, is unknown to the French. This system is seen to stress hierarchy, authority and uniformity (Holmes, 1985 : 69). There are, however, regional divisions which merit attention.

(b) Regional control of education

For educational purposes, France "is verdeel in sowat 25 streke of onderwyssdistrikte wat as akademies bekend staan" (Barnard, 1984 : 123). (France is divided into about 25 regions or educational districts.) GF puts the number of academies at 21. This includes the territorial entity of Corsica. Regions are governed by Counsel Regional, whose president and councillors are elected by universal suffrage. In the domain of education, a region, called an academie, is headed by a recteur. In keeping with social democracy, the recteur is appointed by the Minister of Education and is solely responsible to it (Holmes, 1985 : 70). Recteurs also supervise over the allocation of staff to primary and lower secondary schools. They also see to it that national education policy is implemented in all schools under their control (Vos and Brits, 1990 :121).

France has a system of inspection. Vos and Brits point out that inspectors-general form an important link between the Minister of Education and the schools. In keeping with social democracy, they ensure uniformity throughout France as regards curricula, syllabuses, teaching methods and education requirements (Vos

and Brits, 1990 : 121). In addition, "hulle evalueer die onderwyser en dra nuwe gedagtes aan hulle oor" (Barnard, 1984). (They evaluate teachers and impart new ideas to them.)

The academies are divided into départments.

(c) Départments

Continental France has 96 départments (IGF, 1995 -1996 : 26). In addition, there are four overseas départments - Guadeloupe, Martinique, Reunion and French Guyana - and the overseas territories of French Polynesia, New Caledonia, Mayotte, Saint Pierre et Miquelon, Wallis and Futuna, Terre Adelle, the Kerguelen Islands, Crozet and Saint Paul

The départments are governed by a counseil general, whose president and councillors are elected by universal suffrage. Départments are territorial communities represented by an elected assembly. On the educational plane, départments are headed by an inspecteur d' academie, who is responsible to the recteur (Vos and Brits, 1990 : 123). The inspector is also known as a prefect. "Die prefek is die permanente hoof- uitvoerende beampte in die departement met betrekking tot voor-sekondêre onderwys" (Barnard, 1984 : 125). (A prefect is a permanent chief executive officer of the département in charge of post-secondary education.)

The départments are divided into arrondisements (327), cantons (3 828) and communes (36 551) (IGF, 1995 - 1996 : 26). The communes will be examined next.

(c) Communes

A commune is the smallest French political administrative unit (Vos and Brits, 1990 : 123). This is the unit of general local government in France (Holmes, 1985 : 70). Every commune is run by the mayor and the council (Barnard, 1984 : 126). Some of these communes are large towns and others are small. The mayor and his council are elected by universal suffrage (IGF, 1995 - 1996 : 26). In keeping with social democracy, the municipal council has responsibilities but few powers. The municipality provides buildings and maintenance and renders non-pedagogical services to primary and junior secondary schools, but it has no influence on teaching matters.

At school level, the task of implementing government policy rests on the shoulders of the head of the institution, assisted by the deputy. The head of the institution draws up the estimates and submits these to the authorities. He also informs the authorities about the number of teachers required at his school. The deputy supervises over the day to day running of the school. "'n Resente ontwikkeling is die erkenning van aktiewe deelname van die ouers en leerlinge in die skool se bedrywighede" (Barnard, 1984 : 126). (Recently, parental involvement in school affairs has been acknowledged and actively encouraged) (Vos and Brits, 1990 : 123). Vos and Brits further point out that parents, together with teachers, form committees and societies which are actively involved in school affairs. Table 2.6 illustrates a phenomenological analysis of French education.

TABLE 2.6 : A PHENOMENOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF FRENCH EDUCATION

No.	Characteristic	Definition	Educational practice
1.	Centralization	Authority vested in a central government	Authority vested in central Ministry of Education
2.	Decentralization	Division into departments and communes	Local bodies strictly adhere to central government directives
3.	Freedom	Nation free to elect leaders	Election of school governing bodies to be appointed by the state
4.	Individualization	Recognition of individual differences	Provision for a wide variety of study directions
5.	Socialization	Recognition of nationhood	Activities that encourage French patriotism
6.	Representativeness	Representative of the will of the people	Formation of parents/teachers committees

African democracy will also be examined briefly to establish if it shares any common features with liberal, communist or social democracy. A detailed account of African democracy will be given in chapter four of this study.

2.2.4 AFRICAN DEMOCRACY

2.2.4.1 Background information

The most widely accepted definition of democracy is that democracy is the government of the people, by the people, for the people (Gyekye, 1997 : 124). The notion "people" is central to any definition of democracy. Gyekye further states that democracy is judged by the degree of adequacy allowed for the expression of the will of the people. The concept of democracy is therefore associated with what people do in their daily existence (culture).

African culture, and by implication democracy in the true sense of the word, does not exist anymore today (2001). What Africans have today, is a blend of the African way of life and the European type of democracy. This invariably kindled fire after the departure of the European colonizers, as Africa was occupied by foreign powers in the past. The following is a brief look at democracy the African way.

2.2.4.2 Democracy the African way

A pure African democracy does not have complex administrative structures. The African democracy structure is pyramidal. At the base is a family unit headed by the father. In keeping with African custom, the father's authority cannot be challenged. He has a final say in matters related to his household. He has power to punish his children if they misbehave. If verbal reprimand does not bear fruit, he may resort to corporal punishment in the hope that it would help them to become good, well-behaved adults.

Many families together constitute a village. In a typical African village, the inhabitants are related to one another, with almost 75% having the same surname. A village may be regarded as an extended family ruled over by a headman and a council of elders, all of which are his brothers and uncles. Each individual's interest is jealously safe-guarded by his kin-group (Ayisi, 1979 : 59). The headman or chief come from a lineage whose forefathers founded that village (Gyekye, 1997 : 121).

The council of elders is an advisory body. Before the matter is presented to the community, its pros and cons are debated by the headman and a council of elders until consensus is reached. The meeting is presided over by a headman. The councillors freely discuss all matters affecting the village (Gyekye, 1997 : 123). Gyekye further points out that, in the case of a disagreement, the council would continue to listen to

arguments until consensus is reached. A consensus reached at such a meeting makes no room for dissent. This is the essence of African democracy.

A Northern Sotho adage states that go nyatsa kgosi ke go thotha (those who do not respect the king/chief/headman, must leave the village). The most obvious reason is that consensus for every chief's/headman's command was reached democratically.

Many villages fall under a chieftaincy where the pattern outlined above repeats itself. It is ruled over by a chief. A chief is a tribal leader, a chief official of government or an arbiter of nations (Themane, 1989 : 30). Every chief is held in honour by all people. Some of the virtues expected of chiefs are generosity, kindness, humility, respect for elders, fecundity and respect for ancestral spirits (Ayisi, 1979 : 62).

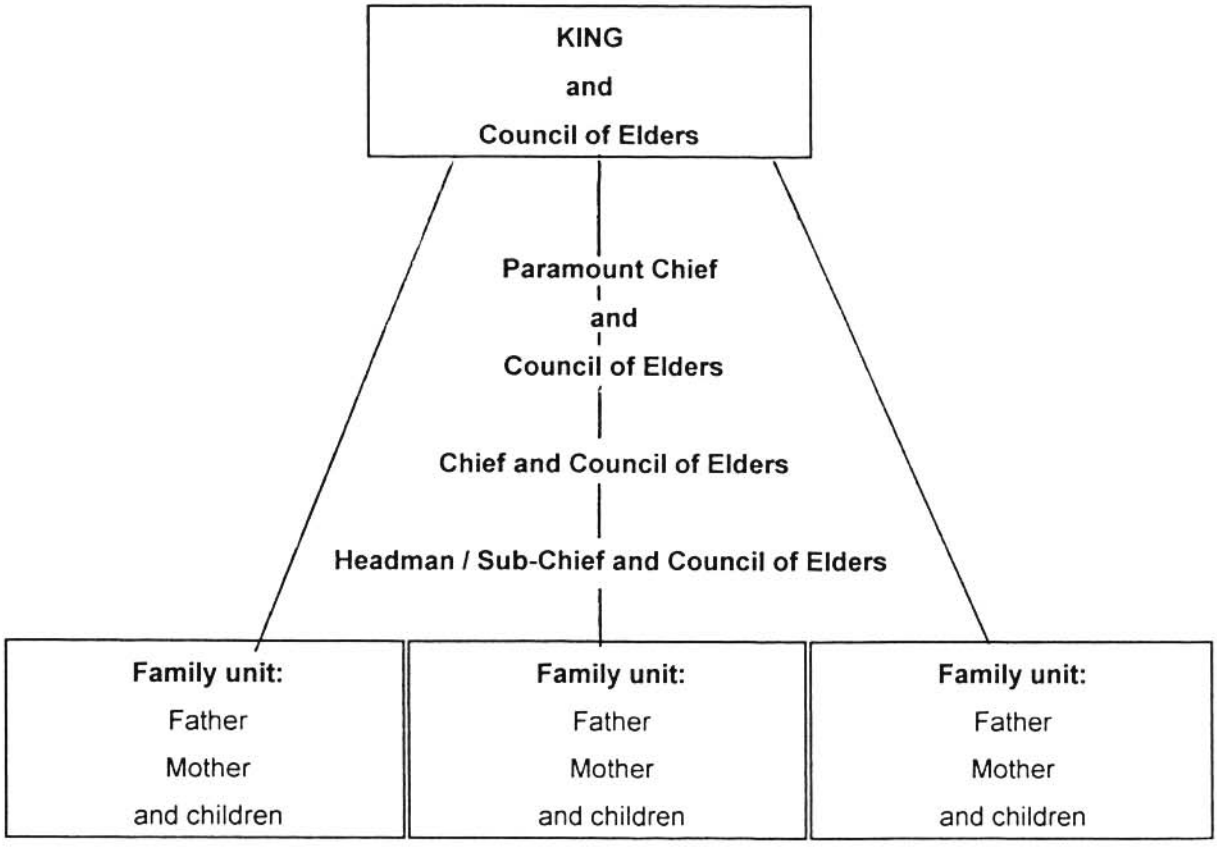
Succession to the high office of the chief is hereditary. The system of voting is generally unknown (Elliot, 1978 : 98). This imposes a limitation on the people's choice of rulers. However, if the people are not happy with the manner in which the chief rules over them, they have the power to remove him (Gyekye, 1997 : 125). The following elements of democracy are identified by Gyekye (1997 : 125):

- The tribe accepts the chief if it is satisfied with his rule
- The chief cannot adhere stubbornly to his views, policies and actions in the teeth of opposition from councillors and subjects
- On his ascension to the throne, the chief/king pledges that he would rule according to the customs and conventions of the tribe

This mounts to a political contract, an agreement between people and their ruler, which constitutes the basis of the legitimate exercise of political power. At all assemblies, there is free expression of opinions.

When European democracy, with a system of elected leaders, is imposed on Africans, controversies and conflicts arise. European democracy threatens the position of chiefs and kings, as it was pointed out by the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALESA) in the news media (Sowetan, July 17, 2000). This prompted the Department of Constitutional Development to release a White Paper on traditional leaders. The conflict is caused by the fact that the two systems do not readily lend themselves to reconciliation. In the countdown to the April 27, 1994 elections, this was a major bone of contention between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), led by Zulu Paramount Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, and the African National Congress (ANC), led by Nelson Mandela. The IFP joined the election race at the eleventh hour, after its withdrawal from the talks on July 17, 1993, when the ANC failed to accede to the IFP's demand for international mediation (SABC-TV. July 17, 1993). Figure 2.4 shows a typical African democracy.

FIGURE 2.4 : TYPICAL STRUCTURE OF AN AFRICAN DEMOCRACY



The next subsection will be devoted to an examination of the African traditional school.

2.2.4.3 The African (traditional) school

A general study of African traditional life reveals that dominating relations between individuals is the whole pattern of mutuality, cooperation and long-run reciprocities in the social structure (Daryll, 1991 : 75). From childhood, children were taught simple things such as greetings and respecting elderly people. They were taught to regard every male adult as their father and every adult female as their mother. Adults had the ingane yami eyakhu (my child is your child) attitude (City Press, December 1999). (Their authority could not be questioned).

At puberty, girls (who had to be virgins) participated in rain-calling ceremonies. Boys of that age were also introduced to tribal life activities such as hunting and herding cattle.

(a) An initiation school was run by a celebrated herbalist who was assisted by a team of instructors. Instruction was adapted to the life and ideas of the people hence it was simple and direct (Themane, 1989 : 31). Themane (1989 : 31) asserts: "Thus the young ones learnt very easily and very spontaneously." There was a clear-cut separation between the initiates, instructors and a herbalist. This was in keeping with African democracy (vide 2.2.4.2).

The herbalist was the principal, the initiates the learners, and the instructors were teachers. It is worth stating that the instructors practised team-teaching and mass education. The initiates could not question the instructor's authority. Instructors and initiates who were disobedient, were punished mercilessly. Teaching, therefore,

took place without any resistance from the recipients and instructors. The subject matter was readily internalized and became part and parcel of their value system long after graduation. This system of education also fostered national pride and aimed at preserving national culture which contained languages of blacks (Themane, 1989 : 31). With this in mind, the aims of the African (traditional) schools will be examined next.

(b) Aims of African (traditional) schools

The dominating philosophy among Africans is "I am because we are, and since we are, therefore I am"(Gyekye, 1997 : 52). With this in mind, Themane (1989 : 32) identified the following aims of initiation schools:

- Initiation schools repressed variation rather than promote it
- It gave the black man the ability to control the environment
- A large group of initiates received instruction at the same time - mass education
- At the initiation school, the initiates were brought into direct and intimate contact with the history, law, customs and philosophy of the tribe
- Girls were prepared for domestic duties and child-bearing

At the termination of initiation, they set on fire their makeshift shelter and walk (or run) without looking back, symbolically turning their backs on their childhood (Van Rooyen, 1998 : 19). Table 2.7 represents a phenomenological analysis of African democracy.

TABLE 2.7 : A PHENOMENOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF AFRICAN DEMOCRACY

No.	Characteristic	Definition	Educational practice
1.	Centralized	Control by a central authority	Control of education by chief/headman
2.	Autonomy	Limited control by local bodies	Control of education by herbalist and instructors at initiation school
3.	Transparency	Involvement of all stakeholders	Involvement of all stakeholders except initiates
4.	Freedom	Freedom of choice	No freedom of choice. Those who do not attend the school, are not regarded as adults
5.	Individualization	Recognition of individual	Individual behaviour judged in terms of group behaviour
6.	Socialization	Group spirit and group solidarity	There is ample evidence - mass education

(c) Ubuntu

It is not possible to speak about African traditional education without saying anything about ubuntu. Loosely translated, ubuntu means friendliness towards neighbours and strangers or community spirit in the Nguni languages. The Africans are a communal unity (Olupana, 1991 : 41). Ubuntu is not learnt at an initiation school. It is something that is cultivated in children by both parents and the community. The individual's behaviour is judged in relation to the group or community behaviour.

Ubuntu is made possible by the African system of kinship. In African communities kinship extending throughout the nation was created by the royal family and the king, with the king acting as symbolic parent (Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, 1956 : 85). This pattern repeated itself down to the family level.

In line with ubuntu, marriages involved negotiations between two families, with the man's family taking the initiative (Schapera, 1970 : 134 and Mbiti, 1990 : 132). After the two families had reached an agreement, the man's family would send lobola (payment in the form of cattle) to the girl's family. A girl was expedted to be a virgin on marriage (Das, 1993 : 30). Sexually transmitted diseases were a rare occurrence as opposed to the sexual indecency taking place in the name of democracy today.

In keeping with ubuntu, parents and their kin group not only involved themselves in the marriage process of their daughter and son but also, particularly if their kin groups were related, ensured as best as they could that the marriage was stable and prosperous (Das, 1993 : 28).

The husband was described as the owner of his wife (Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, 1956 : 91). However, he could not do with her as he wished without being called to account not only by his kinsmen but also by the wife's own family. While he was the legal head of the home, she was entitled to some definite considerations.

In line with ubuntu, the man was responsible for the welfare of his children and his wife (Das, 1993 : 28). He fed and clothed them and provided them with shelter. This differed greatly from what happens today in modern democracies where many street children roam the streets.

Children were expected to respect their parents (Das, 1993 : 30). This respect was extended to other members of the family and community at large. The community also reciprocated. The ingani yami eyakhu (my child is your child) attitude ramified the

whole community (City Press, December 5, 1999). Today the picture has changed completely. Children no more respect their parents, let alone other members of the community. The South African constitution guarantees them rights which sometimes far surpass those enjoyed by their parents.

Ubuntu not only kept the family together, it also kept communities together. When a phenomenological researcher examines ubuntu, he/she sees the following:

- Community spirit initiated by the king/chief/headman and the royal family
- Kinship throughout the tribe or nation
- Negotiated marriages involving two families
- Involvement of relatives in the lives of newly married couples to ensure peace and prosperity
- Friendliness between a man and a woman's family
- A husband as an authority, and equality between husband and wife when they grow older and become dependent on their children
- Children's respect for parents and other members of the community
- Children's education being a joint responsibility of parents and the community

2.3 CONCLUSION

The four different types of democracies reviewed, have one thing in common - the people are a central notion in all four. The involvement of people happens at varying degrees.

In the Unites States, which is an example of liberal democracy, there is no national

system of education. Each of the fifty states has its own education system (vide 2.2.1.3). Clabaugh (1990 : 408) summarizes it as follows: "They are a federal concern, a state responsibility and conducted with local control." This is keeping with liberalism that there is no established truth (Macridis, 1996 : 25). The individual states are free to run their education in their own way and serve the best wishes of their respective states. The same spirit ramifies the whole nation up to local government level.

Although social, communist and African democracies are characterized by centralization, there is a measure of centralization and decentralization in the four types of democracies reviewed. The U.S.A. aims at imposing national standards through federal agencies such as NAEGEP and NAEP and administering tests such as SAT and ACTP. On the other hand, social democracy (France) and communist democracy (Russia) impose a measure of decentralization through academies, départments and communes (France), and oblast and raion control of education (Russia - vide 2.2.2.3).

African democracy encourages uniformity. In an African democracy, a child did not receive education from biological parents only. The ingane yami eyakhu (my child is your child) attitude pervaded the whole community (City Press, December 5, 1999). It was an acceptable practice for any adult member of the community to mete out punishment to any child if the objective for such punishment was to correct wrong-doing. This was practised even at traditional (African) schools. This system had the effect of producing law abiding citizens as the initiates were brought into intimate contact with the history, law, customs and philosophy of the tribe (vide 2.2.4.2.(b) supra.) Knowledgeable people claim that the strong kingdoms of Swaziland, Lesotho and Zululand were founded on the principles of African democracy (Davenport, 1991 : 11).

Against the background of the foregoing discussion, it can justifiably be concluded that the four types of democracies examined, though different, share certain characteristics.

Table 2.8 shows the universal essentials of democracy and Table 2.9 an integration of the four democracies.

TABLE 2.8 : UNIVERSAL ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF DEMOCRACY

No.	Characteristic	Definition	Educational practice
1.	Government by the people	People's freedom to choose leaders	Democratically elected school governing bodies
2.	Representativeness	Reflection of the country's demography	Diverse curricula to meet individual needs
3.	Majority rule	The reigns of power in the hands of the majority	School governing bodies representative of a wide cross-section
4.	Equality	All people to be regarded as equal before the law	Children to be taught to be tolerant of other countries
5.	Legitimacy	Acceptance by all stake-holders	Election of school governing bodies that enjoy acceptance
6.	Transparency	Playing open cards	Informing all stake-holders about major educational decisions
7.	Accountability	To be held responsible for all actions	Democratically elected principals and school governing bodies accountable to the people

TABLE 2.9 : AN INTEGRATED DESCRIPTION OF FOUR DEMOCRACIES

No.	Characteristics	Definition	Educational practice
1.	*Government by the people*	*Democratically elected government*	*Democratically elected school government bodies*
	U.S.A. : Liberal	People's freedom to elect leaders	People's freedom to elect school governing bodies
	France : Social	People's freedom to elect leaders	The Government's hand felt in the school governing bodies
	Russia : Communist	Power by the Communist Party	Influence of the Communist Party felt at every level of educational administration
	Russia : Enlightenment	People's freedom to elect leaders	Democratically elected school governing bodies
	Africa	Heredity rulers	Tribal-orientated education
2.	*Majority rule*	*The reigns of power in the hands of the majority*	*Provision of education dictated by the needs of the majority*
	U.S.A. : Liberal	The reigns of power in the hands of the majority	A comprehensive curriculum to meet individual needs
	France : Social	The reigns of power in the hands of the President	The influence of central government at every level of educational administration
	Russia : Communist	Rulership by the Communist Party	The influence of the Communist Party felt at all levels
	Russia : Enlightenment	The reigns of power in the hands of the majority	Regular elections of school councils
	Africa	Hereditary Chief and Council of Elders represent the majority	Traditional school run by herbalist and a team of instructors

3.	*Representativeness*	*Representing a cross-section of the population*	*Involvement of all educationally-interested parties*
	U.S.A. : Liberal	Representing a cross-section of the population	Involvement of all educationally-interested parties
	France : Social	Representing a cross-section of the population	The influence of a central education authority felt country-wide
	Russia : Communist	The Communist Party represents the nation (composed of workers)	The influence of the Communist Party felt country-wide
	Russia : Enlightenment	Representing a cross-section of the population	Involvement of educationally-interested parties
	Africa	Hereditary Chiefs and Council of Elders represent the tribe	Education provided in accordance with the needs of the tribe
4.	*Equality*	*All people regarded as equal before the law*	*Learners to be taught to be tolerant of other cultures*
	U.S.A. : Liberal	All people regarded as equal before the law	Learners to be taught to be tolerant of other cultures
	France : Social	All people regarded as equal before the law	Learners to be taught to be tolerant of other cultures
	Russia : Communist	All people regarded as equal before the law	Learners to be taught to be tolerant of other cultures
	Russia : Enlightenment	All people regarded as equal before the law	The provision of education that discredits communism
	Africa	Chief, Council of Elders and tribe not equal	The freedom engaged by the herbalist, instructors and initiates not equal
5.	*Legitimacy*	*Acceptance by all stake-holders*	*Election of school governing bodies that enjoy acceptance*
	U.S.A. : Liberal	Acceptance by all stake-holders	Election of school governing bodies that enjoy acceptance
	France : Social	Acceptance by all stake-holders	Election of school governing bodies that enjoy acceptance under the watchful eye of the Government

	Russia : Communist	Acceptance by the Communist Party and workers	School governing body that is answerable solely to the Communist Party
	Russia : Enlightenment	Acceptance by all stake-holders	Election of school governing bodies that enjoy acceptance
	Africa	Acceptance by the majority	The running of traditional schools in accordance with the wishes of the majority
6.	*Transparency*	*Playing open cards*	*Informing all stake-holders about major educational decisions*
	U.S.A. : Liberal	Playing open cards	Informing all stake-holders about major educational decisions
	France : Social	Playing open cards	Informing all stake-holders about what the Ministry of Education is doing for them
	Russia : Communist	There is very little of this	Informing the public about the communist propaganda in education
	Russia : Enlightenment	Playing open cards	Informing all stake-holders about major educational decisions
	Africa	Playing open cards	Informing all stake-holders about major educational decisions
7.	*Accountability*	*To be held responsible for all actions*	*Democratically elected principals and school governing bodies accountable to the people*
	U.S.A. : Liberal	To be held responsible for all actions	Democratically elected principals and school governing bodies accountable to the people
	France : Social	To be held responsible for all actions	Democratically elected principals and school governing bodies accountable to the Ministry of Education
	Russia : Communist	To be held responsible for all actions	Democratically elected principals and school governing bodies accountable to the Communist Party
	Russia : Enlightenment	To be held responsible for all actions	Democratically elected principal and school governing bodies accountable to the people
	Africa	To be held responsible for all actions	Democratically elected herbalist (traditional school principal) is accountable to the people

CHAPTER 3 : DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, the interwovenness of democracy and education was illustrated vividly. This interwovenness is made possible by an education policy. A policy is a general and goal-orientated statement of intent to act or behave in a particular manner when confronted with a given result within some point and time (Knezevich, 1984 : 278). An education policy is a statement of intent of the way in which identified educational needs of the target group are to be provided for. An educational system policy therefore represents the basis, the starting point for the establishment and coordination of the education system to meet the educational needs of the target group (Steyn, Steyn and De Waal, 1998 : 8). As a basis, its influence is felt mostly in schools. Duke (1991: 1) identifies seven conceptions of (school) policy. They are the following:

- Policy is an assertion of interests or goals
- Policy is the accumulated standing decisions of a governing body by which it regulates, controls, promotes services, and otherwise influences matters within its sphere of authority
- Policy is a guide to discretionary action
- Policy is a strategy undertaken to solve or ameliorate a problem
- Policy is sanctioned behaviour
- Policy is a norm of conduct characterized by consistency and regularity in some substantive action area
- Policy is the output of the policy-making system as it is explained by the client

A policy differs from a decision as follows:

- A policy is a guideline for decision-making to guide those who are involved in the implementation of planning (Mavhivha, 1998 : 8)

- A policy involves a bundle of decisions and how they are put into practice
- A policy is a definite course of action adopted for the sake of expediency and facility (Random House College Dictionary, 1998 : 1027)
- An education policy aims at expediting and facilitating education
- An education policy is brought about by legislation

An education policy involves much more than what meets the eye. It has an influence on finance, curriculum content, code of conduct, and management. As this chapter is devoted to the examination of democracy and education policy, it is absolutely necessary that the essence of democracy be looked into.

3.2 THE ESSENCE OF DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION

The concept "democracy" is restricted to the domain of man, in other words, it is never used to refer to the animal kingdom. Viewed phenomenologically, man is an anthropological ontological being. From the moment of birth to the moment of death, man is in a situation (Du Plooy, Griesel and Oberholzer, 1982 : 71). This is the original situation, or ontological situation, in which the educator and the educand or the educatee interact with a view to mutual realization of the human dignity of each other as presence at the reality of education (Killian and Viljoen, 1974 : 95). The word "situation" needs further clarification.

The word "situation" is derived from the Latin situs, meaning "geographically", "positioned" or "located" (Du Plooy, Griesel and Oberholzer, 1982 : 71). In this situation the educand (child) and the educator (adult) enter into relationships which characterize the educative process. These relationships occur in the form of essences and pedagogic structures which are conditions sine qua non (prerequisites) for man to gain a foothold on his life-world (Killian and Viljoen, 1974 : 161). The practitioners of pedagogics, like Kilian and Viljoen (1974 : 161), Du Plooy, Griesel and Oberholzer (1982 : 94) and Van Rensburg, Landman and Bodenstein (1994 : 543), identify the following pedagogic structures:

- Pedagogic relationship structures
- Pedagogic sequence structures
- Pedagogic activity structures
- Pedagogic aim structures

As these centre around the educator and the educand, it is necessary to briefly see how they work in the education situation. In the democratic education situation, the educator and the educand enter an existential relationship with a view to affirming each other's human dignity. Among others, this involves knowing, trusting and authority (Killian and Viljoen, 1974 : 163). The educand who, is a non-adult, is introduced by the adult into the value systems and philosophy of life and the community. At the same time, the educand sees in the educator the essence of adulthood. Gunter (1969 : 130) identifies the following characteristics of adulthood:

- Verantwoordelikheid (responsibility)
- Selfdissipline (self-discipline)
- Aanvaarding van, en bekwaamheid tot, die behoorlike verrigting van die eie lewenstaak (acceptance and execution of life duties).

The essential requirements for adulthood stated above, have a place in a democracy.

Democracy is a very popular word and virtually everyone is in favour of it. It is popular all over the world and it usually catches on quickly. Hitler's Nazis called themselves "true democrats" and the governments in the former USSR and in South Africa cast themselves in the form of democracies. Religious leaders and atheists, feminists and chauvinists, radicals and moderates, gays and straights, regard democracy as a sound system (Steyn, De Klerk and Du Plessis, 1999 : 2).

The following democratic values do have a direct influence on education policy:

- Tolerance and recognition of the views, needs and expectations of opponents

- Respect for equal rights and freedom for all
- Rejection of violence as a means of resolving differences
- The rights of free expression and criticism
- The rule of law
- Accepting responsibility for the welfare of minorities
- Acceptance of the requirement that people must peacefully choose and change their leaders for the maintenance and promotion of the general welfare (Cloete, 1993 : 4).

These values do have a direct influence on human rights:

- Citizenship and participation
- Administrative codes
- Publicity
- Social rights (vide 1.6.6)

Today (2001), the United Nations regards a democratic order as a system that embodies the following:

- Respect for life and for all human rights
- Rejection of violence and commitment to the prevention of violent conflicts through dialogue and negotiation
- Commitment to meeting the developmental needs of future generations
- Promotion of the equal rights and opportunities of women and men
- Recognition of the rights of everyone to freedom of expression, justice, democracy, tolerance, solidarity, cooperation, pluralism, cultural diversity and dialogue between individuals (Peace Magazine, March/April, 1999 : 7).

3.2.1 A Scientific View of Democracy

Phenomenologically, man's existence in the world can best be described as Dasein, meaning "being in the world" (Van Rensburg, Landman en

Bodenstein, 1994 : 351). Science is a tool used by man to have a firmer grip on his/her life-world. It promotes the occupational ways of living of the members of the community, group, or nation (Du Plooy, Griesel and Oberholzer, 1982 : 195).

Although all sciences enjoy a measure of autonomy, education has what De Jager, Oberholzer and Landman (1985 : 45) label as grenswetenskappe (border sciences). These contribute towards a clearer comprehension of man in his/her situatedness. Such border sciences are sciences such as anthropology, ontology and sociology, to name but a few.

3.2.1.1 Antropology

Gunter (1969 : 80) holds that, "As kind- mens, is geen kind die mens wat hy behoort te wees nie" (as a child, man is not what he/she ought to be). He /She fully human in all respects when he/she enters the world, but he/she is utterly incomplete. To him/her, there is still a chasm between what he/she is and what he/she ought to be.

This implies that "hy is ook 'n ander kan wees" (he/she has the potential to be somebody himself/herself). He/she is capable of being educated (Van Rensburg, Landman and Bodenstein, 1994 : 365).

The educand is not an object. He/she is a conscious, free being who is characterized by openness.

The educand does not only have the potential, but also the willingness to be somebody himself/herself. His/her gradual becoming is characrterized by independence and a need for support.

Summing up the above, Gunter (1969 : 82) indicates that "dit blyk duidelik dat 'n kind opgevoed moet word en ook opgevoed kan en wil wees" (The child is educable, must be educated and lend himself/herself

to education). This is where the educator steps in. Du Plooy, Griesel and Oberholzer (1982 : 1030) maintain that the educator intervenes mainly in three ways:

- Firstly the educator becomes aware of his specific purpose (e.g. right, acceptable, permissible or not). Then he knows beyond doubt that, on account of his conduct, the educand is in conflict with his purpose. Then the association undergoes a change. This intervention attempts to explicitly reveal the implicit educative purpose.
- Secondly, the educator makes a value-judgement for the benefit of the child, whose sense of values and norms is still inadequate. The educator argues that, what the child does, tries or intends to do, is detrimental to himself and he has to be guided along another path. The educator, with his pedagogic love, wants to promote the interest of the non-adult.
- Thirdly, the educator acts accordingly; he disapproves of the purposeful action, modifies it and may even prevent or forbid the action. All these will make it possible for the educator to cultivate democratic norms in the educand.

Child-rearing is not a simple task. The educator's knowledge of the child as fully human will make it possible for him to tolerate the child and support him. Tolerance and respect for other people's views is one of the principles of democracy (Steyn, et al. 1999 : 2).

Another pedagogics border science that contributes enormously towards a proper understanding of man, is ontology.

3.2.1.2 Ontology

Otology is derived from Greek, ontos, which means "that which is"; also present participate of the verb "to be"; literally translated by the

word "being", which indicates a condition of being or existing (Van Rensburg, et al. 1994 : 463). The suffix -logos is contemporarily used as the post-morpheme -logy, to indicate science or scientific practice (Killian and Viljoen, 1974 : 77).

Ontology is concerned with the being, metaphysics with the true being. It aims at knowing what the being of the essentials of being is (Du Plooy, et al. 1982 : 201). This science is related to pedagogics, because pedagogics as a science is bound to reality in the sense that it studies the phenomenon of education (Du Plooy, et al. 1982 : 201). Education is one of the matters given in reality to all people at all times (Van Rensburg, et al. 1994 : 463). No community or nation can survive without education.

The full educative occurrence is aimed at a special goal. All educative acts are goal-orientated, otherwise it would be meaningless for the adult to concern himself with the not-yet-adult.

Education in its pedagogic meaning is orientated to the ultimate adulthood of the child (Van Rensburg, et al. : 470). This is characterized by responsibility, meaningful existence, human dignity, self-judgement, understanding, norm-identification and philosophy of life. There can be no denying that these are in line with the United Nations' democratic values listed in 3.2 above. The contribution made by sociology in the promotion of democratic values and norms, will be examined next.

3.2.1.3 Sociology

Sociology is also one of the border sciences of pedagogics. It makes a contribution "mits die beoefenaar nie oorgaan tot die verabsolutering van die fenomeen nie" (De Jager, et al. 1985 : 42). (It prevents the pedagogicians from absolutising the education phenomenon.)

Sociology is a science that seeks to trace the cohesive forces in human togetherness (coexistence) in social relationships and institutions (Van Rensburg, et al. 1994 : 537). Such cohesive forces, which are also the principles of democracy, are the following:

- Tolerance and recognition of the views, needs and expectations of opponents
- Respect for equal rights and freedom for all
- Rejection of violence as a means of resolving differences
- The right of free expression and criticism
- Accepting responsibility for the welfare of minorities
- Acceptance of the requirements that people must peacefully choose and change their leaders for the maintenance and promotion of the general welfare (Cloete, 1993 : 4).

Education plays and enormous role in the attainment of the above. Education as a particular human function appears everywhere when adult and child are together in pedagogic communication (Killian and Viljoen). They are aware of each other through sensory communication in space and time. The following happens during such a pedagogic togetherness (Killian and Viljoen, 1974 : 187):

- Firstly, being together with the adult gets the child the opportunity to become somebody himself. The child accepts in increasing manner the responsibility for the constitution of his own potential.
- Secondly, being together with the adult, the child experiences an atmosphere of freedom in which to move. However, in reality he experiences a checked freedom (as opposed to licentiousness).
- Thirdly, the being together with the adult enables the child to increase general knowledge, his choices in social gatherings and to determine his attitude towards nature and other things. This, more than anything else, shows that democracy is a way of being human.

3.2.2 Democracy as A Way of Being Human

Phenomenologically, democracy as a way of being human, can best be understood by looking at man in his situatedness. Man is really there (Dasein) in the world. In other words, man exists in the world.

Existence is derived from the Latin word existere: ex - "out" + sistere - "to put"; the child as a present reality for education (Van Rensburg, 1994 : 381). The child is not alone in his present reality. "Menswees is met ander in die wêreld" (De Jager, et al. 1985 : 92). (Man is in the world with other fellow human beings with whom he should live peacefully.) Peaceful coexistence is one of the cornerstones of democracy.

In contemporary anthropology, existence is the expression of the humanness of man (Du Plooy, et al. 1982 : 221). The child as a nameable one is a demonstrable object which can be factually described - thus facticity (Killian and Viljoen, 1974 : 249). When the term "child" is used, it is used to describe an anthropic mode of being. The child complies completely with the essences of the anthropos. He should be seen in his categorical greatness of being and as an individual interacting with a given environment who is continually adjusting to constantly changing environmental conditions (Du Plooy, et al. 1982 : 221). Human existence as world directedness calls upon the child to live in harmony with fellow human beings. Human life is "an existence with other people" - Mitsein (Du Plooy, et al. 1982 : 224). He and his fellow human beings should convert their environment into a Wirheit (oneness). This can only be attained by good governance.

Throughout the ages, human beings searched for systems of government which will secure personal interests as well as the general welfare of the community in which they find themselves (Cloete, 1993 : 3). Democracy as a way of being human, with its emphasis on human equality, is as old as creation. The following are but a few examples:

3.2.2.1 The Stoics

The Greek philosophers (Stoics) of Athens had their own conception of democracy. The central theme of their philosophy was to equate rationality to deity (Lipson, 1993 : 106). Its founding father, Zeno (490 - 430 B.C.), taught that men should be free from passion, unmoved by joy or grief, and submit without complaint to unavoidable necessity (Random House College Dictionary, 1988 : 1293).

The Stoics held that the divinity that shapes our ends is rational, and reason, conversely, is divine. Wherever there is reason, there is God.

> "The power to reason, exists in different degrees in each of us, wherever it shines bright or dim, the light of reason is the spark of divine fire ... All men, because they share the same reason, share in the godhead, as men all are equal (Lipson, 1993 : 107).

From Athens, Stoicism spread to other places, like Rome.

3.2.2.2 Roman Law

Stoicism was imported to Rome under the influence of a group of Philosophers called the Sciopionic circle. They were led by a Roman general, Sciopio (185 - 129 B. C.), besieger and destroyer of Carthage (Random House College Dictionary, 1988 : 1179). The century that marked the introduction of Stoicism, coincided with the extension of Roman military power over the lands that fringed the Mediterranean. The newly conquered territories like Greece, Sicily, Spain, Libya, Gaul (France) and Asia (Turkey), were organised and absorbed into the Roman Empire.

> "To enforce peace, Rome was obliged not only to safeguard the frontiers of its empire from external menace, but to establish internally a system of order and trust in human relations (Lipson, 1993 : 107).

The greatest of the Roman codes was the code of Justinian, written in the year 553 A. D. It was a combination of three Roman codes: The Jus Gentium, which was the law of all people in the Roman Empire. Inclusiveness is one of the hallmarks of democracy. The Jus Civilis was the law of Roman citizens and the Jus Natural contained for the most part basic principles of Roman law. The Justinian Code compiled all of these codes into a single body of Roman law (Coulter, 1997 : 118). Democracy was also upheld and preached by the adherents of Judaism and Christianity,

3.2.2.3 Judaism and Christianity

Two of the oldest faiths in a Creator God who influenced the spread of democratic principles world-wide, are Judaism and Christianity.

God, having created everything in the beginning, saw that it was good. Then God said: "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness" (Holy Bible, Gen. 1:26). God is a Trinity - God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit - with the Father as the greatest. In keeping with the democratic principle of equality, He involved the Son and the Holy Spirit in creation.

Preachers of the Christian gospel also preached equality. Jesus and the apostles, like many of their early believers, came mostly from humble beginnings (Lipson, 1993 : 108). In the epistle of Paul to the Galatians, the apostle Paul said: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for you are all one in Jesus Christ (Gal. 3:28).

The spread of democracy led to major revolutions in the history of Europe, as will be seen in the next subsection.

3.2.2.4 The American , English and French Revolutions

In truth, democracies have often originated in violence and revolution - the English Civil War, the French Revolution and the American War of Independence (Ecleshall, et al. 1994 : 126). Eccleshall, et al.(1994 : 126), quoting Abraham Lincoln, 16th president of the U.S.A., says: "

> "The greatest task of the American republic since its foundation, was to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election, can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successor of bullets; and that, when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided, there can be no successful appeal back to the bullets."

In France, during the French Revolution, the first group of people tended to favour some form of liberal democracy similar to what had been recently established in the United States. The second group, called socialists, sought the destruction of the whole concept of the nation-state and reduced the government to the level of small city-states and ancient Greece (Coulter, 1997 : 136).

The English Revolution took place in 1688 - 1689. In this revolution, James II was expelled and the sovereignty conferred on William and Mary (Random House College Dictionary, 1988 : 439). James II was haughty and autocratic by temperament (Van Wijk and Van Zyl, 1993 : 130).

Europe experienced wars for many years as people sought democracy. One of them was World War I.

3.2.2.5 The League of Nations

At the end of World War I (July 28, 1914 - November 11, 1918), President Woodrow Wilson of the United States of America said in his Fourteen Points that an international body was needed to prevent war (Wolfson, 1992 : 12). This led to the formation of the League of Nations. The League of Nations's central function was to preserve peace (Lipson, 1993 : 349). The League of Nations had two chief aims:

- To keep world peace
- To make the world a better place for everyone who lived in it (Wolfson, 1992 : 12).

Despite its good intentions, the League failed and dissolved in April 1946. Culpin (1994 : 113) identifies the following reasons for the League's failure:

(a) Membership

Not all great powers were members of the League. The U.S.A. never became a member. Germany did not join until 1926, and left the League in 1933. Russia was not invited to join at first, but in 1934 became a member in an attempt to join forces against Adolph Hitler. Japan left in 1933 and Italy in 1935. This fatally weakened the League.

(b) Organization

Meetings of the League were few and far between. Decisions were made too slowly and sometimes they came too late for effective action.

(c) Sanctions

The sanctions of the League were never successful in controlling aggression.

(d) Treaty of Versailles

It became clear, as time went on, that some of its terms were not satisfactory and would have to be changed.

(e) Britain and France

The responsibility for making the League work, fell on these two countries, although enthusiasm for the League was never strong within the French and British governments. One may conclude that democratic principles were ignored.

(f) The will to make it work

In 1919 at Versailles, there was a mood of idealism, the people wanted to make a new and better world, but this idealism soon disappeared. The failure of the League of Nations led to the formation of the United Nations' Organization on the 14th August 1945, when World War II ended.

Besides being a way of being human, democracy can also serve as a way of guiding human actions.

3.2.3 Democracy as a Way of Guiding Human Actions

Being human as a mode of existence, means that man is situated from birth to the moment of death (Du Plooy, et al. 1982 : 71). He/she to conquer his/her life-world and change it into a world for himself/herself and fellow human beings. This is impossible without education, which has been defined as a conscious purposive intervention by an adult in the life of a non-adult to bring him/her to independence (Van Rensburg, et al. 1994 : 366). A phenomenological researcher is able to penetrate to the eidos of the education phenomenon, as the following indicates.

When a phenomenological researcher penetrates to the essence of the education phenomenon, he/she discovers and uncovers the universal pedagogic (education) essentials, which are known as pedagogic structures. These are conditio sine quo non (prerequisites) for education (vide 3.2, par. 2 supra). Du Plooy, et al. (1982 : 94), and Killian and Viljoen (1974 : 163) classify them as pedagogic structures.

3.2.3.1 Pedagogic relationship structures

In this group falls pedagogic relationship structures such as knowing, trust and authority (Du Plooy, et al. 1982 : 95).

(a) Relationship of knowing (understanding)

To be able to educate the educand, the educator has to learn to know the child well and acquaint himself/herself progressively and more thoroughly with him/her (Du Plooy, et al. 1992 : 98). The educand is helpless at birth and cannot conquer the world on his/her own. He/she needs the assistance of an educator (adult) to gain a foothold on his/her life-world. Being aware of his/her want of knowledge and experience, the child turns to someone who can lead him/her to

certainty and knowledge (Van Rensburg,et al. 1994 : 511). To constitute the education relation, the educator ought to know the nature of the child and its destination. This implies that the educator should have real essential knowledge of the child in his/her totality and always bear in mind a particular child's destination (Killian and Viljoen, 1974 : 163). Initially, the child's horizon is narrow and for this reason the adult must continuously clarify and explain the as yet unknown reality to the adult-in-the-making. He/she must simultaneously call upon the child to participate.

Participation is one of the cornerstones of democracy (vide 1.6.6 (b). Through participation, the educand will get to know the demands of propriety (Van Rensburg, et al. 1994 : 511) Furthermore, through participation the child himself will give meaning to reality (Killian and Viljoen, 1974 : 165). Meaning-giving is essential for knowing reality and life reality. The relationship of knowing goes hand in hand with the relationship of trust.

(b) Relationship of trust

Education is an accompaniment. The child is en route to adulthood and is always engaged in exploring an open world. He/she must have the confidence to venture into the unknown. Within the safe sphere of the agogic encounter, adult and child are in a special relationship of trust (Van Rensburg, et al. 1994 : 511).

In a trusting atmosphere, the child and the educator accept each other as persons who are bearers of human dignity. This is necessary for the constitution of the education relationship (Killian and Viljoen, 1974 : 167). In accepting the child, the educator must accept the child as he/she is, but also as he/she wants to be and should be. In other words, it should be an acceptance that promotes freedom. Freedom is an important tenet of democracy

(vide 1.1.1 (a)). Freedom always invariably goes hand in hand with authority.

(c) Relationship of authority

The relationship of authority plays an enormous role in the life of the child. The progress the child makes at school, depends on the kind of relationship the teacher develops with his or her pupils, the kind of atmosphere that is generated by the view he or she takes of the competing demands of freedom and authority (Downey and Kelly, 1987 : 116).

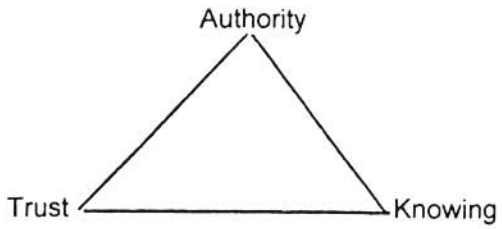
The word "authority" is derived from French, autoritè, Latin, auctoritas, which means "power", and augere, which means "to help" (Van Rensburg, et al. 1994 : 318). The concepts "freedom" and "authority" cannot be separated. As soon as they are separated, or when one is accorded absolute value, the result is either tyranny or coercion, or a denial of all authority, which degenerates into lawlessness and licentiousness. A teacher, or any educator for that matter, should have authority. In an ideal democratic education system, there will be a balance between freedom and authority.

A person cannot be an educator unless he is a bearer of authority. This applies to even the most liberal communities. This authority enables him to consciously convert an association with the educand into an education situation (Du Plooy, et al. 1982 : 103). When the educand goes wrong, the educator intervenes to prevent the educative purpose from being defeated. The child accepts the educator's authority and the latter assists the child in his craving for support (Killian and Viljoen, 1974 : 171). Authority empowers an educator.

On account of the relationship of authority, the educator has something to say to the child and the child listens to what the educator has to say. This should not be construed as the insensitive imposition of the educator's will on the child. In a democracy, the child has the right to individual freedom. "Vryheid impliseer verantwoordelikheid en selfdissipline" (Freedom in any democracy has got to be accompanied by responsibility and self-discipline). Man is entitled to the same amount of freedom for which he is willing to accept responsibility and authority (Van Rensburg, et al. 1994 : 318). This also applies to the pedagogic situation. The educator intervenes as a corrective measure whenever the child goes wrong. Du Plooy, et al. (1982 : 103) hold that the educator intervenes mainly in three ways (vide 3.2.1.1 supra).

In wrapping up the pedagogic relationship structure, it is pertinent to make it lucid that knowing, trust and authority readily flow into one another. Knowing one another well, leads to mutual acceptance, coexistence and trust. The educator's knowledge of the educand guarantees the educand freedom, which in turn leads to the educand's acceptance of the educator's authority willingly. Figure 3.1 shows how this works in practice.

FIGURE 3.1 : PEDAGOGIC RELATIONSHIP STRUCTURES



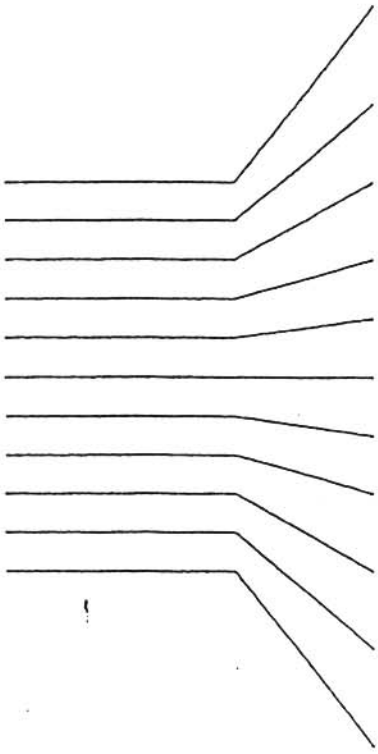
The educator-educand encounter in the education situation aims at future adulthood. With his in mind, the pedagogic aim structure will be discussed next.

3.2.3.2 Pedagogic aim structures

One of the distinguishing characteristics of man, is that he acts purposefully and purposively (Du Plooy, et al. 1982 : 135). The full educative occurrence is aimed at a special goal (Van Rensburg, et al. 1994 : 339). All educative acts are goal-directed, otherwise it would be aimless and meaningless for an adult to concern himself with a not-yet-adult. Democratic education in its pedagogic form is orientated to the ultimate adulthood of the child. This is characterized by responsibility, meaningful existence, human dignity, self-judgement and understanding, norm-identification and a philosophy of life. Figure 3.2 by Roelofse, Du Plooy and Greyling (1982 : 84) shows this more explicitly (see next page).

FIGURE 3.2 : ADULTHOOD

A



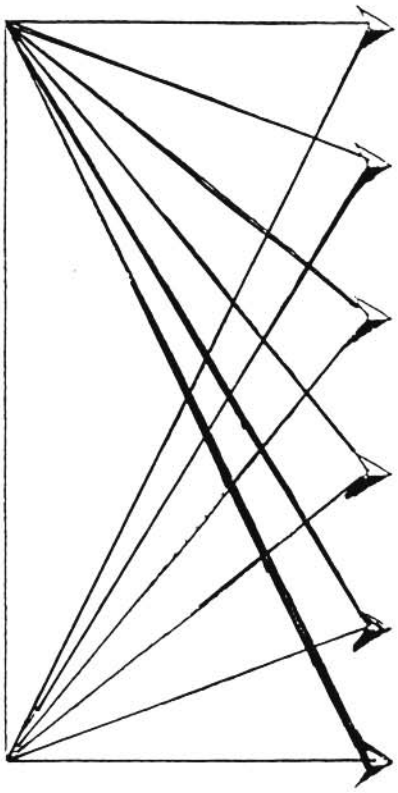
B

1. Meaningful existence
2. Self-judgement and self-understanding
3. Human dignity
4. Morally independent decision-making
5. Responsibility
6. Norm-identification
7. Compulsory life-view
8. Morally independent
9. Mental adulthood
10. True autonomy
11. Acceptance of values
12. Self-sacrifice
13. Self-realization
14. True nature of man
15. Self-responsible self-determination
16. Constructive partnership/Social life
17. Personal accessibility to values/standards

and many more

(Refer to sketch 4)

C



Child Pre-adulthood Early adulthood Prime Adulthood Late adulthood

Particularizing contents

- Physical
- Emotional
- Intellectual (gnostical
- Social
- Historical and national
- Aesthetical, ethical (morality), religious

Source : Roelofse, Du Plooy and Greyling, 1982 : 84

Only the following will be examined:

(a) Meaningful existence

No human being wants to live a meaningless existence. Man is forever looking for that which is meaningful. It is the educator's task to make the child aware of life as something which is meaningful (Killian and Viljoen, 1974 : 231). This will gradually lead the educand to develop self-understanding and self-judgement.

(b) Self-judgement and self-understanding

Self-judgement is a criterion and condition for adulthood. Man is an adult when he can pass judgement on himself in respect of his choices and actions (Van Rensburg, et al. 1994 : 530). In a democratic education system, this enables him to sift the undemocratic elements from the democratic. He can correctly evaluate his own behaviour because he is capable of self-dissociation (Du Plooy, et al. 1982 : 144). By actively applying self-judgement, he refrains from doing wrong things. A person who refrains from wrong-doing, is worthy of being human.

(c) Worthiness of being human

The humanness of the human being is an unfolding of a pathically dynamic relatedness with reality (Van Rensburg, et al. 1994 : 409). Man is by nature endowed with a certain dignity. His dignity goes hand in hand with his being human. Democratic education recognizes human dignity. A democratic education's major aim is to help the adult-in-the-making to realize his worthiness as a human being (Killian and Viljoen, 1974 : 233). This inevitably leads to moral independence.

(d) Morally independent choosing and acting

> Humanness implies that one must be moral, and morality as a mode of human existence implies the act of choosing. Being human is a being of choices. Man makes his choices in the light of a specific order of preferences as regards values (Killian and Viljoen, 1974 : 233). These values are aesthetic, social, ethical and religious values which form man's philosophy of life.

In wrapping up a discussion on pedagogic structures, it is necessary to point out that they do not function in isolation in the agein (child-leading) in motion. A mere mention of one, evokes others. Figure 3.3 vividly demonstrates this.

An examination of democracy as a way of guiding humans would be incomplete without a clear indication of the link between the pedagogic structures discussed above and democracy as such. In the next subsection, such a study will be undertaken.

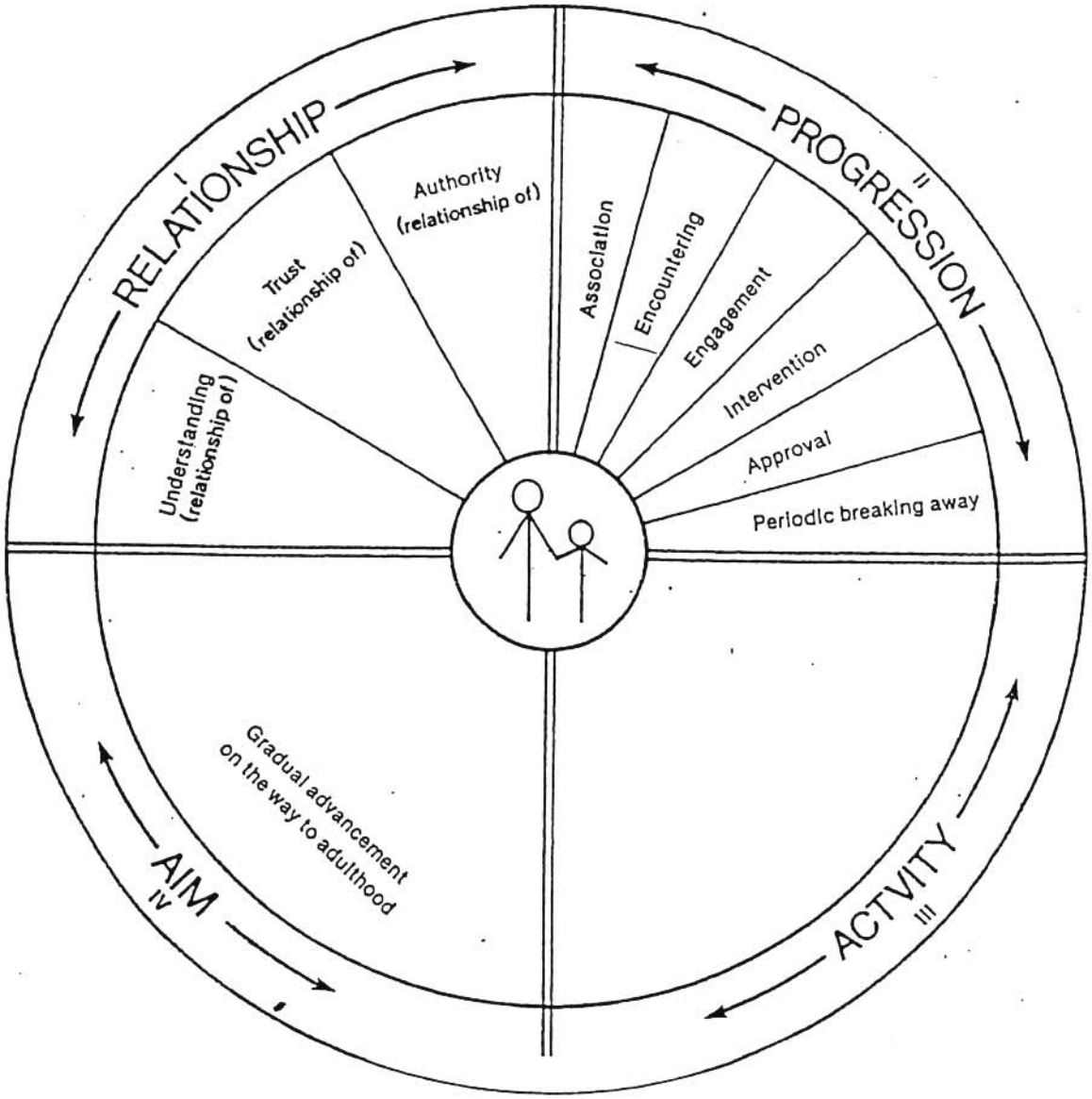
3.2.4 Pedagogic structures and democracy

Democracy and pedagogic structures as human phenomena are related. In the Republic, Plato speaks of mankind as a settled community cooperating to promote a common welfare (Melling, 1987 : 75). Evidence of this in the domain of education is the pedagogic togetherness. The common welfare in this regard is promoted by norms and values which, if not violated, will lead to Aristotle's eudaimonia (vide 1.6.6). In this togetherness, the educator-educand get to know each other and trust each other. This creates a relaxed atmosphere of freedom, which is one of the cornerstones of democracy (vide 1.6.6. (a)). Another tenet of democracy that goes with freedom is participation.

An educand is not a passive member of the education situation. He willingly participates in conquering his life-world to convert it into a world-for-himself. This willingness to participate and the educator's willingness to accept responsibility

FIGURE 3. 3 : THE PEDAGOGIC SITUATION STRUCTURE

A reconstituted situation in the conscious mind, with lifeless (bloodless) figures as a construct for study



Source : Roelofse, Du Plooy and Greyling, 1982 : 76

for the child's education changes the world into a Mit-ein-ander-sein co-existential involvement). The Mit-ein-ander-sein provides a favourable climate for the production of responsible citizens which a democratic order also aims to achieve (vide 1.6.6. (b)).

A responsible citizenship which a democratic government aims to attain, is, among others, characterized by:

- Meaningful existence. Citizens should enjoy life in their country.
- Self-judgement and self-understanding. Citizens should know their needs as well as other's needs.
  Human dignity. Peaceful coexistence call upon citizens to recognise one another's human dignity.
- Morally independent decision-making. Responsible citizenship can only flourish in an atmosphere in which decisions are guided by good morals.
- Responsibility. Responsible leadership produces responsible citizens.
- Norm-identification. People can only lead a responsible life if they are able to identify the norms of propriety.
- Morally independent. No one can be said to be an adult in the true sense of the word unless he is morally independent.
- Intellectual maturity. Intellectual maturity goes hand in hand with moral independence.
- True autonomy. Coexistence does not imply that an individual should be submerged. For him to be truly human, he should be able to enjoy a measure of autonomy.
- Acceptance of values. A citizen should accept the social values so that he could live happily ever after with his fellow men.
- Self-sacrifice. Self-sacrifice enables a citizen not to infringe on the rights of others.
- Self-realization. For people to become responsible citizens, they should realize their full potential.
- Constructive partnerships (Roelofse, et al. 1982 : 84). All the characteristics mentioned above, culminate into constructive social partnerships.

The South African constitution, Act 108 of 1996, and the South African Schools' Act, Act 84 of 1996, also promote the above-mentioned characteristics. Table 3.1 further highlights the link between democratic practice and pedagogic structures.

TABLE 3.1 : A PHENOMENOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF DEMOCRACY AND PEDAGOGIC STRUCTURES

Democratic Practice	Pedagogic Structures
Respect for human rights	Self-judgement and self-understanding
Rejection of violence	Worthiness of being human
Equal rights	Knowing (human nature)
Accountability	Accounting for education relationships
Freedom	Pedagogic safety
Transparency	Educator's responsibility
Legitimacy	Willing acceptance of the educator's authority
Responsible leadership	Morally independent decision-making

A phenomenological description of education (child-rearing) brings to light the necessary essentials of child guidance towards adulthood. A close look at these essentials in the light of democratic principles, emphasizes the correlation between a democratic way of child-rearing and the basic characteristics of scientific verified pedagogic essentials. The question that may now arise, is how does education legislation comply with democratic/pedagogic principles in South Africa.

3.3 THE EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF LEGISLATION IN A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

Legislation provides a framework for the functioning of an education system. It determines whether an education system policy would be democratic, communistic or socialistic. An education policy is the statement of intent of the way in which identified educational needs of the target group are to be provided for (Steyn, 1998 : 8). South Africa has a democratic education policy, as will be seen in the subsequent discussion.

The year 1994 marks a turning point in South African history. Not only did all South Africans have the opportunity to vote together for the first time to elect a new government, but the system of Apartheid was repealed (Goduka, 1999 : 67). Following the April 1994 democratic elections, a non-racial education system, based on the principle of equity, was instituted (Pretorius and Lemmer, 1998 : 13). Non-racialism was interpreted as a move away from racially-based practices (Kallaway, 1997 : 128).

An examination of the South African constitution (Act No. 108 of 1996) and the South African education policy, enshrined in the South African Schools' Act (SASA) (Act No. 84 of 1996), will further highlight the above-mentioned claims.

3.3.1 The South African Constitution and SASA

In a democracy, education is accessible to all. On the issue of education, the South African constitution states:

> "29(1) Everyone has the right
>
> (a) to a basic education, including adult basic education
> (b) to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible" (Act No. 108, 1996).

This constitutional provision is also reflected in SASA. Its preamble states in part:

> "Whereas this country requires a national system for schools which will redress past injustices in educational provisions, provide an education of progressively high quality for all learners and in so doing, lay a strong foundation for the development of all our people's talents and capabilities" (Act 84, 1996).

The above statement shows a broadening of democracy to all inhabitants of South Africa (Dekker and Van Schalkwyk, 1996 : 449). At school level, policies are implemented by school governing bodies, which were called school committees in the past. In the next subsection, the election of such committees will be examined.

3.3.2 Election of a School Committee/Governing Body

In the past, and even at present, all members were elected by parents (Vos and Brits, 1990 : 78). In white schools, the returning officer would send out notice of the date, time and place of the meeting, 20 days prior to the date of nomination to the meeting (Government Gazette, December 6, 1991 : 4). On nomination day, each candidate was proposed by a parent and seconded by another one. See Figure 3.4)

In black schools, the procedure was slightly different. The nomination and secondment took place at a general meeting before the expiry of the term of office of the outgoing school committee (Manual for Principals of Schools : 93). Nominations were done verbally and the names of those nominated, written on the chalkboard. The position has changed lately. In the present dispensation, uniformity is enforced, although technical differences still continue to exist (Act 84, 1996, par. 28(a) and (b)). In both cases, voting was possible. In black schools, this was done by counting hands for individual candidates, and in white schools, by ballot papers which were counted and the results announced. Figure 3.5 illustrates a ballot paper.

NOMINATION FORM

ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF GOVERNING BODY

(Regulation 13)

NAME OF STATE-AIDED SCHOOL .....

PROPOSER:

I, ...

(full name)

of .....

(residential address)

being a parent of a pupil of the above school, hereby propose .....

(full name of candidate)

as a member of the governing body of the above-mentioned school.

.....

Signature of Proposer

SECONDER

I, ...

(full name)

of .....

(residential address)

being a parent of a pupil of the above school, hereby second the above-mentioned proposal

.....

Signature of Seconder

CANDIDATE

I, ...

(full name)

of .....

(residential address)

hereby declare that I -

(a) accept the above=mentioned nomination; and

(b) am not incompetent to be a member of a governing body as contemplated in regulation 3 of the Regulations relating to Governing Bodies of State-aided Schools, excluding State-aided Schools for Specialized Education

.....

Signature of Candidate

OR

(IF PROPOSED AT NOMINATION MEETING)

I, ...

(full name)

declare that written proof to my satisfaction has been submitted that the above-mentioned candidate -

(a) who is not present at the nomination meeting to complete the nomination form, will, if elected, be willing to serve as a member of the governing body; and

(b) is not incompetent to be a member of a governing body as contemplated in regulation 3 of the Regulations relating to Governing Bodies of State-aided Schools, excluding State-aided Schools for Specialized Education

.....

Signature of Returning Officer

Under Regulation 13 (3) this nomination is *accepted/rejected

.....

Date

.....

Signature of Returning Officer

* Delete whichever is not applicable

BALLOT PAPER - POSTAL VOTE

FIGURE 3.5

SECTION A (to be completed by the Returning Officer)

Postal ballot of Prof/Rev/Dr/Mr/Mrs/Ms .....

Address .....

.....

.....

Name of pupil .....

Name of school .....

Information to voter and Commissioner of Oaths:

1. To be completed in the presence of a Commissioner of Oaths.
2. The Commissioner of Oaths must satisfy himself as to the identity of the above person (e.g. by means of an identity document or passport).
3. The enclosed, addressed official envelope is to be used by the voter to despatch the postal vote personally after the sealed small envelope has been placed inside the large envelope.
4. The Commissioner of Oaths is to sign and stamp the ballot paper with his official stamp before the voter casts his vote, and must subsequently ensure that it is sealed in the appropriate envelope.
5. Completed ballot papers which do not satisfy these requirements, will be considered to be spoilt.

TEAR OFF HERE

.....

SECTION B

POSTAL VOTE

This section is to be completed privately by the voter after having been certified by the Commissioner of Oaths. It is then sealed in the smaller envelope which is placed, with Section A, in the larger envelope prior to posting.

ARE YOU IN FAVOUR OF THE DECLARATION OF YOUR SCHOOL AS A STATE-AIDED (MODEL C) SCHOOL?

Please draw a cross in the appropriate block

YES
NO

COMMISSIONER OF OATHS: .....

DATE : .....

Source : Government Gazette No. 13658, 6 December 1991

It is necessary to investigate whether democratic procedures are followed in the constitution of the governing body.

3.3.3 The Constitution of the Governing Body

In a democracy, education is a shared responsibility of schools, parents and learners (Pretorius and Lemmer, 1998 : 21). The inclusion of parents, educators and learners in the school governing body comes as no surprise, as democracy is characterized by representativity (Act 84, 1996 par. 23).

The South African Schools' Act, No. 84, 1996 states that a constitution contemplated must provide for:

- a meeting of the school governing body at least once every school term
- meetings of the governing body with parents, learners, educators and other staff at the school, respectively, at least once a year
- recording and keeping of minutes of the governing body meetings
- making available documents such as minutes by the Head of the Department
- rendering a report on its activities to parents, learners, educators and other staff of the school at least once a year (Act 84, 1996 par. 18).

As the school governing body represents the community, it is essential that its functions be examined.

3.3.4 Functions of All Governing Bodies

In the past, the functions were racially based, although they did not differ much. In black schools, for instance, the Guide for Principals of schools (1981 : 3) stipulated the following functions:

- To obtain the necessary sites and school buildings
- To receive and discuss inspection reports
- To investigate complaints and anomalies

- To decide on the suspension of pupils
- To control funds and advise the Department on school matters
- To deliver the school's financial report at a parents' meeting

Vos and Brits (1990 : 78) identified the following functions of school committees in white schools:

- The maintenance of school buildings
- To help raise school funds
- To look into complaints regarding disobedience of school regulations
- To recommend action in the event of misconduct
- To arrange for extensions to the school

At present, the functions have been integrated and broadened. The South African Schools' Act (No. 84, 1996) stipulates the following:

- To promote the best interests of the school and to strive to ensure its development through the provision of quality education for all learners at the school
- To adopt a constitution
- To develop the mission statement of the school
- To adopt a code of conduct for learners at school
- To support the principal, educators and other staff of the school in the performance of their professional functions
- To determine times of the school day consistent with any applicable conditions of employment of staff at school
- To administer and control the school's property, as well as buildings and grounds occupied by the school, including school hostels, if applicable
- To encourage parents, learners, educators and other staff at the school to render voluntary services to the school
- To recommend to the Head of Department the appointment of educators at the school
- To recommend to the Head of Department the appointment of non-educator staff at the school

- At the request of the Head of Department, allow the reasonable use, under fair conditions, of the facilities of the school for educational programmes not conducted by the school
- To discharge all other functions imposed upon the governing body by or under this Act
- To discharge other functions consistent with this Act as determined by the Minister (Act 84, 1996 par. 20(1)).

In wrapping up a discussion on democracy and education in South Africa, this study will highlight the democratic norms in the South African education policy in Table 3.2.

TABLE 3. 2 : DEMOCRATIC NORMS AND VALUES IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION POLICY

Democratic Norms and Values	South African Education Policy
Majority rule	Emanates from a democratically adopted constitution
Representativeness	Governing body representative of all stakeholders
Freedom	Both educators and educants enjoy freedom of expression
Equal rights	SASA guarantees equal access to education
Human rights	SASA guarantees the individual rights of all learners and educators
Non-racialism	Discrimination on the grounds of race, gender, religion outlawed
Transparency	The composition of the school governing body ensures transparency
Legitimacy	Democratic election of a school governing body makes it legitimate
Accountability	The composition of the school governing body expedites accountability

3.4 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it is necessary to point out that democracy is not just a philosophy built on certain unqualified presumptions. A phenomenological analysis shows that democracy

is based on an ontological-anthropological basis. Its essential characteristics are part of being human, but without education they will never be realized (vide 3.2). SASA is also tailored in accordance with democratic norms and values (vide Table 3.2).

The South African constitution, Act No. 108 of 1996, and SASA ushered in desegregation in schools. Desegregation involves the opening of racially exclusive schools to members of all racial and ethnic groups (Naidoo, 1996 : 11). This causes resentment and resistance from people who were previously advantaged by Apartheid. Desegregation leads to integration. Integration is the combination of educational and other public facilities previously segregated by race into one unified system (Random House College Dictionary, 1988 : 692). These changes and combinations usually occur over a long period of time (Naidoo, 1996 : 11). Its pace is dictated to by the commitment of policy-makers. The degree of commitment to the implementation of the new education policy is still dictated by race.

> "Our experience in the past is that, at black schools, proper learning and teaching starts in earnest after the Easter holidays. In contrast, teaching and learning starts from day one at mainly white schools" (City Press, January 9, 2000).

Another stumbling block in the way of change, is the admission trends to previously advantaged schools. In a survey conducted by the Education Policy Unit of the University of Natal on the admission trends, it was found that whites, coloureds and Indians were averse to the admission of blacks. One principal was quoted as saying:

> "Once we integrated, we added a certain criteria and I have to admit that, in the very beginning, at least one criteria (sic) was designed to avoid, as far as possible, getting children we would have considered to avoid" (Naidoo, 1996 : 51).

It remains to be seen whether the much-vaunted African Renaissance, discussed in the next chapter, will conquer these attitudes.

CHAPTER 4 : AFRICANIZATION, THE AFRICAN RENAISSANCE AND EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, the education policy in South Africa was examined. The democratic structures in school governance were investigated. In this chapter, which forms the major thrust of this study, the notion of an African Renaissance will be thoroughly examined.

The African Renaissance can best be approached by examining the European Renaissance, as the term was used to refer to a specific period in the history of Europe. The Renaissance was (a period of) a new growth of interest and activity in the areas of literature, arts and ideas in Europe, especially in Northern Italy during the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries (Cambridge International Dictionary of English, 1997 : 1202). Brinton (1969 : 256) calls it "a rebirth". He asserts that men have applied the term to the extraordinary flowering of letters and arts at the beginning of the 14th century. It started in Italy and spread at varying degrees and intensity to the other countries of Europe.

The Renaissance can be viewed as a broad intellectual and cultural movement which contributed to or at any rate engaged in disciplines such as Biblical Studies, political thought, art, science and all branches of philosophy (Kraye, 1996 : XV). Samuelson (1996 : 6) also dubs this period a "rebirth", the reawakening or renewal of interest in the way of life and the way of thinking of the ancient Greek and ancient Roman civilizations. It became a period of many changes in Europe. The apostles of this movement sought to revive classical antiquity (Random House College Dictionary, 1988 : 1117). People like Niccolo Niccoli withdrew from public life to lead a life devoted to classical studies (Cronin, 1967 : 48).

It is generally held that the Renaissance started around 1300 reached its peak around 1450 and came to an end around 1600. In other words, it lasted for about 300 years.

It was a reaction against the church's dominance of public life, as will be seen in the next subsection.

4.2 THE RAISON D'ÊTRE FOR THE RENAISSANCE

In Medieval Europe, the church was the main sponsor of all learning, art and sculpture. Everything had a religious theme (History Encyclopaedia, 1995 : 33). Therefore, the Renaissance came in the wake of a lull in Europe imposed by the dominance of the Roman Catholic Church in the lives of the people during the Middle Ages. The Middle Ages is the time in European history between classical antiquity and the Italian Renaissance (Random House College Dictionary, 1988 : 845). The Medieval church had encouraged people to feel humble and worthless compared to the divinity of God. This attitude changed during the Renaissance.

During the Renaissance, the general feeling was that, since God had created humans in his own image, and since they were supreme beings on earth, the human body and human spirit were valuable (Samuelson, 1996 ; 6). The new way of thinking kindled interest in classical literature and art and all other secular activities. To the Renaissance man, the active life was much more useful; it allowed greater scope for the practice of virtues; while the good coming from the contemplative life extended only to oneself (Kraye, 1996 : 127). They argued that beatitude was easier to achieve in the active life than in the contemplative life.

In the next subsection, a study of the place of origin of the Renaissance will be undertaken.

4.3 THE PLACE OF ORIGIN OF THE RENAISSANCE

In the Renaissance, the Italian scholars began to take an interest in the writings of ancient Greeks and Romans. This happened (in 1393) when Manuel Chrysolars became the first professor of Greek at the University of Florence in Northern Italy (History Encyclopaedia, 1995 : 330). For this reason, Brinton (1969 : 256) asserts that the

Renaissance is a movement that began in Italy and spread in varying degrees of intensity to the other countries of Europe.

Italy was the centre of the Roman Empire and also inevitably the place where the Renaissance movement started. Educated traders from Venice travelled to Asia, where they were influenced by the Muslim scholars (Samuelson, 1996 : 7). It could justly be said that, although historians put the place of origin of the Renaissance in Italy, Italians were influenced by the Asians. The Muslim scholars had studied the writings and thinking of ancient Greeks. When they went back to their homeland, they brought back many Greek manuscripts. These manuscripts were of the highest class and rank (Random House College Dictionary, 1988 : 248). Besides the best class manuscripts that the educated brought home, they also brought wealth to their country.

Cities like Florence and Milan became wealthy as a result of these travels. The Islamic scholars of Asia had already developed aspects of science such as astronomy, algebra and geometry. These developments spread to Italy as a result of its trade links with the Islamic world. From Italy it spread to other parts of Europe ushering great changes and developments. Printed books increased in number and influence (Barnard, 1984 : 81).

> "The Renaissance took place in Europe and affected the lives of people living there, the way they thought, the books they read, the paintings they produced and the way they thought about the Catholic Church" (Samuelson, 1996 : 7).

By its very nature, the Renaissance was bound to bring about many changes. What follows is an examination of some of them.

4.4 CHANGES BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE RENAISSANCE IN EUROPE

4.4.1 Political Changes

This period saw changes in both society and government in Europe (History

Encyclopaedia, 1995 : 380). The Renaissance man wanted to change the inactivity that was caused by the dominance of the Roman Catholic Church. They felt that the will to reject tradition and embrace change, could lead to the Renaissance; applied to the political sphere, it could lead to a Utopia (Kraye, 1996 : 128).

At the time, Italy did not have a unified government. It was divided into city-states. Each state had its own ruler who was normally a prince of a member of a wealthy family. Examples of city-states were Florence, Venice, Sienna, Milan and the Kingdom of Naples. Florence was a republic for a while. It was governed by a council of wealthy merchants and bankers (Samuelson, 1996 : 24). The Papal states were ruled by the pope.

Samuelson further points out that the Renaissance did not bring much political stability in Italy. The borders of the city-states changed frequently, because their leaders tried to increase their power and fought each other. Portugal broke away from Spain and became an independent state, ruled over by a king. The Muslims who ruled over the southern parts of Portugal were expelled and these territories were united with Spain to form a united nation ruled over by Queen Isabella, joint ruler of Aragon (Random House College Dictionary, 1988 : 708). This marked the beginning of national states in Europe. The Renaissance also brought about economic changes.

4.4.2 Economic Changes

Before the fall of the Byzantine Empire in 1453, spices were brought overland to Constantinople and then taken across the Mediterranean to the countries of Europe. This made them more expensive. After 1453, direct links between Europe and Asia were cut completely (History Encyclopaedia, 1995 : 338). When the Portuguese started exploring the west coast of Africa in 1460, they set up ports and traded in gold, ivory and silver. New markets were opening up for goods produced. This made their countries rich.

The prevailing attitude in Italy was that the poor were a threat to the welfare of the state, the rich rendered it beautiful, prosperous and powerful (Kraye, 1996 : 126). It was held that money gave viability to the city-state and enabled it to defend itself against enemies.

During this period, another way in which some people became rich was by lending money that was paid back with interest. This gave rise to banking as a business (Samuelson, 1996 : 26). The famous bankers in the city-state of Florence was the Medici family. Cosmo De Medici was the Pope's banker. Interest in classical literature also grew during this period.

4.4.3 Interest in Classical Literature and Art

The advent of secularization during the Renaissance led to an increased interest in classical literature and art. Though Latin remained the language of the church, more and more writers now turned to vernacular languages of Europe (Brinton, 1969 : 257). The translation of Greek literature to Dutch, German, French, Spanish and English, gave additional impetus to this trend. Two famous writers of this period were Dante and Petrarch. Besides the sonnets that he wrote, Petrarch also wrote a long poem entitled Africa. The poets wrote about love between people and how people were an important part of nature (Brewer, 1983 : 63 and Samuelson, 1996 : 8).

The writings produced during this period were not cast in the form of summae or professional monographs intended for special audiences. They were intended for a general audience of literally educated readers, which, under Renaissance conditions, meant mostly wealthy merchants, professionals and aristocrats (Kraye, 1996 : 118).

Exploiting both the humanistic enthusiasm for classical antiquity and the growing realization of the age and aided by technical advances, artists of genius now

produced an extraordinary number of masterpieces (Brinton, 1969 : 263). Great painters like Giotto, Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo and Titian, were produced during this period. The artists sought to draw and paint pictures that showed what people and nature really looked like (Samuelson, 1996 : 12).

In the city of Urbino, Duke Frederigo built a palace and other public buildings, using the finest architecture of the time. He believed that, if people lived in beautiful surroundings, they would live decent lives (Samuelson, 1996 : 26). New scientific discoveries were also made during this period.

4.4.4. Religion and Science

Scientists absorbed, enlarged and modified the knowledge handed down to them from the Middle Ages and antiquity (Brinton, 1969 : 257). This spirit of secularization prompted people to abandon the church's teaching of "pie in the sky". They argued that the Bible taught that life was important (Samuelson, 1969: 22). Some people openly condemned the luxurious lives led by some of the priests and bishops under the cloak of religion. Earthly achievements received a much more rhetorical ballast than the hereafter.

A basis for rapid advances was laid by the Renaissance masters through their exact and imaginative approach, their sober observations and their numerous and careful descriptions of nature (Kirchner, 1991 : 66). The University of Padua maintained a lively tradition of scientific inquiry. This led to new discoveries and inventions. Contrary to the church's long-held view that the earth was the centre of the solar system, Copernicus discovered that the sun, and not the earth, was the centre of the solar system. He advanced a hypothesis of a heliocentric universe, as opposed to the geocentric (Brinton, 1969, 262).

Despite the tremendous changes that were ushered by the Renaissance, the impact of this movement was not felt by the whole community. The peasants who lived off the land, were hardly touched by new ideas. Many continued living under

the feudal system of the Middle Ages. This meant that the local lord who owned the land, controlled their lives (Samuelson, 1996 : 28). They could move to another village only if they had the local lord's permission.

4.4.5 The Renaissance and Education

The Renaissance was a broad intellectual and cultural movement which contributed to political thought, art, science and all branches of philosophy (Kraye, 1996 : XV). The advent of a secular spirit during the Renaissance led to an increased interest in classical literature. More and more writers also turned to the vernacular languages of Europe (Brinton, 1969 : 257). The invention of the printing press also contributed towards the speedy spreading of the Renaissance spirit.

During the medieval period, only scribes and scholars could read (King, 1982 : 103). The invention of the printing press changed the picture completely. Sir Thomas Moore estimated that more than forty percent of English men could read. Although initially it was biblical texts that were being translated into other languages, this period saw an explosion of popular culture (King, 1982 : 104). Only works that appealed to popular taste tended to get into print. Geoffrey Chaucer (1340 - 1400) is the first English writer whom we today can read with anything like ease and he is one who speaks with particular directness to the modern reader (Barnard, 1984 : 1). Protestant themes, genres and conventions shaped the main tradition of English literature from Sidney until Milton (King, 1982 : 445). Famous writers like Chaucer, Shakespeare, Stuart, Donne and Milton were directly influenced by the Renaissance (Barnard, 1984 : 1 -39).

The revival of the classics and the rise of natural science strengthened faith in human intellect and particularly its ability to study (Du Plooy, et al., 1982 : 323). Small wonder that it was during this period that Copernicus advanced a hypothesis of a heliocentric universe (Brinton, 1969 : 262).

4.5 THE RENAISSANCE AND THE REST OF THE WORLD

The new ideas spawned during the Renaissance were also embraced by the Englishmen Chaucer and Sir Thomas Moore. The Renaissance spirit greatly influenced Sir Thomas Moore's political thinking. His message was that states would not reach their best condition until rulers became good men. He further held that all attempts at political reform ultimately involved the reformer in a vicious circle and that the only obstacles in achieving progress are human obstacles (Kraye, 1996 : 139).

The Renaissance also encouraged extensive trade between Europe, India and China (vide 4.4.3). The European traders to these countries had to traverse Muslim countries and they wanted to avoid this. They decided to reach India by sea. The Portuguese led the way in the finding of a new trade route by sea around Africa to India (Samuelson, 1996 : 30). The Spanish sailed westwards across the Atlantic and discovered America, where the Europeans had never been. They started mining gold in South America and this brought enormous wealth to their country. These voyages of exploration also led to the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama (History Encyclopaedia, 1995 : 339).

The translation of the Bible into many languages also resulted in the growth of the Roman Catholic Church in other parts of the world. Missionaries from Europe travelled to Africa, South America and China. In China they learnt much about Chinese science and brought these ideas back to Europe (Samuelson, 1996 : 30). After the establishment of a refreshment station at the Cape of Good Hope and the expansion of the Cape settlement into the interior of South Africa, missionaries travelled as far as South Africa, where they did invaluable missionary and educational work among the inhabitants of South Africa (vide 1.1).

Although the Renaissance started in Italy, it spread to other parts of Europe. Before examining the African Renaissance, it is essential that the African philosophy and the naissance (French for "birth") be understood.

4.6 AFRICAN PHILOSOPHY AND THE NAISSANCE

4.6.1 Introduction

A philosophy is based upon experience (Masolo, 1994 : 250). This experience determines one's outlook on the life-world and life in general. It is a set of ideas about the nature of reality and about the meaning of life (McNergney and Herbert, 1998 : 130). An African philosophy -

> "... is a belief in the presence of active supernatural forces in the natural world ... and on the ideal of harmonious coexistence with nature. Truth comes not from great books or scientific inquiry, but from personal introspection or oral traditions, and the knowledge and values handed down from ancestors (McNergney and Herbert, 1998 : 156).

Coetzee and Roux (1998 : 87) cite two conceptions of African philosophy:

- The first conceives of an African philosophy as merely consisting of collecting, interpreting and disseminating African proverbs, folktales, myths and other traditional material of a philosophical tendency.
- The second view takes cognizance of modern developments in knowledge, belief, art, morals, law and customs. It has its roots and origin in Africa and was created at the individual and collective levels as human beings interact with each other, intervene in the historical process and respond to the challenges of natural/unnatural phenomena (Makgoba, 1999 : 214).

Another aspect of African culture is African religion, which will be examined next.

4.6.2 African Religion

Religion is the worship of spiritual beings, a response to the ultimate reality, and springs from the individual's reaction to sound facts, to a common cultural,

historical and ecological context (Shorter, 1973 : 45). A religious experience involves the whole person.

Thorpe (1991 : 108) holds that throughout Africa there is a belief in a Supreme Being who created and set the world in motion and then withdrew. Forde, on the other hand, seems to dispute this claim.

> "The act of creation ... is too remote to be of any concern to men and they find no play, nor do they in any way influence the ... philosophy of the cosmos and society" (Forde, 1991 : 59).

It is impossible to speak of a pure African religion at present. Contact with the West and the Arab world influenced African religion tremendously. Such a contact led to change in the lifestyle and when societies were transformed, so were their religions (Ter Haar, 1992 : 11). Such a change led to an acceptance of new ideas and norms within a particular world-view (Clarke, 1998 : 286). Ter Haar (1992 : 11) identifies two forms of African religions, viz. community religions of literate communities and community religions of oral societies. The religion of literate communities will be discussed first.

4.6.2.1 Community religions of literate societies

Religions of Africa are not the crude imaginings of primitive men (Davidson, 1991 : 65). They are well-organized and developed over a long period of time. Literate community religion began to appear around 3500 B. C. in the warm and fertile valley of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Northern India, China, Mexico and Peru. Society split into a tiny urban class of rulers and the lower class of men tilling fields and tending live-stock (Ter Haar, 1992 : 14). Consequently, this religion also split into two, viz. visible state religion in temples and the invisible (home) religion practised in the privacy of the home. In the former, writing developed to keep records. These records

were essential for passing the religion from generation to generation.

> "Their essential raison d'etre has been to provide the individual with his firm place in society, furnish him with evidence of his own identity, and generally equip him with beliefs appropriate to the acceptance of his social condition and survival within his environment (Davidson, 1991 : 64).

Community religions of oral societies differ from this.

4.6.2.2 Community religions of oral societies

Its beginning is lost in the mists of the genesis of humankind (Ter Haar, 1992 : 16). The earliest archeological finds of the religion's behaviour are the burials which have been dated between 100 000 and 50 000 years ago. In this community religion, religious beliefs are passed on to the young ones orally from generation to generation. This religion is not written and can therefore not be formulated into a dogma or doctrine. It does not make room for the hunting down of heretics (vide 2.2.4.3).

4.6.3 Some General Features of African Religions

Ter Haar (1992 : 2) identifies the following features of African religions:

- They are community religions. Social life is not only a concern among the living, but also between the living and unseen beings, kinship being the dominant institution of these societies. In other words, it promotes brotherhood and good neighbourliness. It is believed that bad relations and non-fulfilment of obligations between kin cause not only bad luck through ancestral displeasure, but also illness

- Because religion and other social activities merge, the visibility of African traditional religion is low. It is often hard for outsiders to recognize the religious element in public ceremonies
- These religions are complex. They consist of many unseen beings and entities
- They are pragmatic. They seek tangible salvinic goods in this life. These are sought in manners which respect basic rules of communication between persons who are linked by networks of reciprocal interests, obligations, rights, statuses, expectations and duties in the community. Communication takes three basic forms: verbal address, gifts and respectful behaviour
- It is also characterized by reciprocity. The unseen (ancestors) should be given extra attention in order to be pacified
- The absence of articulation prevents the emergence of doctrines, orthodoxy, theology, claims to truths, factional disputes between sects, the hunting of heretics and missionary impulses to convert others. Beliefs tend to be vague, varied, adoptive and adaptive. Non-articulation also allows African traditional believers a wide range of attitudes towards religious beliefs, from intense faith to scepticism and condemnation. They have an open mind towards other religions. This enables them to adapt to new religious needs such as those caused by modernization and contact with European culture. Most religions in Africa have expanded their traditional religions with imported religions. A good example is the Zion Christian Church (ZCC), headed by Bishop Barnabas Ramarumo Lekganyane. His followers read the Bible, they believe in God and in Lekganyane (his name frequently punctuate their prayers). They also participate in rituals to appease ancestors. The International Pentecostal Church, founded by Frederick Modise, is slightly different. The adherents read the Bible, believe in God and in Modise, but they are strongly opposed to ancestral worship.
- Ancestors watch over their descendants to see whether they behave in an acceptable manner. They believe that ancestors expect them to obey rules of respect and loyalty towards kin and unseen beings

- Their unarticulated nature enables them to integrate elements of other religions in a way which articulated religions cannot. These views about African religions are also shared by Ayisi (1979 : 78 - 80) and Shorter (1973 : 52).

It is in the family unit that the child first comes into contact with the community's religion. With that in mind, the African views of the individual, family and the creator will be examined in the next subsection.

4.6.4 The African View of the Individual, the Family and the Creator

The Africans are a communal unity (Olupana, 1991 : 41). An African is an individual but also the other. The individual's behaviour is judged in relation to the group or community behaviour. Any deviation from the community's normal behaviour is said to kindle the wrath of ancestors.

A typical African family is an extended family. It is characterized by prearranged marriages.

> "One of the basic features of the social system is the linking of brother and sister, whereby cattle coming from the marriage of a sister are allocated to her brother to enable him to marry a wife (Forde, 1991 : 56).

Marriage was usually the result of negotiations between the two families, the boy's parents taking the initiative (Schapera, 1970 : 134). The children had little or no say in the matter; girls in particular were sometimes betrothed while still young. Marriage took place when they had gone through initiation and a large premium was placed on the girl's virginity (Ayisi, 1979 : 6). This practice shifted a little bit with the lapse of time, as outlined below:

> "A young man would inform his father that he felt it was time for him to marry and ask him (the son) a bride. The father would tell his wife and other elders in the family, who would then take pains to look for a good and compatible spouse for their son" (City Press, July 4, 1999 and Jurgens, 1983 : 143).

In choosing the bride, the standing of her family was investigated. Their financial position was considered relatively unimportant, but their social reputation was critical, as was freedom from the taint of witchcraft (Tyrrell and Jurgens, 1983 : 43). When the two parties were satisfied, the bond between the bride and the groom was sealed by lobola (payment for a bride in the form of cattle, and lately money). In most African societies, all unions between men and women are regularized by the exchange of gifts and payments in kind by the man's people and the bride's people (Ayisi, 1979 : 7). Lobola legitimises marriage and ensure that any children the wife may bear, will belong to the father's lineage (West and Morris, 1976 : 17). Today, church marriages are regarded as a norm, as a result of the influence of Christianity.

Prearranged marriages expedited participation in religious ceremonies, as both the man and the wife were of the same faith. Time and again, the families would sacrifice to their ancestors. The sacrificial meals were symbolic, emphasizing that the family/community had been brought together with the ancestors (Olupana, 1991 : 41).

Africans believe that those who die enter a condition of collective immortality and can be propitiated through sacrifices made to them. It is believed that the dead pass on the individual's and community prayers to God. When a relative dies, he or she is buried by close kinsmen who, as part of the rites, give him messages to departed relatives (Ayisi, 1979 : 79). On this occasion, all sorts of messages are

sent through this person. Ayisi (1979 : 79) further states that religious rites which serve as a means of contacting the spirit world are temporarily abandoned in favour of personal messages. This is like sending letters to a friend or relative abroad through another person rather than through the post.

At present, one cannot say whether Africa has a modern or traditional world- view. Both are present in much of the same make-up of Africa (Olupana, 1991 : 36). This is a result of the merging of cultures that took place in Africa over the years. This study regards this as the naissance. Naissance is a French word for "birth" (The Concise French Dictionary, 1968 : 561).

Against the background of the above claim, a study of the African Renaissance will be undertaken next.

4.7 THE AFRICAN RENAISSANCE AS A PHILOSOPHY

4.7.1 Introduction

The word "African" as used in everyday life, has three meanings:

- Firstly, it is used to refer to an indigenous inhabitant of Africa (Oxford, 1982 : 16). Someone who belongs naturally to Africa, irrespective of ancestry. In this regard, owing allegiance to Africa is what counts.
- Secondly, it is used to refer to blacks in Africa (South Africa). It refers to people belonging to the black race of Africa (Random House College Dictionary, 1988 : 24). This is the definition used frequently by politicians. For political expediency and for purposes of acceptability to the white electorate, black politicians occasionally resort to the first definition.
- Thirdly, its Afrikaans equivalent, "Afrikaner", refers exclusively to the white inhabitants of South Africa of Dutch and French Huguenot (European descendants) descent whose mother tongue is Afrikaans (Random House College Dictionary, 1988 : 24). There is much controversy on the issue of

being an African with conservative whites refusing to be labelled African, but who prefer Afrikaner instead. This poses questions regarding the real meaning of African, and inevitably the African Renaissance.

4.7.2 The Meaning of the African Renaissance

The word renaissance is derived from the French "renaitre", which means "to be born again"; French and Latin renasci, where re means "again" and nasci means "to be born" (Merriam Webster Collegiate Dictionary, 1993 : 990).

The concept "African Renaissance" entered the political discourse recently, therefore it is not easy to find a readily available definition, let alone one that is generally acceptable (Fiya, 2000 : 10). The following gives a picture of what the African Renaissance is:

- Shaw (Politica, Vol. 17, No.3, 1998 : 61) describes it in terms of security. He looks at the African Renaissance in terms of the peace-keeping operations leading towards a regional security community.
- This view is shared by Murobe (1999 : 3), who also sees the African Renaissance as regionalisation whose success is dependent on the following:

  - The politics of the "privatization of the state", which has characterized African politics, must be superseded by a politics that is reminiscent of its socio-economic and political aspirations of its people
  - This can be achieved when African economies and politics are unified to the extent that unification should culminate in the formation of a single currency
  - A paradigm shift in relations between people and the environment should be part and parcel of the new social, economic and political environment

- This, according to Murobe (1999 : 3), in the global context entails going beyond patriotism. Africans need to see themselves as belonging to a larger reality than that which is contextual. They need to learn to think of those people who stay in lands far away from theirs as their relatives, regardless of language, colour and culture. This will fly in the face of Afro-pessimism - a believe that Africa is a failure.
- Shaw (Politica, Vol. 17, No. 3, 1998 : 70) also points out that regionalism on the continent at the start of the new millennium may become increasingly based on realism in which revived as well as restructured states, along with other compatible actors, come to create new security alliances or communities to advance sustainable human development. This, in practice, amounts to political restructuring, which Kornegay and Landsberg (African Security Review, Vol. 7, No.4, 1998 : 3) explain vividly.
- Kornegay and Landsberg (African Security Review, Vol. 7, No.4, 1998 : 3) regard the African Renaissance as the rebirth of the continent that has for far too long been the object of exploitation and plunder. According to Fiya (2000 : 13), it is in actual fact a continental call for a new beginning which urges Africans to start developing themselves in the absence of colonial supervisors (Fiya, 2000 : 13). It is a rediscovery of Africanness at the time when Africa is free from domination by foreign powers and cultures.
- Knowledgeable people contend that Africanness (Pan-Africanism) and the African Renaissance are two sides of the same coin. Africanness was a reaction against the colonization of Africa by the European powers. Between 1880 and 1900, the whole of Africa was under Europe an domination as a result of a massive colonial onslaught, known as the European "scramble for Africa" (Shillington, 1995 : 301). The colonizers frowned upon and dismissed African customs as pagan. During and after the colonization of Africa by the Europeans, Africa lost much of what was peculiarly African. This led African leaders like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Julius Nyerere (1921 - October 1999), Tanzanian president who died recently, and other African leaders to assert Africanness with boldness. This school of thought, which was also spearheaded by George Padmore

of the Caribbean and W.E.B. Du Bois of the U.S.A., came to be known as Pan-Africanism (African Security Review, Vol. 7, No. 3, 1998 : 44). It served as a motivation force to inspire Africans to fight for freedom from colonial rule. Briefly stated, Pan-Africanism simply means "we are of Africa and our freedom is linked to the whole continent" (Sowetan, December 2, 1998). Africanness assumed various models of African socialism, rastafarianism, black consciousness, ubuntu, non-party politics and people's democracy, which did not register much success (African Security Review, Vol. 7, No. 3, 1998 : 44).

- On the other hand, the African Renaissance is a dynamic post-uhuru call for the revival of Africa in all spheres of human endeavour (Sowetan, December 2, 1998). It is a continental consciousness, or reawakening - one that is above any political movement. It is a vision, the setting of a goal, a proposal and a call for action (Fiya, 2000 : 13). The vision of and call for a new beginning arise from the undesirable and unacceptable socio-political and economic conditions that have formed, and still form, a central part of Africa's reality. Thami Mazwai of Enterprise Magazine states that " ... it is about us, our being and future as a continent" (Sowetan, December 2, 1998). In agreeing with Thami Mazwai, the American civil rights leader Andrew Young describes it as

> " ... the commitment of families in Africa to a set of values that have kept our traditions and culture intact over the centuries, a renewal of those values, a renewal of those traditions" (SABC -TV, March 30, 1999).

- Reverend James Orange, who led the American delegation to the African Renaissance conference in Durban, described it as "a glorious rebirth of a great South Africa and a great Africa" (SABC-TV, March 30, 1999). The views expressed by Fiya, Mazwai, Young and Orange, convey the notion of Mayibuye (Let Africa come back), which shares the political landscape comfortably with nation-building.

Against the background of the above, it can justly be said in the South African context that the African Renaissance is an emerging conceptual framework for public policy development on the part of a fledgeling post-Apartheid regime that is still trying to sort out a coherent transition in a highly complex environment (African Security Review, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1998 : 4).

Although the concept of the African Renaissance is used mostly in the South African political discourse, its origin can be traced back to the Pan-Africanist movement of the 1930s. One of the West African writers, Nnandi Azikwe, titled his book Renascent Afrika. This concept was born anew in the southern part of the continent and became connected with the name Thabo Mbeki (the ANC leader) (Shubin, 2000 : 1). It has lost its strong Africanist flavour and embraces non-racialism.

The ANC's reconciliation of Africanism and non-racialism means going back to stating the obvious - that South Africa is an African country. The notion of an African Renaissance may therefore be interpreted as

- a repositioning of South Africa to undertake a renewal agenda that is organically internal and external
- a motivating, ideological framework for forging a nation-building agenda that is organically internal and external.

In addition, it aims at enlisting the participation of all sectors in the nation's domestic renewal and the external role that South Africa is called upon to play in the rest of Africa (African Security Review, Vol. 7, No.4, 1998 : 5). When a phenomenological researcher penetrates to the eidos of the African Renaissance phenomenon, the following characteristics come to light:

- The African Renaissance and Africanness are two sides of the same coin
- It shares the same terrain with the Mayibuye concept and nation-building
- Africanness means "we are of Africa and out freedom is linked to the whole continent"

- The African Renaissance is "about us, our being and future as a continent"
- It is a rebirth, reawakening and renewal of African values
- It is an emerging conceptual framework for public policy development and formulation by the post-Apartheid South African regime
- It is people-based, people-driven
- It is non-partisan and non-racial
- It provides motivation for good governance
- It has to do with regional security and trade

Table 4.1 is a phenomenological analysis of the African Renaissance

TABLE 4.1 : A PHENOMENOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE AFRICAN RENAISSANCE

No.	Characteristic	Description	Practical Implementation
1.	Africanness	Belonging or pertaining to the African continent	The African people being proud of their self-worth
2.	Mayibuye	Let Africa come back	Encouragement of African values and norms
3.	Patriotism	Love for one's country	Promoting love for Africa
4.	African-centred	Having Africa as the focal point	Having the African Renaissance engineered by Africans themselves
5.	Rebirth	Being born-again	Bringing back to life extinct, valuable African values
6.	Emerging policy	A guideline that is newly hatched	Uncertainty about implementation as it is still a new concept
7.	People-based	Getting direction and guidance from the public	The African Renaissance is non-partisan and non-racial
8.	Non-partisanism	No party influence	The African Renaissance is not wrapped up in political party garb
9.	Non-racialism	Having no regard for race	The African Renaissance is embracive of all races. Allegiance to Africa of prime importance

As the African Renaissance, in the context of South Africa, is associated with the ANC president, Thabo Mbeki, it is absolutely vital that the hallmarks of his perception of the African Renaissance be examined.

4.7.3 President Thabo Mbeki's Hallmarks of the African Renaissance

The concept of the African Renaissance started to receive a much more rhetorical ballast with the ascension to power of the ANC in April 1994 first non-racial and democratic elections (vide 1.1, last paragraph). Its president, Nelson Mandela, was reported widely in the media as the reconciliation man and his deputy, Thabo Mbeki, became a strong proponent of the African Renaissance. His assumption of the presidency in the 1999 elections, placed him in a better position to propagate his views.

4.7.3.1 Reconciliation and transformation

Transformation in South Africa led to Thabo Mbeki's assertion or anticipation of an impending African Renaissance (Politica, Vol. 17, No.3, 1998 : 70). In his advocacy of the African Renaissance, Mbeki lays stress on reconciliation and transformation:

> "I believe it would be true of all multi-cultural societies that peace, stability and good neighbourliness must be based on such striving towards reconciliation. But inevitably, because we invariably have to deal with societies in which inequality and frustrated aspirations already exist, we have to twin the concept of reconciliation with ... transformation" (Mbeki, 1999 : 55).

To achieve this, he emphasizes that the starting point should be the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic country. Such a society was born when all sections of the South African population went to the polls to elect the first non-racial, democratic government on April 27, 1994 (Act 108, 1996, preamble).

Makgoba (1999 : 79 - 82) maintains that this reconciliation is characterized by the following:

- The new dispensation is a non-racial democracy resulting from the transition from white minority to black majority rule
- The dominance of the liberal paradigm in South Africa
- Conventional liberalism shares a strong sense of social justice: "the eye for an eye" and "tooth for a tooth" slogans do not apply
- The former oppressors and exploiters of the Apartheid era were not viewed as the vanquished in 1994
- Reconciliation represents class fulfilment of those who make it immediately in the new dispensation. The African nationalist petit bourgeoisie is only too content to forgive as the necessary price for attaining class goal
- Reconciliation is the forgiveness by a small elite that inherited state power without the fulfilment of social justice
- It is both an ideology and a policy that becomes increasingly untenable as the social demands of the mass of the people grow bigger and louder, in an economy that remains essentially narrow based and of a colonial nature
- Reconciliation is usually confined to black-white relations, sometimes to the exclusion of that which might be desirable between black and black

The non-racist, non-sexist society mentioned above, presupposes a multi-cultural society, which will be examined next.

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4.7.3.2 Cultural diversity

South Africa is a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society. This cultural diversity should be recognized in the cultural renewal and reconstruction of the country from its Apartheid past. This the government did because, from its inception, the ANC espoused the goal of an equitable settlement that would recognize the cultural diversity of the South African society. Mbeki (1999 : 56) further states:

> "The cultural majority in our society genuinely did not seek to dominate, but was committed to a just and stable settlement responsive to the fact of the diversity of our country" .

Accommodating the cultural minority by the cultural majority brings about stability, which will also come under the spotlight.

4.7.3.3 Peace and stability

Peace and stability, another important feature of the African Renaissance, would flow naturally from a recognition of the cultural diversity of South Africa. It makes possible meaningful participation of all role players, however small, in the determination of the destiny of the country (Mbeki, 1999 : 56). Such a participation by even the small minorities should lead to an outcome that enjoys legitimacy and therefore inspires the allegiance of the people as a whole.

Of all the sixteen parties that contested the June 2, 1999 elections, it was only two parties that went to the polls on the colour ticket - the Afrikaner Unity Movement (AEB) and the Freedom Front (VF). Even parties that had a history of exclusiveness, like the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo), adopted an accommodative

stance. The Azapo Manifesto spoke of "addressing the basic needs of all our people" (Azanian People's Organization Manifesto, 1999 elections). That of the PAC read: "We are committed to a non-racial, gender affirming, Africanist/SA wherein human potential is realized to the fullest" (PAC Manifesto, 1999 elections). The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), which was one of the strongest critics of the ANC over the years, indicated even before the elections that it would cooperate with the ANC after the elections. That the ANC received 66% of the national vote and won in seven out of nine provinces, is also indicative of the allegiance of the majority. Table 4.2 illustrates the national picture and Table 4.3 the provinces.

TABLE 4. 2 : NATIONAL ELECTION RESULTS, JUNE 2, 1999

Party Name		1999			1994	
		Votes	%	Seats	%	Seats
1.	African National Congress (ANC)	10 601 330	66.35	266	62.65	252
2.	Democratic Party (DP)	1 527 337	9.56	38	1.73	7
3.	Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	1 371 477	8.58	34	10.54	43
4.	New National Party (NNP)	1 098 215	6.87	28	20.39	82
5.	United Democratic Movement (UDM)	546 790	3.42	14	DNP	DNP
6.	African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	228 975	1.43	6	0.45	2
7.	Freedom Front (FF)	127 217	0.80	3	2.17	9
8.	United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)	125 280	0.78	3	DNP	DNP
9.	Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)	113 125	0.71	3	1.25	
10.	Federal Alliance (FA)	86 704	0.54	2	DNP	DNP
11.	Minority Front (MF)	48 277	0.30	1	DNP	DNP
12.	Afrikaner Eenheidsbeweging (AEB)	46 292	0.29	1	DNP	DNP
13.	Azanian People's Organization (Azapo)	27 257	0.17	1	DNP	DNP
14.	Abolition of Income Tax and Usury Party (AITUP)	10 611	0.07	0	DNP	DNP
15.	Government of the People Green Party (CPGP)	9 193	0.06	0	DNP	DNP
16.	Socialist Party of Azania (SOPA)	9 062	0.06	0	DNP	DNP
TOTAL		15 977 142	100	400	DNP	DNP

DNP + Did not participate

Source : Independent Electoral Commission

TABLE 4. 3 : PROVINCIAL ELECTION RESULTS, JUNE 2, 1999

Party	Province (Seats and Percentage)																	
	EC		FS		GP		KZN		MP		NC		NP		NW		WC	
	S	%	S	%	S	%	S	%	S	%	S	%	S	%	S	%	S	%
ACDP	0	0,96	0	0,90	1	1,16	1	1,81	0	1,12	0	1,53	1	1,10	0	0,94	1	2,79
ANC	47	73,80	25	80,79	50	67,85	32	39,38	26	84,86	20	64,32	44	88,29	27	78,97	18	42,07
AEC	0	0,17	0	0,40	0	0,31	0	0,20	0	0,40	0	0,53	0	0,40	0	0,51	0	0,18
AMP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0,60
Azapo	-	-	-	-	0	0,16	0	0,17	0	0,10	0	0,41	0	0,54	-	-	-	-
DP	4	6,29	2	5,33	13	17,97	7	7,16	1	4,46	1	4,77	1	1,42	1	3,26	5	11,91
DPF	-	-	-	-	-	0,89	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0,50	-	-	-	-
FA	0	0,16	0	0,81	1	-	0	0,33	0	0,80	0	0,53	0	0,32	0	0,55	0	0,26
GPGP	-	-	-	-	-	3,51	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0,15
IFP	0	0,33	0	0,47	3	0,03	34	41,90	0	1,42	0	0,53	0	0,34	0	0,52	0	0,18
LP	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MF	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2,93	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MUM	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0,08	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NACOPA	-	-	-	-	-	3,89	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0,07

NNP	2	3,22	2	5,20	3	0,73	3	3,28	1	2,47	8	24,17	1	1,70	1	2,29	17	38,39
PAC	1	1,14	0	1,15	0	-	0	0,26	0	0,65	0	0,66	1	1,41	0	0,74	0	0,49
PLP	-	-	-	-	-	0,05	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0,06
SPOA	-	-	0	0,11	0	-	0	0,12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SSP	-	-	-	-	-	0,23	-	-	0	0,38	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UCDP	-	-	0	0,78	0	-	-	-	0	0,23	-	-	0	-	3	9,57	-	-
ULA	-	-	0	0,27	-	1,95	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UDM	9	13,60	0	1,67	1	1,25	1	1,17	1	1,42	0	0,90	1	2,51	0	1,29	1	2,40
FF/VF	0	0,33	1	2.11	1	-	0	0,23	1	1,70	1	1,66	0	0,65	1	1,38	0	0,40
WOVL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	0	0,04
XP	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0,83	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	63	100	30	100	73	100	80	100	30	100	30	100	49	100	33	100	42	100

(S) = Seat (-) = Did not contest (O) = Contested but obtained zero seats

Source : Independent Electoral Commission

4.7.3.4 Common allegiance

Transformation and common allegiance are not easy to achieve without making any compromises. The issue of international mediation of the role of the Zulu monarch and the Kingdom of KwaZulu/Natal caused serious tensions between the IFP and the ANC in the run-up to the April 1994 elections (SABC-TV, July 17, 1993). The issue never surfaced again in the countdown to the June 1999 elections. It is also necessary that whites who occupied a privileged position during the Apartheid era come to terms with the reality that their privileged position will be affected by transformation and change. Education also plays a significant role in any form of change.

4.7.3.5 The role of education and the intelligentsia

Education is a tool for nation-building. It can create a democracy where neither race, ethnicity, gender, religion, nor creed performs any discriminatory role in the individual or collective pursuit of human fulfilment (Mbeki, 1999 : 39). The European Renaissance was led by intellectuals (vide 4.3). Although the African Renaissance has just entered the political discourse, the advocates of this philosophy are widely regarded as black intellectuals. This shows that the African Renaissance as a broad movement has a strong intellectual backing. The African masses are also encouraged to participate in open debate to influence the evolution of the societies in which they should no longer be the objects, but the makers of history (Mbeki, 1999 : 58). Mbeki favours the empowerment of the majority through education to give them access to equal opportunities to enter the academic world. He maintains that these intellectuals would be charged with the responsibility of safeguarding an accelerated as well as a sustainable social, economic and cultural resistance (Mbeki, 1999 : 38). Again this shows that a strong economy plays a vital role.

4.7.4.6 Trade and economy

Another factor that contributed to the success of the European Renaissance was trade. The Italian traders from Venice and Florence traded with Asia (vide 4.3). The placing of trade and finance matters in the hands of Alec Erwin and Trevor Manuel, came as no surprise. The involvement of South Africa in the neighbouring countries is dictated by humanitarian and economic interests. Being an economist, Mbeki is fully aware that world bodies like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank are essential to the success of the African Renaissance.

The views expressed by Mbeki on the African Renaissance can be summarized as follows:

- Reconciliation of the various race groups and social transformation
- Recognition of the country's cultural diversity
- Eliminating cultural domination by one group
- Promotion of a common allegiance to South Africa
- The maintenance of peace and stability
- Meaningful participation by all role players in government
- The provision of the best quality education
- Building a strong economy
- The provision of good health-care services

In the next subsection, an investigation will be conducted to establish whether the South African constitution makes provision for the African Renaissance.

4.7.4 The Constitutional Provisions for the African Renaissance

To set in motion the reconciliation process, which is essential for the African Renaissance, the government established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) for the purpose of healing the wounds of the past. This commission was viewed with great suspicion from two quarters:

- The white conservatives regarded it as some form of Nuremberg Trials. (These were trials of the Nazis accused of war crimes [Random House College Dictionary, 1988 : 913]). The whites felt that it was aimed at persecuting Apartheid government officials like P.W. Botha, who was once the country's state president.
- On the other hand, organizations like Azapo regarded it as nothing but a venue for the shedding of tears as people guilty of gross human rights violations during Apartheid were not brought to book.

As the African Renaissance is a broad movement, it is essential that the constitution should lay the foundation for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people (Act 108, 1996, preamble). During the Apartheid era, government was in the hands of the white minority only. The inclusion of all citizens in the government of the day augurs well for the African Renaissance. It fosters peace and stability. The government also takes cognisance of the cultural diversity of the country.

On the question of cultural diversity and religious beliefs, the constitution accords everyone the right to freedom of conscience, religion, belief and opinion (Act 108, 1996, par. 15). This provision is inclusive of the language issue. On the issue of language, the constitution states that

> "Everyone has the right to use language and participate in the cultural life of their choice, but no one exercising these rights may do so in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights" (Act 108, par. 30).

The constitution further states that "... persons belonging to a cultural, religious or linguistic community, may not be denied the right ... to enjoy their culture, practice their religion and use their language" (Act 198, par.31). Mechanisms to protect everyone, are embodied in the constitution, as pointed out below.

The Public Prosecutor, the Human Rights Commission, the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of the Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities and the Commission for Gender Equality see to it that people's rights are not violated (Act 108, 1996, par. 190). Any political party which has a constituency, is free to contest the elections.

The African Renaissance ideas will spread easily in a climate of peace and stability. To this end, the government restructured and integrated the security services which were previously segregated along racial lines. The security services of the RSA consists of a single defence force, a single police service and intelligence services established in terms of the constitution (Act 108, 1996, par. 199).

Besides peace and stability, the government aims at ensuring that proper health care is provided. The constitution states that everyone has the right to have access to health care services, including reproductive health care (Act 108, 1996, par. 27). Children under the age of six, receive free medical care.

The European Renaissance was led by intellectuals and for the African Renaissance to be a success, the provision of the best quality education is essential. The constitution states that everyone has the right to basic education, including adult basic education (Act 108, 1996 : par. 29).

Table 4.4 analyses the African Renaissance vis-à-vis the South African constitution, to establish areas of compatibility.

In the next subsection, the researcher investigates the implementation of an education policy to enhance the African Renaissance.

TABLE 4.4 : A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE AFRICAN RENAISSANCE VIS-à-VIS THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTITUTION

No.	African Renaissance	South African Constitution
1.	Africanness	South Africa belongs to all who live in it
2.	Non-racialism	Citizenship extended to all
3.	Cultural diversity	Constitution protects all cultures
4.	Common allegiance	One united South Africa
5.	Meaningful participation by all	All eligible persons above the age of 18 participate in the organs of government
6.	Peace and stability	South Africa has a single Defence Force and a single Police force for the whole country
7.	Education	The right of education, including adult basic education guaranteed
8.	Strong and vibrant economy	The South African Constitution permits free market systems
9.	Health care	The right of access to health care services guaranteed
10.	Traditional leadership	The Constitution assigns an insignificant role to traditional leadership

4.7.5 The Implementation of an Education Policy to Enhance the African Renaissance

The South African Schools' Act, No. 84 of 1996, provides the educational foundation for the African Renaissance.

The Renaissance has been defined as "a rebirth", "a renewal", or "to be born again" (vide 4.7.2). It involves breaking away from the past and starting anew. The moment of starting anew in South Africa, commenced on April 27, 1994 with the holding of the first non-racial elections (vide 1.1). Consequently, a uniform education policy for the whole country, known as the South African Schools' Act, was enacted. The act aimed at laying a strong foundation for the development

of all South African learners' talents and capabilities and advance the democratic transformation of society (Act 84, 1996, preamble). Unlike in the past, admission to all public schools is open to all, regardless of race.

On the question of admission to public schools, the Act states:

- A public school must admit learners and serve educational requirements without unfairly discriminating in any way
- The governing body of a public school may not administer any test related to the admission of a learner to a public school or direct or authorize the principal of a school or any other person ro administer such a test
- No learner may be refused admission to a public school on the grounds that his/her parent(s)

    - is unable to pay, or has not paid, school fees determined by the governing body
    - does not subscribe to the mission statement of the school
    - has refused to enter into a contract in terms of which the parent waves any claim for damage arising out of the education of a learner

- The Minister may, by notice in the Government Gazette after consultation with the Council of ministers, determine age requirements for the admission of learners to a school or different grades at school
- Subject to this Act and any applicable law, the admission policy of a public school is determined by the governing body of such a school
- In determining the placement of a learner with special education needs, the Head of the Department and the principal must take into account the rights and wishes of the parents of such a learner
- An application for the admission of a learner to a public school must be made to the education department in a manner determined by the Head of the Department

- If any application in terms of the above is refused, the Head of the Department must inform the parent in writing of such refusal and the reason therefor
- Any learner or parent of a learner who has been refused admission to a public school, may appeal against the decision to the Member of the Executive Council (Act 84, 1996, par. 5).

All these ensure that the school is non-discriminatory and inclusive of everybody. This augurs well for the African Renaissance, which is a broad intellectual movement (vide 4.1). Another advantage is that learners are involved in the running of the school as the school governing body comprises parents, learners and educators (vide 3.3.2).

Breaking with the past also meant a new approach to teaching-learning. The new approach came to be known as the Outcomes-Based Education (OBE). OBE identifies eight learning areas which are in agreement with the views expressed by Thabo Mbeki on the African Renaissance (vide 4.7.4.6, summary). Those learning areas are:

- Communication, literacy and languages
- Mathematics literacy, Mathematics and Mathematics Science
- Human and Social Sciences
- Technological Sciences

Table 4.5 is a summary of the old and the new approaches.

TABLE 4.5 : COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE OLD AND THE NEW METHODS OF TEACHING

Summary of the "Old"	Summary of the "New"
The emphasis is on what the teacher teaches	The emphasis is on what the learner knows and can do (skills)
The teacher transmits knowledge to the learners	Learners construct their own knowledge and practice skills
The teacher takes the responsibility for learning and teaching	Learners share the responsibility of their learning
Assessment is done at the end of a section of work	Assessment is ongoing to establish and respond to each learner's needs
Tests and examinations are used to compare, place and grade pupils	Learners are assessed in a variety of ways and different situations
The emphasis is on competition and comparison of pupils	The emphasis is on cooperation and support of each learner
Learning is divided into fixed subjects and fixed periods of time	Learning is integrated and time is used flexibility
The Junior Primary Phase consists of Sub A, Sub B and Standard 1	The Foundation Phase consists of Grade O, Grade 1, Grade 2 and Grade 3

Source : Curriculum 2005 : 12 -13

In South Africa, there are factors that are promotive of the African Renaissance and those that militate against the concept.

4.7.6 Factors promoting the African Renaissance

The following factors put the African Renaissance in a better position to succeed:

- The Constitution of South Africa made the country one sovereign, democratic state (Act 108, 1996, par. 1). This political arrangement promotes the African Renaissance as a broad intellectual movement.

- The ANC, whose president (Thabo Mbeki) is a chief advocate of the African Renaissance, got 66% in the June 1999 elections. By implication, this is a strong mandate for the African Renaissance
- The South African Schools' Act makes provision for an education of high quality for all learners (Act 84, 1996, preamble). Its provisions are such that all learners will be carried on board in the spreading of the Renaissance spirit
- COSAS, which commands a majority following among black learners, is well-positioned to make a tremendous contribution in propagating the African Renaissance. (COSAS and the ANC are bed-fellows)
- The South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU) and the National Professional Teachers' Organization of South Africa (NAPTOSA, which also made an enormous contribution to end Apartheid education, are well-placed to spread the African Renaissance
- An acceptance by the South African public of the challenges facing the African Renaissance, will promote its spread. Reverend James Orange, leader of the American delegation at the launch of the African Renaissance in Durban, pointed out that the African Renaissance will only materialize

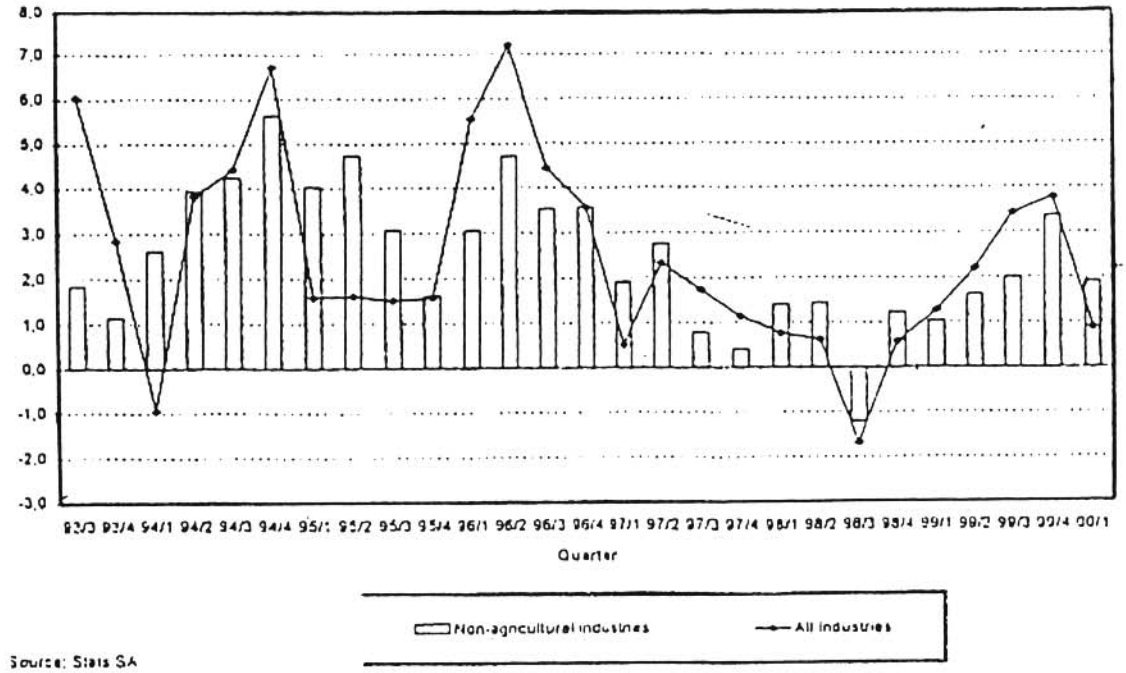
> "when justice will roll down as waters
> and righteousness like a mighty stream,
> when blacks will not be asked to get back,
> when brown can stick around,
> when yellow can be mellow,
> when the redman will get headmen,
> when white must be alright (SABC-TV, March 30, 1999).

4.7.7 Factors Militating against the African Renaissance

There are many factors militating against the African Renaissance. The following are some of them:

- There is a serious economic decline (Dekker and Van Schalkwyk, 1996 : 463)
- The economic growth has been vacillating since 1993, dropping from 6,0% in 1993 to 1,0% in January 1994. It soared to slightly above 7,0% in February 1996 and dropped to slightly to below 1,0% in January 2000. Figure 4.1 shows this trend.

FIGURE 4.1 : ANNUAL GROWTH RATE IN THE SEASONALLY ADJUSTED REAL VALUE ADDED AT BASIC PRICES

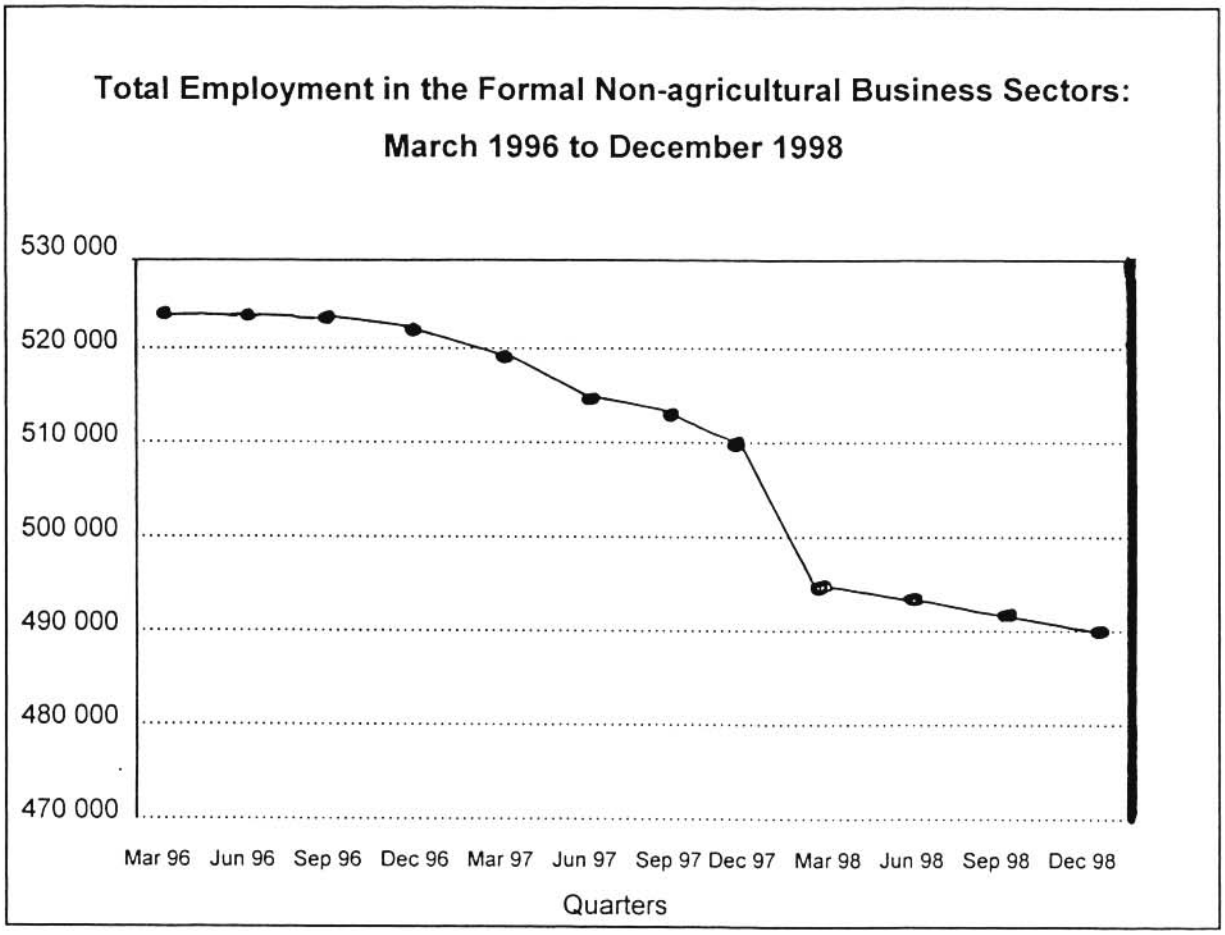


Source: Stats SA

- The above-mentioned trends contribute to a shrinking employment market. According to the March 2000 Survey of Total Employment and Earnings (SAEE), a total of 4 753 858 persons were employed in the formal non-agricultural business at the end of March 2000. This reflects an annual decrease of 3,3%, or 161 960 employees, compared to March 1999 and a quarterly decrease of 0,8%, or 40 300 employees, between December 1999 and March 2000 (Statistics South Africa, PO 271, June 27, 2000 : 1).

Figure 4.2 illustrates this trend.

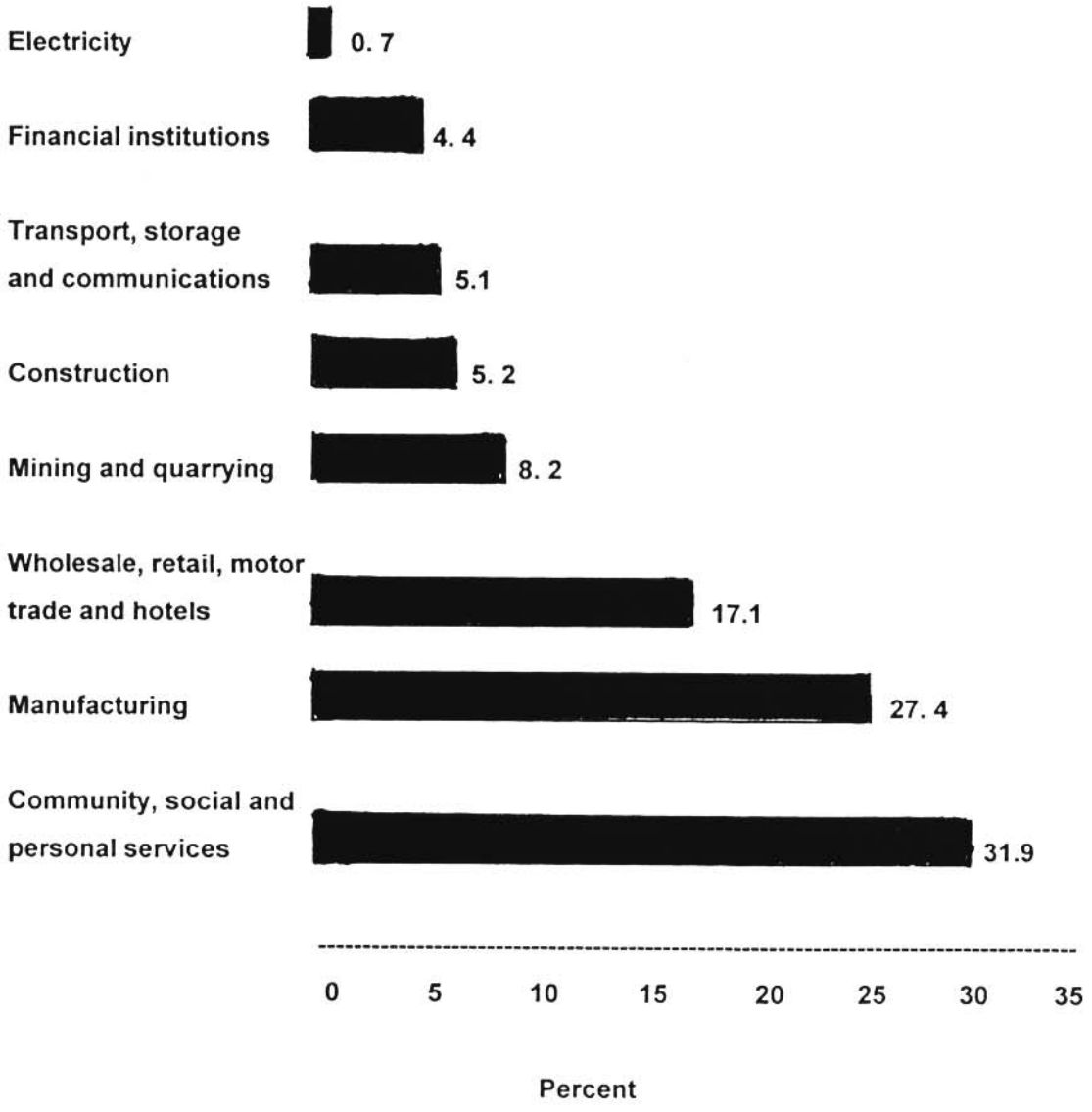
FIGURE 4.2 : TOTAL EMPLOYMENT IN THE NON-AGRICULTURAL BUSINESS SECTOR



Source : Stats SA

Figure 4.3 represents a breakdown of this trend according to the various industries

FIGURE 4. 3 : EMPLOYMENT DISTRIBUTION IN THE NON-AGRICULTURAL SECTORS : DECEMBER 1998



* The taxi industry is not included

** Beyond government, this sector is not fully covered in labour survey. For example, medical and dental activities in the private sector is excluded

Source : Stats SA

The unemployment rate (mining included) from 1996 to 1998 was as follows:

- 1996 : 33,0%
- 1997 : 36,0%
- 1998 : 37,5%

(Statistics South Africa, PO 317, May 18, 2000)

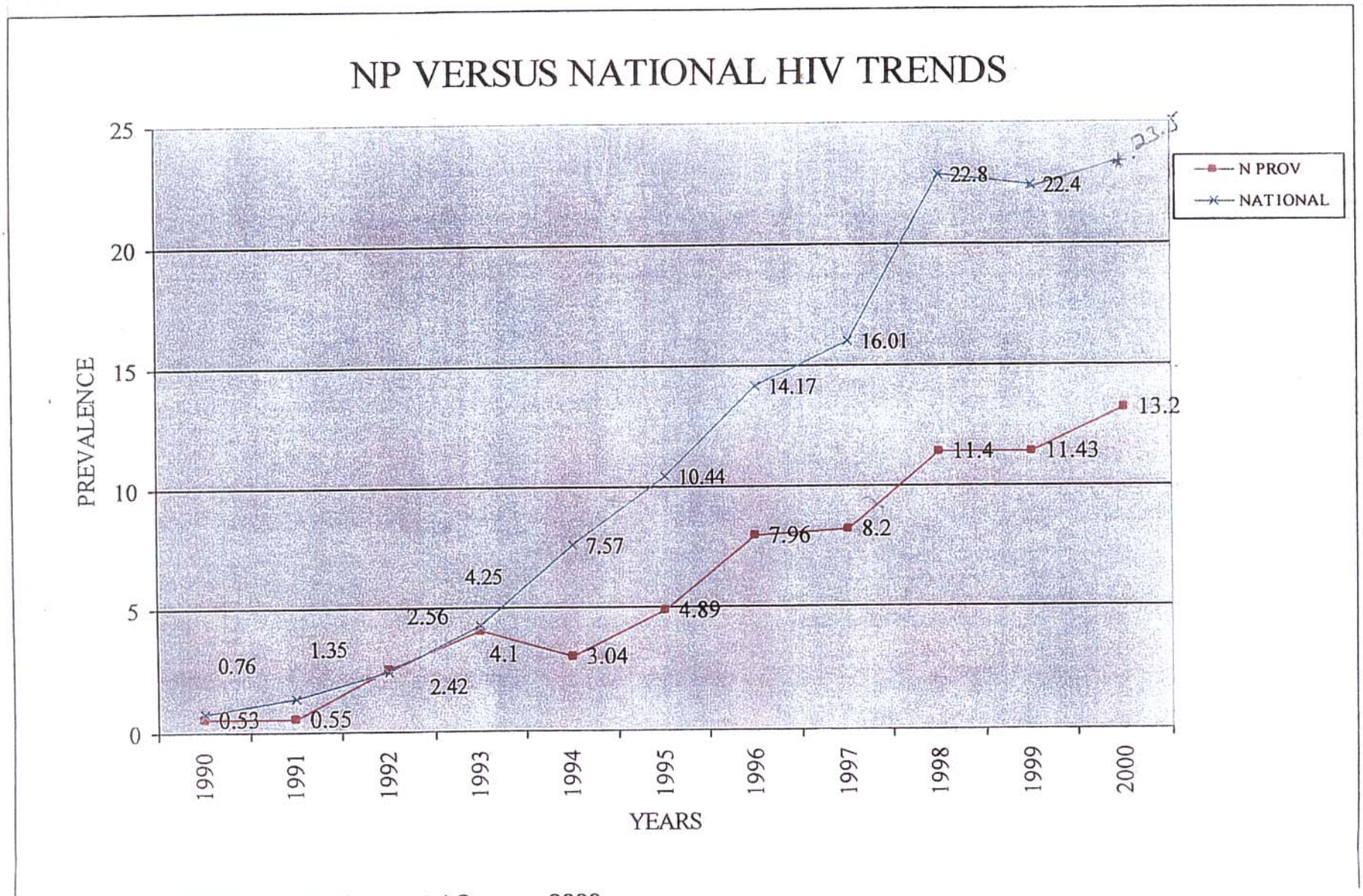
- This upward trend continues annually. Over the previous four years, 500 000 jobs were destroyed (Sowetan, December 2, 1998). Towards the end of 1999, the media reported the impending retrenchments of a further 500 000 mine workers as a result of the sharp drop in the price of gold. Over the years, mining corporations like Anglo-American were known for their generous contributions towards education in the form of bursaries, school buildings and equipment. The impending closure of some of the gold mines will deal education and the African Renaissance a severe blow.
- The alarming crime rate also works against the African Renaissance. Statistics South Africa conducted a countrywide survey on victims of crime in partnership with the Secretariat of Safety and Security and the United Nations Development Programme. It was found that about 20% of all households experienced at least one crime during 1997. Approximately one household in 200 reported deliberate killing or murder. One third of all households with an annual income of more than R96 000, had experienced at least one crime during 1997. One person in every 200 had experienced a sexual offence (Stats South Africa Annual Report, 1998 : 38). Sowetan (December 15, 1998) stated that one in every five South African homes experienced crime the previous year. Another publication of the same paper pointed out that more than 60 murders, more than 36 rapes, more than 170 armed robberies, 73 attempted murders, 35 vehicle hijackings and 670 cases of housebreaking occur every day (Sowetan 11, 1998).

- The climate portrayed above, is not conducive for education. It is a well-known fact that some of the black high school pupils go to school carrying guns. Teachers and learners get shot on the school premises without any arrests. Learners (especially girls) are not safe on the school premises and on their way home. Others are physically abused on the school grounds and when they leave school (Sowetan, July 32, 1999).
- Although learners contributed to the downfall of Apartheid education (vide 1.1), they remained trapped in the cobweb of the "struggle" mentality characterized by defiance of authority. This resulted in great disciplinary problems where learners sometimes physically assaulted their own teachers and never faced any disciplinary action. SASA compounded this problem by outlawing corporal punishment (Act 84, 1996, par. 20).
- The struggle for a democratic education also conditioned SADTU to be defiant. Its members are reluctant to carry out even professionally-dictated duties like observing punctuality, lesson preparation and class attendance. This practice does not augur well for the African Renaissance. The failure of the government to apply the principle of "no work, no pay" when SADTU embarks on illegal strikes also cast doubt on the government's ability to use education as a driving force for the African Renaissance.
- At the time of data collection, it was clear that things were not going well in the Department of Education, as a result of the redeployment of teachers. In the Northern Province alone, more than 4 700 temporary teachers were facing the axe (Sowetan, July 23, 1999). The Department announced that the posts of 6 000 would be made redundant after the completion of the redeployment process. A situation like this results in low teacher morale and will hamper the success of the African Renaissance. Media reports indicate that when the process has been completed, some of the classrooms will be without teachers.
- The availability of funds is a major determinant for the success of any project. The new government is characterized by incidents of fraud, corruption and financial maladministration. Central government

departments reported a total of R727,4 million in unauthorized spending in 1997 -1998 (Sowetan, June 2, 1999). It is doubtful whether such a government, which is direly wanting in the management of funds, will address past educational injustices which SASA aims to achieve (Act 84, 1996, preamble).

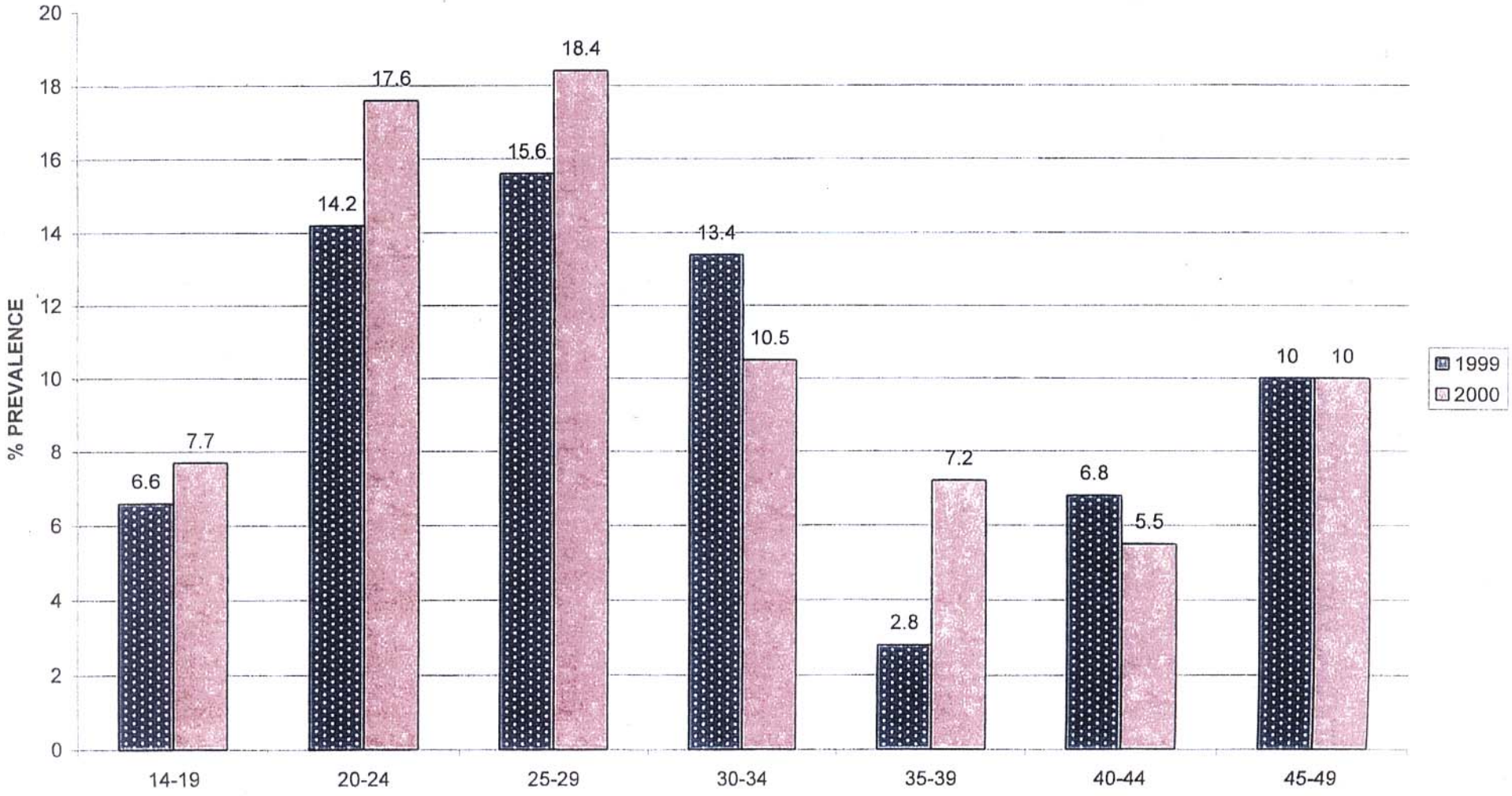
- Besides the challenges that South Africa has to contend with, such as crime, corruption in high places and poor discipline at school, it faces yet another serious problem - an enormous rise in HIV/Aids, which is costing the government millions of rands. A National Annual Ante-natal Survey shows that incidents of HIV/Aids rose from 0,53% in 1990 to 23,5% in 2000. Figure 4.4 shows the Northern Province versus the national HIV/Aids trends and Figure 4.5 the HIV/Aids prevalence by age group 1999 and 2000.
- A British political expert stated on SABC-TV after the June 1999 elections that, if people's expectations were not met, South Africa might collapse as a state and the next general elections might be held under different conditions and circumstances (SABC-TV, June 4, 1999). The collapse of South Africa as a state will have a devastating effect on the African Renaissance.

FIGURE 4.4.



Source: Annual Ante-natal Survey, 2000
Department of Health and Welfare.

FIGURE 4.5. *1999 VS 2000 HIV PREVALANCE BY AGE GROUP*



Source: Annual Ante-natal Survey, 2000
Department of Health and Welfare

4.8 CONCLUSION

From what has been said about the African Renaissance so far, it might be concluded that the African Renaissance is a post-uhuru call for the revival of Africa in all spheres of human endeavour (Sowetan, December 2, 1998).

When one examines the Renaissance, one realizes that there was a specific place and country where it originated in Europe. Most scholars place the place of origin of the European Renaissance in Italy, hence the Italian Renaissance (vide 4.3).

Although historians put the place of origin of the Renaissance in Italy, it was pointed out that the Italian traders were influenced by the Muslim scholars on their trade missions to the East. The Muslim scholars were in turn influenced by the thinking of ancient Greeks. It comes as no surprise that the proponents of the African Renaissance draw their inspiration from the African-American W.E.B. Du Bois, the Caribbean George Padmore and the Ghanese Kwame Nkrumah (vide 4.7.2).

For the African Renaissance to take roots, it has to have a place of origin. There are indications that South Africa will be the place of origin of the African Renaissance as a consequence of the boldness with which the country's president markets the concept. This led to the establishment of the African Renaissance Institute through the efforts of men such as Thami Mazwai of the Enterprise Magazine.

Should the African Renaissance achieve success in South Africa, which has the necessary infrastructure, its influence will spread to other countries in the same way as the Italian Renaissance (vide 4.5).

Factors militating against the African renaissance far outnumber those that are promotive of the concept (vide 4.7.6 and 4.7.7 supra). This is not a tacit acknowledgement that the African Renaissance is a write-off from the onset. It should be borne in mind that the European Renaissance spanned a period of about 300 years (vide 4.1). In South Africa, should the tripartite alliance (ANC, COSATU and the SACP) close ranks and move forward as a united front, the impact of the African Renaissance might be felt earlier than expected. Harnessing the might of COSAS, NAPTOSA and SADTU might guarantee quicker results.

The African Renaissance cannot take place in a vacuum. It has to take place in a particular socio-political climate. Furthermore, much that has been said about the African Renaissance indicated poignantly that Africanization and the African Renaissance are two sides of the same coin (vide 4.7.2). With this in mind, this study examines Africanization and democracy in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5 : A POSSIBLE SYNTHESIS OF AFRICANIZATION AND DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In examining the concept "democracy" in Chapter 2 of this research project, it has become apparent that democracy is a difficult concept to define. Many definitions tend to be tailored to fit specific types of regimes/systems (Oyugi, 1988 : 5). The advocates of communism present it to their followers as democratic to capture the imaginations of their followers (vide 2.1). The military dictatorships that are found in many countries in Africa, do the same thing. Supporters and apologists of all kinds of regimes and systems are therefore quick to attach the tag "democratic" to them, e.g. the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The result is a confusion of the meanings of the concept. They are often little more than political marketing designed to sell those particular systems or regimes (Oyugi, 1988 : 5). However, it is generally accepted that the concept is inclusive of majority rule, government by the people (decision-making) and representation (vide 2.1). Therefore, Africanization and democracy will be examined along these lines.

Africanization is also a problematic concept, as different people attach different meanings to it. It is used to refer to people belonging naturally to Africa, anyone owing allegiance to Africa, the black race of Africa and the Afrikaner refers exclusively to their white inhabitants of South Africa (vide 4.5.1). In this chapter it is used to refer specifically to the black race of Africa, and where the researcher refers to another race, he will make it lucid.

5.2 AFRICANIZATION AND DEMOCRACY

It has been pointed out in Chapter 4 that Pan-Africanism and the African Renaissance are inseparable concepts. A mere mention of one evokes the other (vide 4.7.2). The black American civil rights leader Andrew Young described the African Renaissance as

"... the commitment of families in Africa to a set of values that have kept our traditions and cultures intact over the centuries; a renewal of those traditions" (SABC-TV, March 30, 1999).

This statement necessitates a re-examination of those values and traditions.

5.2.1 African Political Systems

The first general principle that seemed to lie at the base of nearly all African political systems, was the concept of hierarchy (West and Morris, 1976 : 22). Secondly, African political systems were characterized by insular types of structures without upward mobility or open recruitment outside the established procedures. The system of voting, as the Western world knows it, is generally unknown in the social system of the Africans (Elliot, 1978 : 98). There was no chance of upward mobility. Thirdly, the age-set systems that were found in the majority of African societies, tended to thwart or contain the aspirations of the more volatile, active and probably intelligent younger generations (Oyugi, 1988 : 5). The family was the basic unit, followed by an extended family, a village, a chieftaincy, a kingdom (vide 2.2.4.2). What was striking about this arrangement, was that, at every level, the people talked and deliberated until consensus was reached. They talked till they agreed (Oyugi, 1988 : 49). Where agreement could not be reached, the chief's word was final. The chief's word was accepted as law (Elliot, 1978 : 98). Talking until people agree is one of the pillars of democracy. It accords the majority the opportunity to participate in the decision-making process. However, the age-set system prevented those who were not yet initiated from participating in the deliberations. Women were also prevented from participation in the deliberations.

It should be pointed out that chieftaincy was hereditary, making it impossible for someone who was not of royal blood, to be a chief or king. This imposed a limitation on the choice of rulers and therefore was undemocratic (Gyeke, 1997: 124). However, if people were not happy with the chief's rulership, they had the power to remove him.

The chief was important, but not all-powerful (West and Morris, 1976 : 22). He was a religious as well as a political leader of his people (Shillington, 1995 : 222). He could not stubbornly adhere to his views in the teeth of opposition. The chief's rule was governed by African values and traditions.

5.2.2 African Values and Traditions

A value is something worth striving for, an assessment of worth (Page and Marshall, 1979 : 357). Tradition is the handing down of opinions, beliefs and customs from generation to generation (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 1982 : 917). This can be done by word of mouth or by practice (Random House College Dictionary, 1988 : 1392).

5.2.2.1 African religion and the Creator

There is a belief in a Supreme Being who created and set the world in motion and then withdrew (Thorpe, 1991 : 108). It is believed that all people who die, become ancestral spirits and influence the lives of their descendants (Van Rooyen, 1998 : 29). The ancestors have power to help or harm their descendants. If displeased, they could bring misfortune on their descendants (West and Morris, 1976 : 10). Children were taught to worship the Supreme Being through their ancestors. They were taught that being disrespectful might cause misfortune or even death.

The family and the community play a significant role in passing on the knowledge of the ancestors and the Supreme Being from generation to generation.

5.2.2.2 The African family and the community

Oyugi (1988 : 49) points out that the African family was the most satisfactory institution. This was composed of the father, mother and

children, with the father heading the family (vide 2.2.4.1). The father guarded his home jealously (Elliot, 1978 : 99). It was in the family where the child was introduced to the value system and the norms of society. Children had a deep-rooted respect for their elders and superiors (Elliot, 1978 : 97).

Every adult member of the community could reprimand any child for wrong-doing. The ingani yami eyakhu (my child is your child) attitude ramified the whole community (City Press, December 5, 1999). Today, the champions of children's rights might regard the practice as trampling on the rights of children, but it contributed towards building peaceful communities. A typical African family was characterized by prearranged marriages to facilitate participation in religious ceremonies (Schapera, 1970 : 134 and Ayisi, 1979 : 6). On the father's death, the eldest son inherited a larger share of the property than that which went to the other brothers (Oyugi, 1988 : 61). The daughter inherited nothing. However, when she gave birth to a child, the father would slaughter a beast for her, a goat or a sheep, which was dubbed his grandchild's "cradle". The inequality of sharing property among sons and the exclusion of daughters were undemocratic elements.

Another characteristic feature of African marriages is that they were virilocal. The wife resided with her husband and his people (Van Rooyen, 1998 : 20). This ensured that the children that the wife bore, belonged to the husband's lineage (West and Morris, 1976 : 10). Polygamy was also an acceptable practice. Chiefs and wealthy men with large herds of cattle married more than one wife and, in some instances, had as many as four or more wives (Van Rooyen, 1998 : 20). The initiation schools were also patterned along the lines of the community structures.

5.2.2.3 African traditional (initiation) schools

The African traditional school was discussed in Chapter 2 of this study (vide 2.2.4.3). The purpose of revisiting it in this chapter, is to establish

the democratic elements. Before such a school could be run, the community unanimously agreed at a tribal meeting that there was a need for such a school, as boys and girls were beginning to involve themselves in acts of misconduct. Initiation was regarded as very important because it was through it that the young people became adults (Oyugi, 1988 : 64). During initiation, the initiates were lectured to on the seriousness of their rights and how they should behave as adults (West and Morris, 1976 : 18). They were taught the requirements for the state of manhood such as knowledge of the tribe, hardiness and humility (Tyrrell and Jurgens, 1983 : 119). That the community agreed at a general meeting of the tribe that there was need for an initiation school, was an act of democracy.

Not everyone had the right to run an initiation school. It was run by a celebrated herbalist (vide 2.2.4.3). That he ran it on behalf of the community was an act of representation on merit, which is also a tenet of democracy. The age-set system was strictly enforced. This militated against freedom of choice. Instruction was adapted to the life and ideas of the community (Themane, 1989 : 31).

The initiates had no say at all in matters related to the teaching methodology and the general welfare at the school. The instructors could also not challenge the school principal (herbalist) or question his instructions. Disobedient instructors and initiates were punished mercilessly, with the hope that it would help them to become good, well-behaved adults (vide 2.2.4.3). Initiation also had a militaristic significance. It was a worthy ordeal for the young men who were to serve as warriors (Van Rooyen, 1998 : 33). The initiated young men formed a military force (Oyugi, 1988 : 64). The barring of initiates from deliberating about matters of teaching methodology and the general welfare, was undemocratic. Viewing it from the angle that this was something which was generally accepted by the community, gives it a democratic flavour. People of the same age-group as the initiates who failed or refused to undergo initiation,

were derided and ridiculed by the whole community, thereby infringing their freedom of choice. They were never regarded as men/women, irrespective of age (vide 2.2.4.3). Despite that, traditional schools played a significant role in the life of Africans.

The ANC is in the forefront of the African Renaissance. It is proper, at this stage, to examine the ANC's education policy to determine the extent to which it is reflective of the African spirit.

5.3 THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA AND THE NEW DEMOCRACY

A mere mention of the new South Africa and the new democracy, evokes memories of the valiant role played by the ANC in liberating South Africa from Apartheid rule. Bearing in mind that education was one of the major bones of contention in the struggle against Apartheid, it is pertinent that its education policy be examined.

5.3.1 The ANC's Education Policy

The ANC's policy guidelines entitled Reg om te Regeer (Ready to Govern) was compiled by all branches of the ANC on May 28, 1992. On the issue of education, the guidelines stated that

- "... die ANC se doelwit is om te verseker dat almal die geleentheid het om te studeer en te leer. Onderwys is 'n basiese mensereg" (Reg om te Regeer : 32) (...the ANC's aim is to ensure that everybody has the opportunity to study and to learn. Education is a basic human right.). It should be noted that education is meant for all people who are educable according to this statement. Although the traditional school made provision for education for all, the age-set system hampered its implementation (vide 5.2.2 (c)).
- "... dit is dus hoofsaaklik die staat se verantwoordelikheid om te sien dat alle mense 'n billike en gelyke geleentheid gegun word om te studeer" (...

it is therefore the state's responsibility to see to it that all people are given an equal chance to study). In traditional schools, the initiates were also provided with quality and equal education opportunities, but that was in so far as the age-set system was concerned.

- " ... die reg op onderwys moet in die Handves van Menseregte vervat word" (... the right to education should be embodied in the Bill of Human Rights). In traditional African life, there was no Bill of Human Rights. An individual's life was judged in relation to the group or community behaviour (vide 4.6.5). This is what was desirable in matters of social coexistence and social intercourse (Oyugi, 1988 : 7) and thus constituted democracy.

According to the guidelines, the basic tenets of the ANC policy were as follows (Reg om te Regeer, 1992 : 32 - 33):

- "Daar sal een nasionale stelsel van onderwys en opleiding wees" (There shall be one national system of education and training).
- "Alle kinders sal vir ten minste tien jaar skoolgaan. Hierdie onderwys sal gratis en verpligtend wees" (All children will enjoy at least ten years of free and compulsory education).
- "Die staat sal ook mik om 'n beter gehalte onderwys te verskaf" (The state will also aim at providing the best quality education).
- "'n Goeie algemene onderwys" (A good general education).
- "Almal sal dieselfde kennis en vaardighede leer" (All will learn similar content and skills).
- "Skole moet help om 'n demokratiese samelewing te bou" (Schools should assist in building a democratic coexistence).

Although the initiation schools discussed in 5.2.2 did not have a national education system, to a large extent they were similar as the teaching methods, and nomenclature was uniform in all the villages where it was practised. Unlike the ANC's ten years of compulsory education, the duration was at least five weeks in the bush. The initiation schools also provided best quality education (vide

5.2.2). All stakeholders, with the exception of the initiates, were involved (vide 5.2.2 (c)).

The following tables illustrate the similarities and differences between Africanization and democracy:

TABLE 5.1 : SIMILARITIES BETWEEN AFRICANIZATION AND DEMOCRACY

Africanization	Democracy
Majority participation through the Council of Elders	Majority representation through democratically elected representatives
Well-organized initiation in schools	Well-organized schools
Teaching adapted to developmental stage	Teaching adapted to developmental stage
Team teaching	Team teaching
Mass education	Mass education
Prepared the young for adulthood	Prepared young for adulthood life
Common nomenclature	Common nomenclature from field to field
All stakeholders (except initiates) involved in decision-making	All stakeholders involved in decision-making

TABLE 5.2 : DIFFERENCES BETWEEN AFRICANIZATION AND DEMOCRACY

Africanization	Democracy
No national system of education	National system of education
No Bill of Rights to protect the initiates and the instructors	Well-defined Bill of Rights
The instructor-initiate ratio mostly 1:1	The teacher-pupil ratio mostly 1:35
Rote-learning	Flexible subject matter presentation
Unprepared but eloquently presented subject matter	Well-prepared subject matter
No teaching aids	Teaching aids used prolifically
Teacher dominates lesson	Teaching pupil-centred
Instruction militaristic in nature	Teaching democratic in nature
Single gender schools	Co-ed schools

These tables clearly show that there is a clear-cut difference between democracy in the traditional African sense and democracy as perceived by the ANC. In the next subsection, a study of the implementation of the ANC education policy will be undertaken.

5.3.2 Implementation of the ANC Education Policy

The chance for the ANC to implement its education policy, came in 1994 when the majority of South Africans voted it into office. The new constitution repealed Apartheid and upheld freedom and democracy (Goduka, 1999 : 67). The ubuntu (oneness) of humanity in the South African society was encouraged.

The goals that the ANC set itself to accomplish were too lofty (vide 5.3.1). Small wonder that the education policy in the context of the new South Africa has not presented a picture of the revolutionary new beginning promised by the anti-Apartheid education resistance of the People's Education Movement of the mid-1980's (Kallaway, 1997 : 41). Kallaway further points out that the policy that developed during the government of national unity (GNU), that came into existence after the 1994 elections, represented a complex amalgam of the old and the new. The point of reference for both the ANC and the National Party during the period of transition was often the expertise of the international agencies such as the World Bank, the Institute of International Education (IIE), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other international agencies (Kallaway, 1997 : 41). People's Education inherited from the United Democratic Front (UDF) of the mid-1980s, was substantially ignored in the important policy development exercise of the new generation of planners that was assembled by Trevor Coombe at the Centre for Education Policy Development (CEPD) from 1993. This exercise ultimately led to the adoption of the South African Schools' Act (No. 84), 1996.

5.3.3 The ANC's Education Policy Guidelines vis-à-vis the South African Schools' Act (No. 84), 1996

> "Although the constitution relates to many aspects of the governance of South Africa and is not specifically directed at education, it does provide the basis on which the national and provincial government can act in the field of education" (Pretorius and Lemmer, 1998 : 14).

Par. 29 of the Constitution is in agreement with the ANC's education guidelines. It has been incorporated in the Bill of Rights (Act 108, 1996). The South African Schools' Act (1996) sets out the provision and governance of education in South Africa in details. The government's education aim as set out in SASA's preamble, is

> "... to provide an education of progressive high quality for all learners and in so doing, lay a strong foundation for the development of all our people's talents and capabilities, advance the democratic transformation of society, combat racism and sexism and all other forms of unfair discrimination" (Act 84, 1996, preamble).

The development of all the people's talents can be seen in the call for free and compulsory education. The ANC guidelines called for a free and compulsory education for at least ten years. This has been reflected in SASA. SASA makes it mandatory for parents to see to it that their children aged 7 - 15 attend school (Act 84, 1996, par. 3). The government reneged on free education by promoting the parent's acceptance of responsibility for the funding of schools in partnership with the state (Act 84, 1996, preamble). Educational reformers seem to be following ambiguous or contradictory policies (Kallaway, 1997 : 40).

On compulsory education, SASA further states that any person who, without just cause, prevents a learner who is subject to compulsory attendance from attending school, is guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine or imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months (Act 84, 1996, par. 6 (b)). The above statement also applies to admission to schools.

In the past educational dispensation, blacks were barred from attending white schools, and vice versa (vide 1.1). The new admission policy set out in SASA was reflective of the ANC guidelines which indicated that " ... alle mense 'n billike en gelyke geleentheid gegun word om te studeer" (Reg om te Regeer, 1992 : 32) (...all people should be accorded a suitable and equal opportunity to study). The independent (private) schools were also monitored to ensure that they did not violate the government's admission policy.

Table 5.3 is a comparative analysis of the ANC's education policy guidelines and the South African Schools's Act, 1996.

TABLE 5.3 : A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE ANC's EDUCATION POLICY GUIDELINES AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS' ACT, 1996

ANC Education Policy	South African Schools' Act, 1996
Compulsory education for at least ten years	Compulsory education for children aged 7 - 15 years
Free education	Promotes the parents' acceptance of responsibility to fund schools in partnership with government
Non-discriminatory admission policy	Non-discriminatory admission policy
Equal access to education	Equal access to education

5.4 CONCLUSION

Viewed broadly, it is difficult to establish whether Africanization and democracy can occupy a common terrain. The obvious reason being that both concepts do not readily lend themselves to defining (vide 5.1). However, when the definitions have been

greatly narrowed down, their differences and similarities become conspicuous (vide Tables 5.1 and 5.2).

Some of the African political systems embody the basic tenets of democracy, such as majority rule, government by the people (decision-making) and representation. Talking until they agreed (vide 5.2.1) is more effective than ballot boxes and referendums in democracies. In this context, people spoke to one another face to face and ironed out their differences. In democracies, ballot boxes and referendum results are open to rigging by corrupt officials. However, a close examination of African institutions reveals that they had many undemocratic elements. This led Oyugi (1988 : 68) to conclude that

> "...in Black Africa, whether the political system was that of the highly centralised states or the amorphous non-centralised communities, it did not belong to a democratic tradition. There were rudiments of democratic principles and practices, especially in the non-centralised communities, but it would be dangerous to equate those practices with advanced forms of democracy".

On the strength of the exposition of Democracy and Education in Chapter 2, Democracy and Education Policy in Chapter 3, Africanization and the African Renaissance in Chapter 4 and a possible synthesis of Africanization and democracy in Chapter 5, this study aptly arrives at scientific conclusions and makes recommendations which will serve as strategies for future education planners in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6 : SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In concluding this research project, it is necessary to refer back to the problem stated in par. 1.2 and the hypotheses formulated in par. 1.3. The problems that were raised, were the following:

- Is the idea of Africanization feasible in a post-modern (democratic) South Africa?
- Did democracy function in earlier African communities?
- What implications does the idea of an African Renaissance have for education in South Africa?

After a clear statement of the problem, the hypotheses were formulated as follows

- It is possible to Africanize the democratic orientated educational system in South Africa
- There is a likelihood that democracy was in existence in the earlier African communities
- It is feasible that the African Renaissance might enhance a democratic education in South Africa, and vice versa

In order to expedite a systematic investigation of the stated problems and hypotheses, the research project was structured as follows:

- **Chapter 1 : Introduction and General Orientation**

  In this chapter, the research problem is clearly stated and the hypothesis properly formulated. The aim of the study is also well-defined. The research methods followed in the investigation are also clearly spelt out. The concepts that feature predominantly in the study are concisely explained and this is followed by a lay-out of the programme of study.

- Chapter 2 : Education and Democracy

This chapter sheds more light on the concepts of education and democracy, cited briefly in the previous chapter. It traces the origin of democracy from the Platonian time, the French Revolution and the philosophical presumptions of democracy as we have it today.

The first democracy to be examined is liberalism, represented by the United States of America. Political experts maintain that liberalism is the oldest of all democracies discussed in this study. The general features of this type of democracy are closely examined, as well as the aims of education in the U.S.A.. The enormous contribution made by president George Bush and the nation's governors in the formulation of educational goals that came to be known as America 2000, enjoy extensive coverage. A study of the administration of education in the U.S.A. is also undertaken.

Although in the U.S.A., education is the competence of the 50 states, federal agencies that have a hand in the promotion and maintenance of national standards, also receive attention. An example of such an agency is the National Education Goals Panel (NAEGEP). Nationally administered tests, such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) for college admission, the American College Testing Program (ACTP) and the nationally funded National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) also receive attention in this study. The prominent role played by the states and school board districts is highlighted. As the role of phenomenology is to bring to light the essential characteristics of a phenomenon, a phenomenological analysis in tabular form is conducted to bring to light the essential features of liberal education. Political experts regard communism as the direct opposite of democracy. Against the background of this claim, a study of communist education is undertaken next.

Although there is a thin layer of demarcation between socialism and communism, this study draws a very clear line - socialism is the preparatory stage after a revolution, where the state will be tutor of a new generation; communism comes after the disappearance of the state. As communism is fast losing ground in Russia and liberalism is gaining the upper hand, education aims are examined on two levels - during communism and after communism. The same procedure is followed in the examination of educational administration. A phenomenological analysis of the two phases is conducted as well as their impact on educational practice in Russia.

The next political system that beckons investigation, is social democracy. Adherents of this school of thought claim that it contains the elements of liberalism and communism. Socialist democracy as represented by France, comes under the spotlight. The study traces back its origin to the French Revolution (1789) and its centralized tendencies resulting from the long rule by kings and cardinals, and to the fact that it once formed part of the centralized Roman Empire. The aims of education and the administration come under scrutiny. A phenomenological analysis is also conducted in tabular form. This is followed by a cursory examination of African democracy. A detailed examination is conducted in Chapter 4 of the study. The chapter wraps up with an integrated phenomenological analysis of four democracies - liberalism, communism, social democracy and African democracy. As all political and educational activities are set in motion by policy, the study examines this concept in the next chapter.

- **Chapter 3 : Democracy and Education Policy in South Africa**

In this chapter, the discussion of democracy as a way of being human, narrows down to an examination of its implementation in the South African education policy.

The study points out that, as an anthropological-ontological being, man is really there in the world (Dasein). At birth, the child completely complies with the essence of the anthropos. In his situatedness, he conquers his life-world with the assistance of the educator through education. Democratic norms and values are introduced to the child through education. Examples of democratic norms and values are:

- Tolerance and recognition of views, needs and expectations of opponents
- Respect for equal rights and freedom for all
- Rejection of violence as a means of resolving differences
- The right to free expression and criticism
- The rule of law
- Accepting responsibility for the welfare of minorities
- Acceptance of the requirement that people must peacefully choose and change their leaders for maintenance and promotion of the general welfare (Cloete, 1993 : 4).

The United Nations' Organization's conception of democracy is also highlighted. To the UN, democracy is inclusive of the following:

- Respect for life and for all human beings
- Rejection of violence, and commitment to the prevention of violent conflicts through dialogue and negotiation
- Commitment to meeting the developmental needs of the future generations
- Promotion of the equal rights and opportunities of men and women
- Recognition of the rights of everyone to freedom (Peace Magazine, March/April 1999 : 7).

This is followed by an examination of the pedagogic relationship

structures and pedagogic aim structures as conditions sine qua non (prerequisites) for education. An examination of the pedagogic structures and democratic practices eventuates into an examination of the South African Schools' Act, No. 84, 1996. The constitution, election and functions of school governing bodies are contained in SASA. The democratic norms and values enshrined in this piece of legislation are brought to light by means of a table. The chapter concludes by pointing out the resistance to the new education policy that still exists in certain quarters of the South African community, and expresses hope that the African Renaissance might be a panacea.

- Chapter 4 : Africanization, the African Renaissance and Education in South Africa

This chapter starts off by examining the Renaissance in its broadest sense. The concept is carefully defined, its place of origin pointed out and the impact it had on the general lifestyle of the Italians and Europeans which was hitherto dominated by the Roman Catholic Church.

The study seeks a parallel in the African Renaissance by examining the whole concept of Africanness and the African Renaissance. The two concepts are two sides of the same coin, with Africanness (a belief that we are of Africa and our freedom is linked to the whole continent of Africa) serving as a motivational force for the African Renaissance (Sowetan, December 2, 1998).

The African Renaissance, on the other hand, is a dynamic post-uhuru call for the revival of Africanness in all spheres of human endeavour (Sowetan, December 2, 1998). It is a vision, the setting of a goal, a proposal and a call to action (Fiya, 2000 : 13). Having highlighted the difference between Africanness and the African Renaissance, the study goes on to examine the views expressed by Thabo Mbeki, who is a strong proponent of the African Renaissance concept in South Africa.

The study further examines the African Renaissance vis-à-vis the South African constitution to establish whether it makes provision for the enhancement of the African Renaissance. A country's policy usually informs educational practice.

Against the background of the above, the study investigates the implementation of an education policy to enhance the African Renaissance. This inevitably leads to an examination of the African Renaissance vis-à-vis the South African Schools' Act (vide 4.7.5). SASA represents a break with the past on matters of educational policy.

Breaking with the past not only meant the end of Apartheid education, but it also meant a new approach to teaching-learning. This new approach came to be known as Outcomes-based Education (OBE). A comparative analysis of how this differs from the old practice is conducted. As the African Renaissance entered the political landscape recently, it cannot be stated with certainty that it will be a success.

Against the background of the above claim, the study goes on to investigate factors that promote the African Renaissance and those that militate against it. Factors militating against the African Renaissance, far outnumber those that are promotive of the concept. This does not imply that the African Renaissance is a write-off from the onset. The closing of ranks by the ANC, COSATU and the SACP might guarantee quicker results. Harnessing the might of COSAS, NAPTOSA and SADTU might also cause the impact of the African Renaissance to be felt earlier than expected.

Much that has been said about the African Renaissance indicates that the African Renaissance and Africanization are two sides of the same coin. With this in mind, this study examines Africanization and democracy in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 : A Possible Synthesis of Africanization and Democracy in South Africa

A possible synthesis of Africanization and democracy in South Africa is investigated by revisiting African political systems and African traditions and values. African political systems were characterized by hierarchy (West and Morris, 1976 : 22). Secondly, they were characterized by insular types of structures without any upward mobility. No recruitment outside the established procedures and the voting system as the Western world knows it was generally known (Elliot, 1978 : 98). Thirdly, the age-set system existed in the majority of African societies. Furthermore, African societies were characterized by hierarchy, with the family unit at the base, an extended family, a village, a chieftaincy and in other cases a kingdom. What was striking was that there was talking at every level until consensus was reached (Oyugi, 1988 : 49).

African families were characterized by prearranged marriages (Schapera, 1970 : 134 and Ayisi : 1979 : 6). Marriages were virilocal, the wife resided with the husband and his people (Van Rooyen, 1998 : 20). Polygamy was also an acceptable practice. Before marriage, people had to undergo initiation.

For an initiation school to open, the tribe had to agree that there was a need for such a school, as the adolescents were beginning to involve themselves in acts of misconduct. A celebrated herbalist (principal) and a team of instructors (teachers) were in charge of the initiates. Discipline was harsh.

As the ANC is in the forefront of the African Renaissance, the study further investigates the extent to which its education policy is reflective of the African spirit. A phenomenological study is undertaken to highlight

the similarities and differences between Africanization and democracy in the ANC's perception.

The ANC's education policy guidelines represent a break with the past, and so is SASA. A comparative analysis is conducted to establish the extent to which SASA is reflective of the ANC's education policy guidelines. Having done all that puts the writer in a better position to arrive at well-researched conclusions and make recommendations which will serve as helpful strategies for future education planners.

Chapter 6: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter summarizes the whole research project and arrives at verifiable conclusions. On the strength of these verifiable conclusions, recommendations which will serve as helpful strategies for future education planners and policy-makers are made.

In conducting this research project, it was found that the African Renaissance in the following sense:

> " ...the commitment of families in Africa to a set of values that have kept our traditions and cultures intact over the centuries, a renewal of those values, a renewal of those traditions ..." (SABC-TV, March 30, 1999),

stands very little chance of success. South African blacks have already travelled such a long way along the road of Westernization that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to renew the values and traditions that have kept African cultures intact over the centuries. It is already very difficult to draw a line of demarcation between Western and African culture.

Africans combine the two in their daily existence. Both the South African constitution and SASA do not promote the African Renaissance in the sense of African culture either.

It was found that it might achieve a measure of success and feasibility in the sense in which Thabo Mbeki perceives it. In his perception, the African Renaissance embraces of the following:

- Reconciliation of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic society
- Recognition of the country's cultural diversity
- Eliminating cultural domination by one group
- Promotion of a common allegiance to South Africa
- The maintenance of peace and stability
- Meaningful participation by all role-players in government
- The provision of the best quality education
- Building a strong and vibrant economy
- The provision of good health-care services (vide 4.7.3).

It was found that from the above-mentioned list the government was achieving a measure of success in "the promotion of a common allegiance to South Africa", as it was evidenced by the June 1999 election results (vide Tables 4.2 and 4.3). It is direly wanting in other areas.

A major feature of Africanness is rule by kings and chiefs - traditional leaders. It was found that the African Renaissance as propagated today, says little or nothing at all about traditional leadership. The South African constitution allots a very small portion to traditional leadership. This will be elaborated under recommendations.

On the question of whether democracy did function in earlier African communities, it was found that democracy in a very elementary form did

function in the earlier African communities. Although the position of king or chief was hereditary and could therefore not be contested in a democratic election, they ruled according to the wishes of the people (vide 2.2.4.2). A characteristic feature of African rule is that, at every level (village, chieftaincy, kingdom), the people talked until they agreed. This system functions much better than in modern democracies where the election results and referendums are open to rigging by corrupt officials.

The African (traditional) schools were also patterned along the lines of community structures (vide 2.2.4.3). Democracy as it was practised in African institutions could not compete with the advanced forms of democracy that we have today. This led Oyugi (1988 : 68) to conclude that

> " ... in Black Africa, whether the political system was that of the highly centralised states or the amorphous non-centralised communities, it did not belong to a democratic tradition. There were rudiments of democratic principles and practices, especially in non-centralised communities, but it would be dangerous to equate these with advanced forms of democracy".

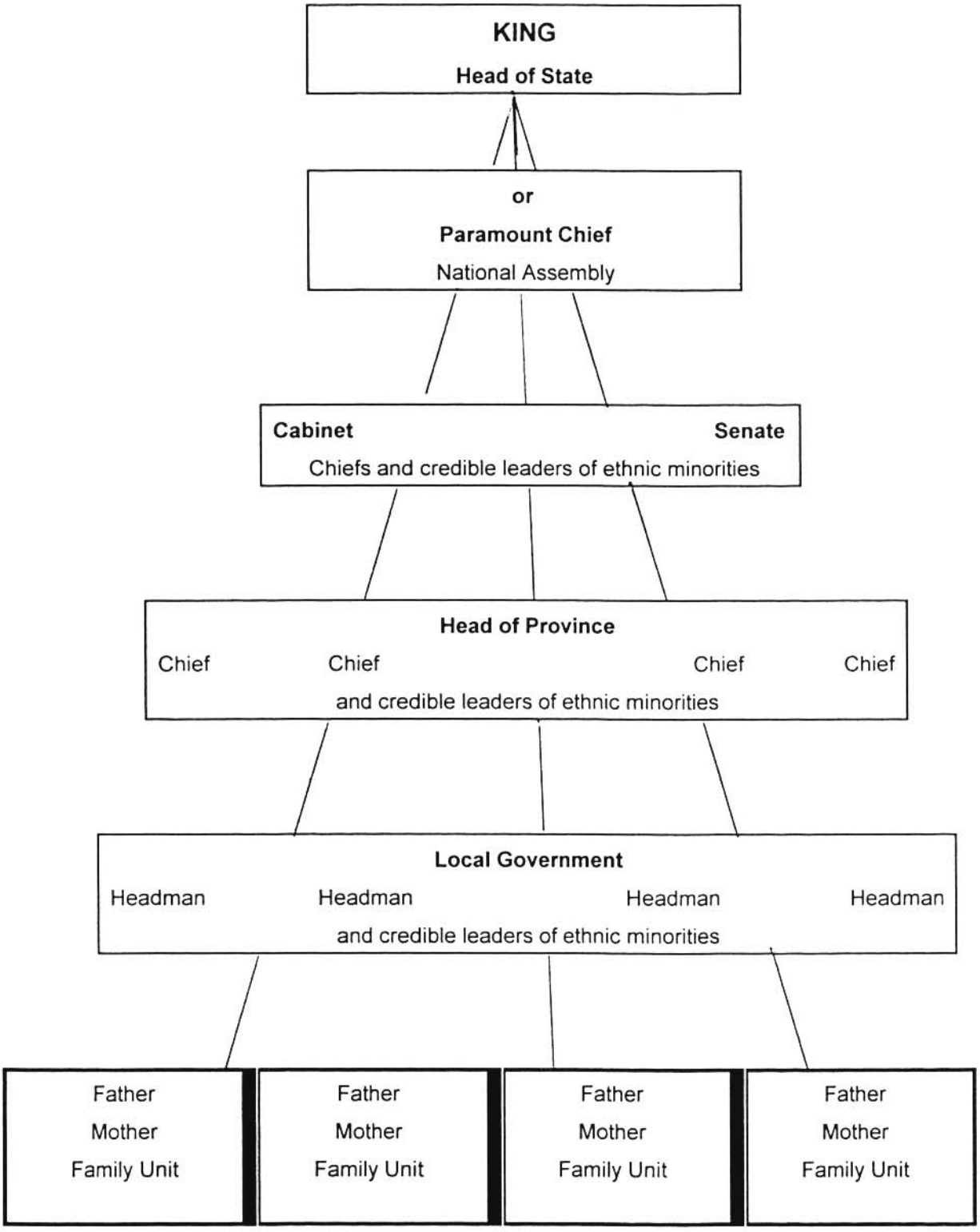
On the educational plane, it was found that the traditional African schools provided education that was valuable to the African communities at that time. It addressed issues such as tribal law, responsible citizenship and how to raise a family. Approached from Thabo Mbeki's perception of the African Renaissance, it was found that the South African constitution and SASA provided the legal foundation for the furtherance of the African Renaissance by educational institutions. It was also found that the might of teachers'/students' associations could also be harnessed to spread the spirit of the African Renaissance (vide 4.7.6). These teachers'/students' associations successfully brought down Apartheid education (vide 1.1).

The study also makes the following recommendations:

- The African Renaissance cannot be viewed in isolation from Africanness and rule by kings/chiefs. On the strength of this claim, this study recommends a constitutional model that will revive the leadership role of traditional leaders. The African Renaissance might end up as "a wild-goose chase" if the African traditional leaders do not assume a prominent role. They are the custodians of African culture.

- The study recommends a constitutional model in which a king or chief who has been democratically elected becomes head of the state. Under him there should be a senate and cabinet (National Assembly) composed of traditional leaders and credible leaders of ethnic minorities. The same procedure should repeat itself at provincial and local government levels. This model will guarantee the revival of African values, one of them being a deep-seated respect for elders and seniors. Figure 6.1 is a diagrammatic presentation of this model.

FIGURE 6.1 : RECOMMENDED CONSTITUTIONAL MODEL FOR AN AFRICAN RENAISSANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA



- It is well-known that, since 1976, the authority structure has been seriously challenged in South Africa, particularly at black schools. The erosion of the authority structure, which started in Soweto and spread to other parts of the country, was accompanied by declining standards in black schools reflected by the grade 12 results. Attempts by politicians to reverse the trend drew a blank. Learners continued to be disobedient to their teachers. The media continued to carry reports of learners physically assaulting their teachers to frog-marching their principals and getting away without facing any disciplinary action. The democratically elected Student Representative Councils (SRC), coordinated by COSAS, also failed to stop the downward trend (vide 4.7.7). Its tendency to resort to violence in resolving disputes does not go down well with the community and the South African public in general (City Press, July 2, 2000).
- Seeing that the democratically elected politicians and democratically elected SRCs failed to stop the downward trend, the study recommends that the traditional leaders - the people who set the tone in black communities for ages - be utilized. Adhering to African values will restore the authority structure which was eroded by the struggle for democracy and by SASA, which outlawed corporal punishment.
- The study recommends that the Ministry of Education be made aware that education has to do with the nation's future. Assurances by the minister that it is working out alternative strategies for corporal punishment will not solve the problem, but will exacerbate it instead. The study therefore recommends that Africanness be resorted to, as it embodies the strategies already (vide 2.2.4.2).
- In addition to the above, this study recommends that, for the African Renaissance to achieve success, SADTU and NAPTOSA be harnessed in the spreading of the African Renaissance. These two organizations command a majority following among teachers.

- Serious efforts should be made to reorientate COSAS. An empirical study be conducted on the damage caused to education and the African Renaissance by the teachers'/learners' strikes and parental apathy in matters related to the education of their children.
- In addition to the above, the government should pursue economic policies that will generate economic growth. Best quality education cannot flourish in a climate where the unemployment rate is going up every year. The unemployment rate was 33.0% in 1996, 36.0% in 1997 and 37.5% in 1998 (vide 4.7.7).
- The study also recommends that serious efforts be made to bring down the alarming crime rate. A situation where 60 murders, more than 36 rapes, more than 170 armed robberies, 73 attempted murders, 35 hijackings and 670 cases of housebreaking occur everyday, is highly unacceptable (Sowetan, December 11, 1998). This situation seriously affects the teaching-learning situation and therefore has a negative impact on the African Renaissance.
- A vibrant economy will make possible the construction of well-equipped schools countrywide. For the African Renaissance to be a success, these schools should be evenly spread across the whole country and should not be concentrated in urban areas, as is the case at present.
- The schools mentioned in the previous paragraph should be manned by well-qualified teachers. Poorly qualified teachers should be laid off or be advised to take a package or be given the option of furthering their studies. In the same breath, this study recommends that the redeployment of teachers be completed immediately or be discontinued. The Minister's failure to complete this process, causes uncertainty at schools and low teacher morale. This does not augur well for the African Renaissance.
- At the time of data collection, it was clear that things were not going well in the Department of Education, resulting from the redeployment of teachers. In the Northern Province alone, more than 4 700 temporary teachers were facing the axe (Sowetan,

July 23, 1999). The Department announced that the posts of about 9 000 teachers would be made redundant after the completion of the redeployment process. This study recommends that these teachers be used in projects that aim at spreading the African Renaissance.

- Lastly, this study recommends that the Ministry of Education stick to one teaching-learning approach until it bore fruit. Changing approaches after every five years is a waste of resources. Curriculum 2005 (OBE) has hardly borne fruit and there is already talk of replacing it with Curriculum 21. A waste of resources does not augur well for the African Renaissance.

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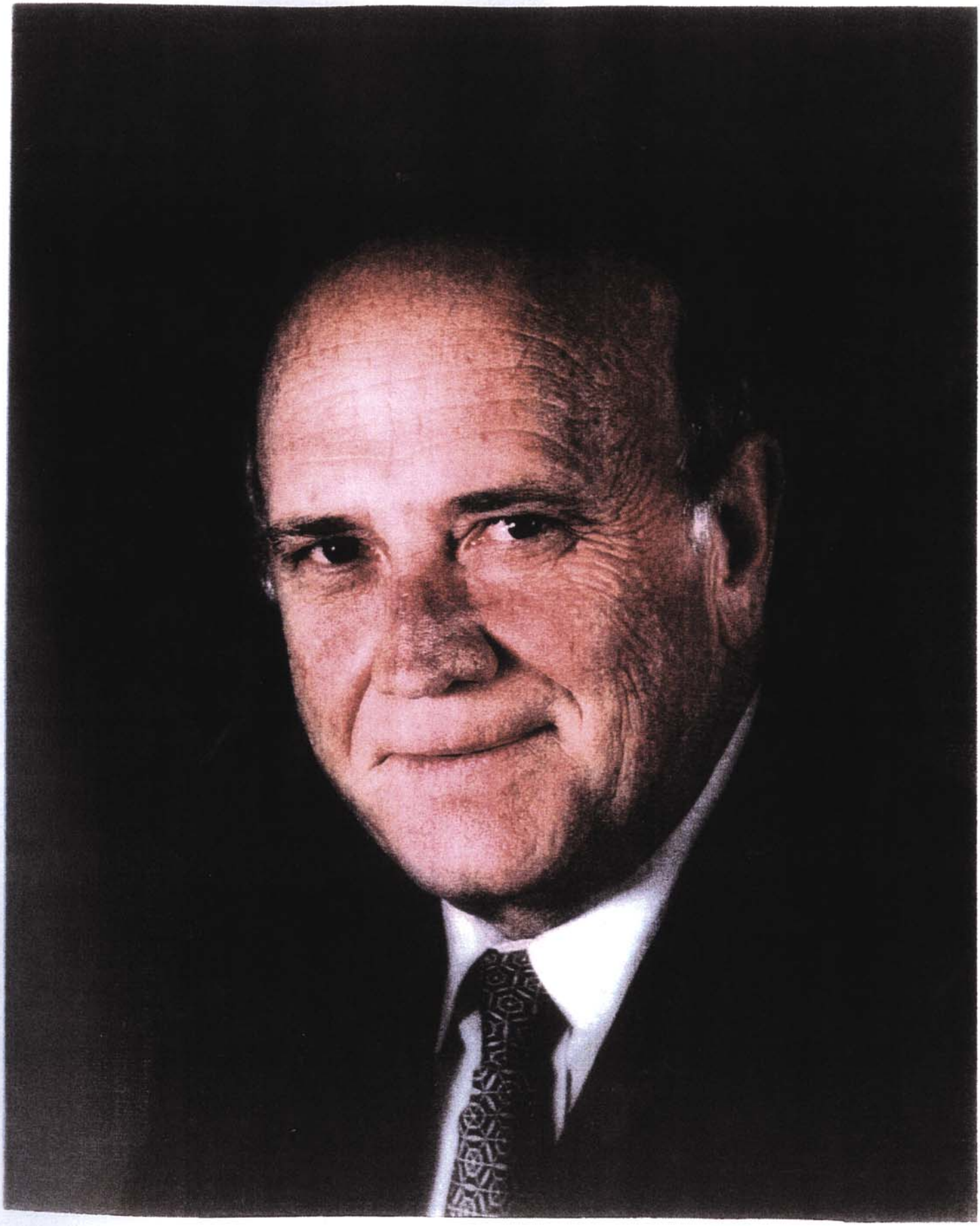
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APPENDIX A

Founding fathers of the new South Africa



The then President, F.W. De Klerk, who with Nelson Mandela negotiated a transition from apartheid to democracy.
Source : Government Communication Services



The first black President of South Africa who was imprisoned for



Thabo Mbeki
– African Renaissance



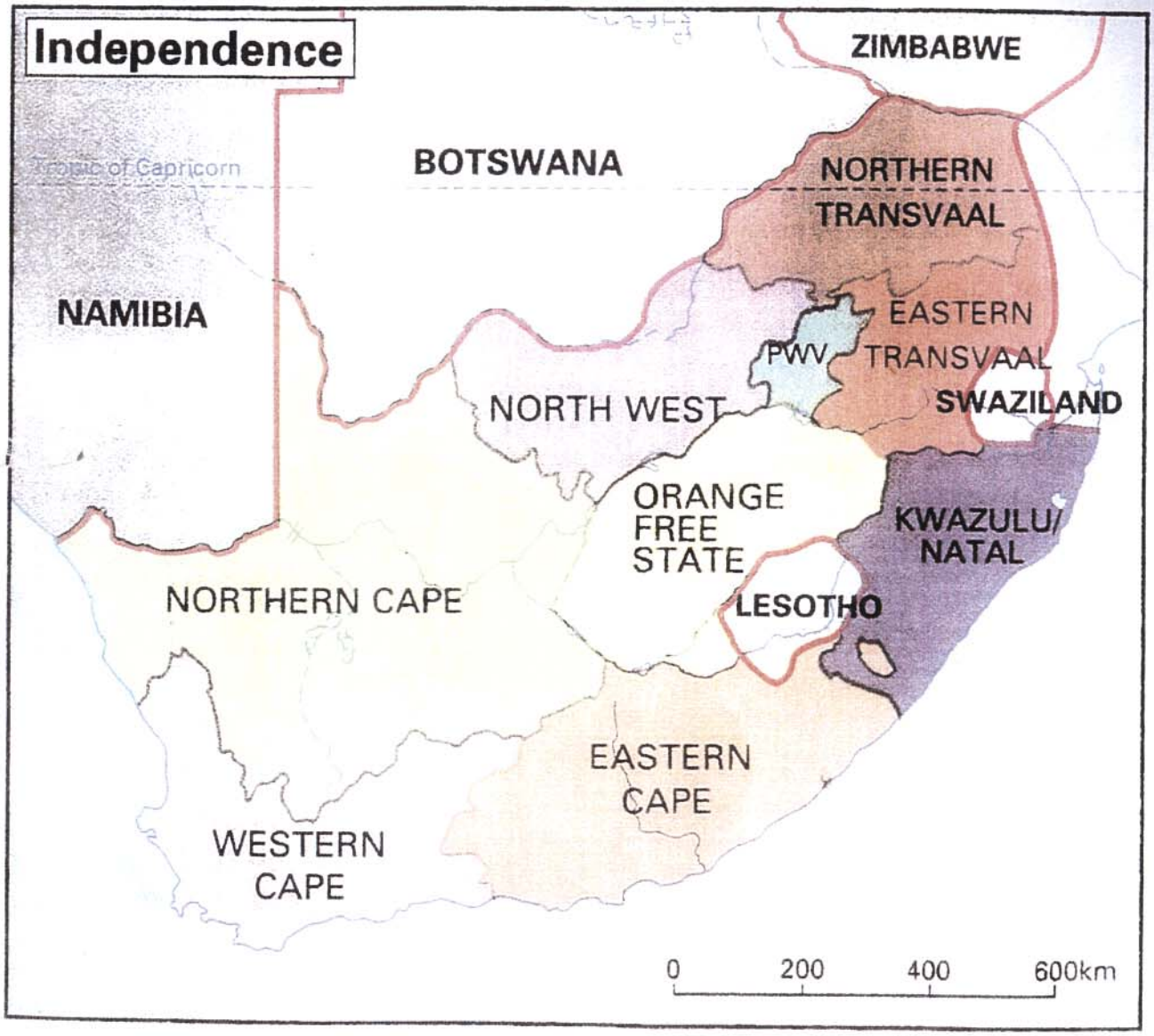
Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi
we can no longer sit on the fence

Home affairs Minister who strongly opposes the loss of power by traditional leaders in the new dispensation

Source : Professional Management Review November 2000 36



Prof. Sibusiso Bhengu the first black Minister of National Education
Source : Department of Education



Source : Shuter and Shuter's New Atlas for Secondary Schools : 9