

DEVELOPMENT OF VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION  
IN SOUTH AFRICA UP TO 1990

by

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Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University  
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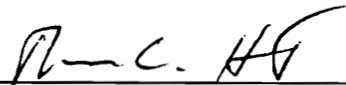
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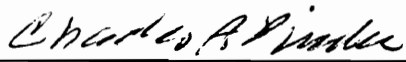
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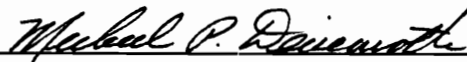
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Committee Co-Chairs: F. Marion Asche and Thomas C. Hunt

Vocational and Technical Education

(ABSTRACT)

This study traces the development of vocational and technical education in South Africa up to 1990. The study was centered around three themes, political, social and economic in relation to the development of vocational and technical education in South Africa in the period under review. Historical method of documentation and analysis was employed in this study.

The study analyzed the development of education in South Africa, particularly vocational and technical education prior to the colonial occupation. Colonial occupation completely altered or stopped all the advances which were made by the indigenous people of South Africa in education and other fields.

Industrial revolution in South Africa, through the discovery of diamonds and gold, added a new element in the development of vocational and technical education in South

Africa, that of labor production. Vocational and technical education became tightly connected with the needs of industries. The tumultuous labor relations between the industrialists and the employees, and between the African employees and European employees set the direction in which vocational and technical education followed throughout the years.

The study also analyzed the role played by the missionaries in the provision of education, particularly vocational and technical education for Africans. The association of vocational and technical education with the department of prisons through reformatory schools and with the welfare services through the orphanages and the indigent communities in South Africa created a lifelong stigma on vocational and technical education. This stigma has hampered the development of vocational and technical education in South Africa up to this day. Conclusions were drawn from the knowledge gained from this study, and recommendations were presented. The conclusions reached were that: (a) some form of vocational and technical education may have existed prior to the colonial period, (b) vocational and technical education during the colonial period was shaped by industry and labor, missionaries, and prejudicial government policy.



## DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my mother Victoria Ntombi Thabede and my late father, Edmund Sithengane Thabede who passed away during the course of this study. Their belief in education, their sacrifice and dedication to their children gave me the strength and courage to reach this level.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

#### Introduction

The main focus of this study is on the development of vocational and technical education in South Africa up to 1990. Vocational and technical education has gone through several transformations in the short history of colonial South Africa, though it has been given little attention in the literature covering education in South Africa. Although this study is not on South African history, a brief introduction to South Africa will be presented to aid the reader in understanding the developments that shaped vocational and technical education in South Africa.

South Africa gained its notoriety in the last 46 years through its policy of apartheid. This policy polarized the country and turned its streets into battlefields where political ideologies were contested. It was not until the 27th of April in 1994 that this carnage was replaced by orderly ballot box lines. It was on this day that all South Africans, irrespective of their race, color, or creed had an opportunity of democratically electing the Government of National Unity (GNU).

South Africa occupies the southern tip of the continent of Africa. It is 1,219,912 square kilometers (487,964.8 square miles). This area includes Prince Edward Island and Marion Island. The country is bordered on the west by the Atlantic ocean, and on the east by Mozambique, Swaziland and the Indian ocean. In the north it is bordered by Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia. Lesotho, which is one of South Africa's neighbors, is completely surrounded by South Africa (Europa World Yearbook, 1990).

Prior to the elections in May 1994, South Africa was comprised of only four provinces which appear in Figure 1. These were the Transvaal, Natal, Orange Free State, and Cape Province. Within these four provinces there were 10 controversial, sparsely distributed homelands. When the National Party seized power in 1948 it constitutionalized the policy of race segregation. Dugard (1979) made the following observations on the formation of homelands:

In 1959, the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act was introduced to pave way for 'self-governing Bantu national units'... which laid the foundation for the independent or self-governing homelands. This Act was premised heavily on the principle of self-determination of nations, a principle enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the cornerstone of powerful decolonization movement (p. 3).

Self-determination in the South African context meant something less than to be desired. In the 1970's Africans were coerced to accept the so called independence of these semi-arid regions as their homelands. In the successive years, more ethnic homelands were created. The ultimate goal of this policy was to move all Africans from South Africa into various ethnic reserves (Wilson & Thompson, 1969). These homelands were only recognized by the former South African government and appear in Figure 2. The reported population of South Africa excluding the sparsely distributed homelands was 33,750,000 (United Nations Educational Scientific & Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Statistical Yearbook, 1990).

As of the 27th of May, 1994, the map of South Africa completely changed. New boundaries have been drawn resulting in 9 provinces. These are: Eastern Cape, Free State, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape, Northern Province, North-West and Western Cape which appear in Figure 3. The previous homelands have been incorporated in the new arrangement. As a result of this incorporation, the population of South Africa has increased to 40,435,300 (Central Statistical Service (CSS), 1994).

### Definition of Terms

South Africa is a country with many complexities when it comes to terminology. Colonial South Africa's politics contributed to the confusion of word usage. Take for example, a simple word such as native. Ordinarily, it refers to some attributes of originality or birth place, but in South Africa it has disparaging implications.

Consistent with the colonial view of the term native, Toynbee (1957) made the following observation concerning the use of the term native:

In stigmatizing members of an alien society as 'Natives' in their own homes, top-dog is denying their humanity by asserting their political and economic nullity. By designating them as 'Natives' he is implicitly assimilating them to the non-human fauna and flora of a virgin New World that has been waiting for its human discoverers to enter in and take possession. On these premises the fauna and flora may be treated either as vermin and weeds to be extirpated or as natural resources to be conserved and exploited (p. 230).

Words in South Africa carry political sentiments and ideological connotations. These terms have been shifting with the times. At one time, the white population in South Africa was officially referred to as European even though some of them have never been to Europe. Since public amenities were segregated, this term caused confusion to visiting non-Europeans such as white Americans, white

Brazilians, etc. The term European was later changed to white.

The indigenous people of South Africa were once referred to as Natives, Bantu, Black, Africans. A derogatory term "kaffir" was also used by the former South African government to demean Africans. In referring to the people of East Indian origin, the South African government used the term Asiatic. This term Asiatic did not include other people of Asian origin (Chinese or Japanese).

Sometimes a derogatory term "coolie" has been used to describe Indians. In order to clarify the terminology used in this manuscript, the following definitions are provided:

**African** refers to the indigenous people of the continent of Africa. In South Africa, this term refers specifically to people who are of African descent.

**Afrikaner** is a name applied to South Africans of Dutch descent and also to those of German or French stock. The term finally replaced that of 'Boer' at the beginning of the twentieth century. It represents an idea of nationhood, 'Afrikanerdom' (Lacour-Gayet, 1977, p. 367).

**Apartheid** literally 'separateness.' Doctrine enunciated and supported by the National Party in South Africa, and first prominently put before the public in 1949. Although derived

from an earlier principle encountered almost throughout South African history, and previously referred to as 'Segregation,' the idea of apartheid aroused worldwide controversy. Its basic idea involves the separate development, settlement, economic existence and government of white and non-white races in South Africa. It is variously distinguished as territorial apartheid, apartheid, social apartheid, economic apartheid. The doctrine has been violently attacked in the Assembly of the United Nations and elsewhere overseas (Rosenthal, 1961, pp. 19-20).

**An Apprentice** learns all the aspects of his [her] trade through practical experience and under the supervision of skilled artisans and is, in addition, obliged to attend theoretical courses at technical colleges or technical institutes. After that he [she], as an artisan, works for example, with machines which have been designed by the engineer and assembled by the technician. (Human Science Research Council (HRSC), 1984, p. 5).

**Artisan** is a skilled person who undertakes practical tasks on trade level. It is also customary to refer to a person, for example, as a carpenter, motor mechanic, welder, etc. Before anyone, however, can qualify as an artisan, he must undergo an apprenticeship (HRSC, 1984, p. 5).

**Asians** refers to the descendants of immigrants from India who were brought to South Africa in the 19th century as indentured workers to work in the sugar plantations of Natal province. Although the majority of the Asians came to South Africa to work in the agricultural sector, most of them have become urbanized traders (Nattrass, 1981, p. 11).

**Bantu** refers to indigenous Africans. The literal meaning of the term "Bantu" within the languages spoken in Southern Africa means people. However, European linguists and anthropologists have used this term to lump together all the indigenous African people in the Sub-Saharan region. The term Bantu has been used by the previous South African government to refer to indigenous Africans in a paternalistic and demeaning manner. Africans resented its use in the manner in which the previous South African government used it. The use of the term "Bantu" in this study will be restricted to direct quotations from literature cited, not an endorsement of its use as prescribed by the apartheid policies.

**Boers** refers to the descendants of Dutch, German, or French Huguenot who settle in South Africa in the 17th century. They are also known as Afrikaners. The word Boer originally



meant 'farmer', 'peasant'. It is still used in this sense in Dutch (Lacour-Gayet, 1977 p. 367).

**Coloreds** refers to a South African who is a result of a union between African, European, and Asian. Most Coloreds speak Afrikaans as their mother tongue, they share cultural values with the Afrikaners. They tend to be concentrated more in the Western Cape.

**Homeland/Bantustan** refers to those pockets of land that have been set aside to entrench the apartheid policy of segregation. The former South African government used homeland or Bantustan to legitimize the apartheid policy.

**Native** refers to a term used by the former South African government to refer to Africans. At the time when South Africa became a republic, the term "native" lost its prominence. It was beginning to dawn on many whites that the word *native* or *naturel* (the term used by Afrikaners) – implied that whites did not belong to South Africa. If blacks were *natives*, then the whites must be 'foreigners' or, at best, 'settlers' (Callinicos, 1985, p. 20).

**Separate development** refers to the policy which was established by apartheid of 1948 in fostering development of homelands/Bantustans.

**Technical college** is a community based type institution providing courses in building, artisan training, and other commercial programs. Technical colleges offer National Technical Certificate courses (NTC) at level 1 through 6. Students are required to take four at each of the six levels, with each level lasting about 13 weeks. It take between three months and three years to get one of the certificates offered at the technical college. The entrance requirements to this institution is Standard 7 (an equivalent of 9th grade in the United States) with the minimum age of 16 years [United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Report, 1992].

**Technikon** refers to an institution that provides an advanced technical education. Technikons provide career oriented courses in engineering, technology and business. Technikons also train teachers for secondary schools and technical colleges. High school pass is a requirement for admission into the technikon. Technikons offer a variety of certificates and diplomas. Duration of courses at the technikon is between three and six years [United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Report, 1992]

**Trekboers** refers to the semi-nomadic Boers (Lacour-Gayet, 1977 p. 368).

Vocational Education/Training refers to that part of education that prepares an individual for a productive career in a particular field. Vocational education programs were set up to assist in meeting manpower needs of the society. In South Africa, vocational education was called post-school vocational training, sometimes referred to as non-formal training. These vocational training centers are sparsely distributed in African residential areas around the country, and are regarded as community centers (HRSC, 1984).

#### Rationale and Methodology

Conducting a study of this magnitude, especially if it encompasses historical events, is a daunting experience. The task becomes more challenging when conducted on conditions previously dominated by colonial rule. The contention here is that the past tends to be manipulated by those in authority to justify their position. This dilemma of history is illuminated by Dance (1975) in the following statement:

Even on the merely political plane the histories are still hopelessly unbalanced. If it was proper for the historians of the past to show their democratic readers how they had become democratic, it is even more important for the historians of the present to make clear the evolution of our increasingly international society. Yet how many of our school books so much as mention the name of Grotius? And how many even of the academic histories of Europe devote a single page to the

evolution of the European idea in the minds of the men who followed Grotius. ... All this is as true of the areas as of the periods covered by our history books. Most of them have been written and published west of the Oder and Danube; and consequently, have given short shrift to the countries east of the Oder and Danube (p. 24).

This passage above demonstrates the vulnerability of historical evidence when nationalism becomes the primary objective in the writing of history. "When history is manipulated it becomes an instrument less of disinterested intellectual inquiry" (Schlesinger 1992, p. 47). History has been used in the past to invoke nationalism which sometimes resulted in dangerous fanaticism. Chanaiwa (1980) made the following observation on history and nationalism:

However, English-speaking and Afrikaner historiography differed on British imperialism, missionaries and Afrikaner nationalism. English authors ... who were appreciative of British diplomatic umbrella and military aid, associated themselves with imperialism, but were resentful of the humanitarian opinion ... especially, of the Aborigines Protection Society. They were champions of Anglo-Saxonism, and were often Anti-Afrikaner ... The Afrikaner authors ... on the other hand, concentrated on the wrongs endured by the Boers at the hands of the British, missionaries, and Africans. The major subject of their 'logs' were the Black Circuits, Slaughter' Nek (1815), emancipation, the Great Trek, ... and the Anglo Boer War (p. 34).

Most literature dealing with the development of education or education in South Africa, was compiled by those who were well positioned in the previous successive

colonial administrations. These authors tend to give a general account of education, with narrow coverage of vocational and technical education. Pells (1970) gave an account of education in South Africa covering a 300-year period. In his account he dedicated one paragraph to industrial education under Native education. In this study an attempt was made to give an in-depth account of the development of vocational and technical education in South Africa. In accomplishing this task, a historical research methodology was be employed.

History is a noble and important discipline. Carr (1961) noted that the past cannot be ignored if the present is to be understood. Writing and reporting of historical occurrences is a complex process requiring systematic combining of events in an organized pattern (Barzun & Graff, 1992). "Historical research method involves a systematic search for facts relating to question about the past and the interpretation of these facts" (Borg & Gall, 1989, p. 806). Objectivity and elimination of bias is one of the primary activities of the historical reporter. Historical research is not a simple collection of facts and reporting them, but rather systematic gathering, analysis and synthesis of information or events (Barzun & Graff, 1992; McCall,1969).

Resources available at Newman Library at Virginia Tech were used. The Newman Library carries a vast collection of literature on South Africa. The Special Collection section in Newman holds a variety of rare materials on South Africa which were used in this study. Interlibrary loan service provided books and manuscripts unobtainable from the Newman Library. The Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. has a large deposit of literature not available at Newman Library. The South African Embassy in Washington, D.C. furnished some of the South African government documents. Some of the documents required for this study were obtained from the following institutions: University of Witwatersrand, South African Institute of Race Relations, Human Science Research Council (HSRC), and Commonwealth Secretariat, London, England.

The documents were reviewed and analyzed using the historical method. This method involved accumulation, classification and criticism of source material (Barzun & Graff, 1992; Borg & Gall, 1989; Brickman, 1949; McCall, 1969). Upon accumulation of the source materials, the author classified them into two groups, the primary and secondary sources. Primary sources constitute government documents, parliamentary debates, commissions, and official

yearbooks. Secondary sources constitute all other literature not in the category of primary sources, such as journals, books, newspapers, and magazines. The sources were subjected to external and internal criticism.

External criticism involves the establishment of authenticity of the document or manuscript. It substantiates the origin of the document and the period at which the document was produced (Shafer, 1974). It is important for the historical researcher, upon reviewing a historical document, to ask the following questions: "Is the document genuine? Is it the original copy? Who wrote it? Where? When? Under what conditions?" (Borg & Gall, 1989, p. 821).

Internal criticism on the other hand assists in establishing the meaning of statements within the documents which have already been determined to be genuine. It enables one to determine the accuracy and trustworthiness of the contents of these documents. The interpretation of the reviewed literature will be summarized chronologically in this manuscript (Shafer, 1974). A conclusion will be provided in the final chapter of this study.

#### Limitations of the Study

The study was limited to archival research. A comprehensive study on vocational and technical education in

South Africa would produce several volumes. On that note, it is not the intention of the author to produce volumes; therefore, this study will cover the period up to 1990.

Personal interviews were not undertaken in this study. It should be noted that conducting a questionnaire survey or even personal interviews in a country that has been polarized by racial tension poses a serious threat to the validity of the responses (if ever those questionnaires are returned). The legacy of racial segregation has created a lot of skepticism to the South African society making it difficult to get honest responses, especially to questionnaires. This is exemplified by Msomi (cited in Mahlangu 1991): "Msomi's case, who mailed 95 questionnaires for his Ph.D. dissertation, received back only 12 responses" (p. 6). Hullett (1974), expressed the dilemma of writing a historical account as follows:

The historian cannot entirely divest himself of the preconceptions bred of his own background and culture. Whatever his nationality, he is likely to find it easier to establish a certain rapport with the sentiments of his compatriots than the views expressed by peoples of other cultures (p. 24).

On this note, a statement of affirmation is appropriate. I feel obliged to draw the attention of the reader that, even



though the author is a native of South Africa, he is mindful of the dangers of becoming subjective in his interpretations.

### Organization of the Study

The study of vocational and technical education in South Africa cannot be understood without reference to the contemporary history of South Africa. The study itself will be meaningless without careful examination of the political and social conditions that prevailed in South Africa prior to 1990. This study is centered around three themes, political, social and economic in relation to the development of vocational and technical education in South Africa.

Chapter one presents an overview of South Africa, its geographical location and population. Terminology commonly used in South Africa is defined in this section. Chapter two deals with vocational and technical education in the context of the political, social, economic and general educational conditions in South Africa prior to 1652 up to 1900. Chapter three deals with vocational and technical education in the context of the political, social, economic and general educational conditions in South Africa between 1900-1930. Chapter four deals with vocational and technical education

in the context of the political, social, economic and general educational conditions in South Africa between 1930-1960. Chapter five deals with vocational and technical education in the context of the political, social, economic and general educational conditions in South Africa between 1960-1990. Chapter six provides the summary and conclusions on the development of vocational and technical education in South Africa up to 1990.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE PERIOD PRIOR TO 1652

#### Background Information Prior to 1652

Transmission of information and knowledge from one generation to the next has always been the activity of all societies since the dawn of human species (Butts, 1947). Advances in technology, history, archeology, sociology and anthropology have provided better means of reconstructing and understanding our past. The advent of scientific dating techniques such as radiocarbon dating refuted some previously accepted fallacies, and in some cases bolstered some guesses about the nature of the human species and the universe (Neil, 1978).

Early man strived to maintain himself in equilibrium with the natural forces of his environment. He had to contend with adverse weather conditions, security, and hunger (Humbly, 1926). The desire to survive prompted a dormant mental ingenuity possessed only by human species to develop survival implements such as tools and weapons. These implements which may have been constructed through the knowledge gained from vocational and technical education of that era were used for hunting, defense against the beasts of the wild, and later for engaging in warfare when man

learned to fight his fellow man in competition for the resources. When the hunter and gatherer learned the skills of farming which could have been learned through vocational and technical education of that era, he extended the use of these implements to the soil in order to grow crops. The pioneers of this early development had the responsibility of passing the knowledge to the coming generation for the preservation of the human species.

### Evolution of Mankind

As we trace the history of mankind we find that many authors have developed various theories regarding the origin of mankind. Most of these theories point toward the continent of Africa as the place where the human species evolved (Clark, 1970; Clark & Wilkinson, 1986; Hawkes & Woolley, 1963; July, 1975; Souer, 1961; and Van Sertima, 1990).

Archeological finds gathered in and around South Africa have provided a wealth of information, which has become one of the useful tools employed to look back at our puzzling past. Souer (1961) illuminated this with the following statement:

The rudiments of culture with Australo-pithecus open up new vistas of the threshold of humanity. South Africa and now also East Africa are at present the centers of greatest

interest for human origins. South Africa is, however, at the farthest end of the old world land mass. In such a Cul-de-sac location archaic forms are more likely to survive or to undergo terminal variation than are new and successful lines of evolution likely to originate (p. 257).

Australopithecus is the term used by archaeologists to describe early man. The question of whether humans existed in South Africa before the seventeenth century is no longer the issue to be debated. Cole (1966) made the following observation regarding the evolution of mankind:

The fossil skulls discovered at Sterkfontein and Taungs suggest that Africa may even have been the scene of man's evolution. Little is known of the apeman, but the paleolithic implements which are commonly found in South Africa today testify to its former occupancy (p. 95).

Sterkfontein and Taung are areas within South Africa. Sterkfontein is popularly known for its caves. Consistent with the theory advanced by Butts (1947) that "human culture appeared as men were able to pass what they had learned to the younger generations," it becomes apparent that in South Africa a certain form of culture was born when palaeolithic (old stone age) man began to take control of his surroundings, and passing the learned survival skills which may have been learned through vocational and technical education means to his young. Archeological evidence found in Southern Africa particularly in South Africa suggest that

the possible earliest form of education that could have existed in South Africa prior to the seventeenth century might have been vocational and technical in nature.

Looking at the activities of an early man, we can see that his interests were centered around immediate survival. His development was closely related to his immediate environment. This type of arrangement was conducive to the development of educational programs which addressed the immediate needs of the communities. This then supports the notion that education is situational, it grows out of experience and environment (Butts, 1955; Rodney, 1982; Woody, 1971).

Worldwide trends in the development of educational programs support this notion. Marine science and shipbuilding education programs (in our modern world) have prospered on the coastal regions of the world and on the banks of large rivers. Agricultural programs thrive more in fertile regions, while geological programs tend to thrive more around the mining regions of the world. Relevance of education to the environment was also an important factor, as (Rodney, 1982) observed:

Among the Bemba of what was then Northern Rhodesia, children by the age of six could name fifty to sixty species of tree plants without hesitation, but they know very little about

ornamental flowers. The explanation is simply knowledge of the trees was a necessity in an environment of "cut and burn" agriculture and in a situation where numerous household needs were met by tree products. Flowers, however, were irrelevant to survival (p. 239).

Archeological finds from various sites around South Africa also support this early form of education (Bilsborough, 1986; Inskip, 1971; Isaac, 1986, Jones-Allsworth, 1986; and Parkington, 1986). Some of the examples of these finds are the notched scrapers which were found in Natal province along the east coast. The abundance of timber in this province must have led to the development of this tool in order to carve the wood for various uses. The culture that ensued in that region must have been passed from one generation to the next through various modes of learning conducive for that era.

Writings found inside the caves also convey information of the culture that existed at some period. These writings also dispel the belief popularized by the colonialists that writing only appeared in South Africa after 1652. Depiction of animals in these drawings communicate two messages. The first message deciphered from these writings is that the prevalent culture of that era might have been that of hunters and gatherers. The other message conveyed is that the art of domesticating animals was already known, and that

these people who produced these drawings might have been herd farmers. Either of the above probabilities suggest that some form of direct or indirect learning was present. This could either be in hunting and/or agriculture .

### Early Education

Education begins the very moment the child is born. As the child grows he/she becomes aware of the home environment and family members. The child also develops the ability of discriminating what is edible and what is not. Soon certain habits will be formed which are in line with the environment. All these stages are learned or taught. This notion is consistent with Locke's concept of "Tabula Rasa". This means that all knowledge is learned, and that a newborn enters the world with no prior knowledge. However, new acquired knowledge or perceptions from the environment are imprinted on the child's blank mind (Butts, 1955).

With this knowledge about the development of the human being, it becomes clear that education or transferring of knowledge has always existed as long as the human species has been in existence, though the method of learning used then may not be known with great certainty. This notion of uncertainty is amplified by Clark (1970) in the following statement:



Hand axes from Europe, South Africa or Peninsular India are all basically similar tools and this is also true for the rest of the heavy-duty and light-duty elements. At the same time this 'sameness' about the stone artifacts suggests that, although the period of learning necessary to become proficient in making them may have been drawn out, there is no reason to suppose that some, at least, of this skill could not have been learned by observation, experimentation and imitation rather than by direct instruction. On the other hand the degree of 'standardization' shown by the handaxes and cleavers, for example, argues for at least limited instruction and so perhaps for some rudimentary form of speech (p. 103).

With this in mind, our little-known past as regards to vocational and technical education in South Africa cannot be studied in a vacuum. In order to understand the beginnings of vocational and technical education in South Africa, it is important to gain some knowledge about the early inhabitants of South Africa.

### Economic Conditions

The basic economy of South African society relied on the family unit or clan. Unlike the modern economies which are profit driven or are concerned with the accumulation of wealth, early societies were concerned with survival and self-sufficiency (July, 1975). It is possible that the early inhabitants of South Africa were also concerned with food production for survival instead of producing food to distribute for profit. Modern economists regard this

practice as subsistence or subsistence farming, where the term subsistence economy is derived. It is safe to suggest that early societies had a subsistence type of economy. However, some archeological evidence suggests that in addition to subsistence economy, industrial based economy was also present. This being the economy based on manufactured goods or artifacts.

Stone implements found on various sites, as well as the smelting sites point to the presence of industrial base economies during both stone age and iron age (Bilsborough, 1986; Inskeep, 1971). Pottery sites were also found around the Transvaal and the Free State which points to the presence of manufacturing activities. This suggests the possibility of the presence of industrial based economy (Inskeep, 1971).

#### Social and Political Conditions

Social conditions of the early inhabitants of South Africa will never be known with great certainty. However, archeological evidence provides useful information which can be used to reconstruct the possible social structures that may have existed then. The social structure of early inhabitants of South Africa can be traced by studying the animal species most nearly related to humans. We can also

study the surviving societies of hunters and food gatherers in order to gain some insight of the early societies of South Africa.

Fortunately, in South Africa these societies do still exist though their numbers have shrunk. The Bushmen or Bushwomen (known as Bushmen) found predominantly around the Kalahari desert, Namibia and Botswana exhibit the possible characteristics of early times, and are likely to have preserved social tendencies once universal among mankind (Hawkes and Woolley, 1963).

From these observations we can conclude that the early inhabitants of South Africa had a form of organized social structure composed of families or clans. These organized social structures permitted a smooth transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next. We can also conclude that among these societies, there was a clear division of responsibilities when it came to teaching of the young. Men took their young sons on hunting expeditions, while women taught their young daughters all needed to be learned in early societies (Smith, 1955). Societal taboos and the need for survival were the best inducements for the young to learn. There were also codes of conduct which formed part of the culture which could have been the basis

of maintaining order and stability. This indicates that an organized form of government was in existence among these early citizens (July, 1975).

### Political Structure

Political structures of the early inhabitants of South Africa differed among the various groups. It has been reported that the bushmen were hunters and gatherers, and lived a nomadic life-style; that their homes were determined largely by the availability of water and food. They may have had an organized political structure, since they moved in hunting bands, and when they decided to have a temporary home, they would do it in some organized fashion. (Cole, 1966). However, many archaeologists, historians and anthropologists characterize the bushmen as wanderers who had limited capabilities of organizing a sophisticated government system (Clark, 1970; Hawkes & Woolley, 1963). Nothing is reported about the Bushman's economic activities. The "Bantu" had a well organized political structure. The "Bantu" were organized into clans of several thousand people. Each clan had its own territory, a central family (royal family), and a chief (commander-in-chief or head of the clan). The chief always came from the central

family of the clan. This structure promoted uniform culture within the clan (July 1975; Rodney, 1982; Were, 1974).

Certain customs were formulated according to the needs of the community. The chiefs commanded a tremendous amount of power, however, they were not able to misuse their power. They had to rule according to established customs and accepted practices (earliest monarchical democracy). The chief was assisted by elders, and councillors in governing. Within the councillors there was another unit--inner council *Baeletsi ba Kgosi* in Sesotho or *Inceku Zenkosi* in Zulu, these were the Chief's Confidential Advisors. The general assembly *Ibandla* in Zulu and *Lekgotla* in Sesotho was composed of all the councilors and the elders who met to deal with important national issues or to formulate policies. The chief also had a deputy who was appointed by the chief *Induna* in Zulu and *Letsogo la Kgosi* in Sesotho.

Looking at this social and economic structure, it becomes evident that more practical and functional education programs would prosper under these conditions. It should be noted that processes in early education were in a heuristic form. The habits (which of course were learned) which were successful have continued to exist in the form of customs or

traditions. It is possible that these habits were developed along the lines of vocational education.

Achievements made by indigenous people of South Africa in the development and promotion of knowledge has been misrepresented by the colonial historians. This attitude is exemplified by Worsfald (1913), where he described Dingaan as a "trecherous and savage King of the Zulus" (p. 108). The misrepresentation becomes obvious when one looks at the account by most colonial historians on Shaka, Moshoeshoe, Sekhukhuni, Ngqika, Mzilikazi, Ngungunyane, Sekonyela and many other founding fathers of Southern Africa.

#### Colonial Era 1652-1900

Until the 1600's development in South Africa must have taken the same course as in any other part of the world. The so-called voyages of discoveries which originated around Spain, England, Portugal and Holland permanently changed the course of development in South Africa. What followed can be understood through the statement made by Milan Hubl, a Czech historian in A Book of Laughter and Forgetting by Milan Kundera (1980). This is what he said:

The first step in liquidating a people, ... is to erase its memory. Destroy its books, its culture, its history. Then have somebody write new books, manufacture a new culture, invent a new history. Before long the nation will begin to forget what

it is and what is was. The world around it will forget even faster (p. 159).

### The Dutch Settlers

The year 1652 marks the beginning of colonial history in South Africa. There are some inconsistencies among the colonial historians as to the actual date of Jan Van Riebeeck's arrival. Were (1974) gives June 4, 1652 as the arrival date of Jan Van Riebeeck at Table Bay, while Walker (1968) puts Van Riebeeck's arrival at April 6, 1652. Since colonial historians have maintained consistency with the year 1652, this will be regarded as the reference point as far as colonial settler history of South Africa is concerned.

This year also marks the dawn of colonization and probably the demarcation of South Africa as seen today with so many borders which are still changing (see Figures 1, 2 & 3). Colonization changed everything, in fact it had far-reaching effects upon the development of South Africa. The most profound of these were social, political and economic.

On the social front, the most subtle psychological outcome was the broadened cultural horizon emanating from direct contacts of local inhabitants and the new arrivals. These newcomers to South Africa seemed to be suffering from a severe national superiority. This attitude was expressed

by several historians. Walker (1968) stated "To the early Commanders the natives were just natives, 'dul, stupid, lazy and stinking,' according to Van Riebeeck, 'Zwarte Stinkende Honden' in the eyes and nostrils of the colonists" (p. 33).

The Dutch words "Zwarte Stinkende Honden" translated into English simply means Black Stinking Dogs. The other well positioned South African "education leader" made the following comments regarding early contact between the natives and the settlers:

From this so-called "war of 1659," until the present day, the history of South Africa has been largely a matter of race conflict. The white man, expanding northwards and eastward, after subduing the cowardly Hottentots and almost exterminating the treacherous Bushman, disputed the possession of the soil with the warlike Bantu on the banks of the Kei, in the Transvaal, and in Natal. The issue was often in doubt, but at length the superior intelligence of the white man conquered, and the native settled down more or less willingly as the white man's vassal (Loram, 1969, p. 2).

Pells (1978) another educator, had this to say about the early interaction in South Africa. "At no time and in no part was South Africa a land lying ready for peaceful occupation. Europeans had to wrest it, by force of arms, by force of character, by brains and by brawn, from savage beasts and often equally savage tribes" (p.12).



It is difficult to imagine a harmonious, peaceful, and a just co-existence between the indigenous people of South Africa and the settlers. The views expressed by Loram and Pells suggest that the settlers had no respect for the natives. These conditions were not conducive for the establishment of a meaningful vocational and technical education program in South Africa.

#### Events in Europe Leading to the Occupation of South Africa

Social and religious mayhem of 15th Century Europe, and the struggle for supremacy among the seafaring nations of Europe gave rise to fierce competition for the sea passage to the spice lands of the east. Spices which were necessary for the preservation of food were available in abundance in the East Indies.

At that time Spain and Portugal were pioneers of the sea route and had the monopoly of the sea. Most countries in Europe, especially western Europe, relied on spices for the preservation of food. These spices were brought overland by traders who formed caravans. When this route became dangerous due to piracy, a need for the alternative route to the east became more important. These two countries dominated the newly found trade routes and

subsequently became the major suppliers of imported goods in Europe.

During this period the Catholic church was the dominant power in Europe. Dissatisfaction with the Catholic church was also on the rise in Europe. Europe was divided along the religious lines, between Catholics and the Protestants. During the period 1581-1648, Europe experienced a series of religious wars between these two groups. It was during this period that Philip II of Spain attempted to suppress Protestant practices in Holland, and was met with resistance from William of Orange (Gordon, 1990). Holland's anti Catholic attitude angered Phillip II, who reacted by barring the Dutch vessels from the Port of Lisbon (Gordon, 1990).

This forced the Dutch to seek other means of acquiring the spices. The Dutch followed the Portuguese on their voyages around the continent of Africa. It was not until 1652 that the Dutch decided to occupy the Cape, the same way the Portuguese had occupied Mozambique and Angola. It is also possible that due to the disturbances in Europe, the Dutch had to find another place of refuge, and South Africa was the best place to run to.

The arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck and his three ships completely altered the history of South Africa as it is

known today. There are several reasons given for the occupation of South Africa, one is that they were going to set up a half-way recuperation station on their way to or from the spice lands of the East Indies (Elphick & Gilliomee, 1989). The other reason is that the Dutch East India Company dispatched Jan Van Riebeeck with his crew to set up a refreshment station where he was supposed to set up vegetable gardens (Cole, 1966). It is difficult to imagine these individuals setting up vegetable gardens upon their arrival in the Cape without learning from the locals, since there is a great possibility that they had no knowledge of the local climate nor the vegetation. Another possibility is that some vocational and technical education program with concentration in agriculture may have long been established by the indigenous inhabitants of South Africa before the arrival of Van Riebeeck, though no mention is made in any of the literature perused for this study.

The scramble among the Europeans countries for the shorter and a safer route to the spice lands of the east had increased, as well as the demand for the inexpensive supply of fresh food. Fresh food supply to the ships along the African ports was the lucrative business of the local people. This compelled the passing ships to share their

profits with the local people by purchasing most needed fresh food supply from them. As the number of passing ships increased since England had joined the race to the spice land, the demand for fresh food supply increased. The normal economic principle took effect, as the demand for food supply increased so did the price.

The desire to control the price of fresh supplies may have been one of the major reasons for the Dutch occupation of South Africa. The other reason could be that the Dutch wanted to have monopoly over the sea route to the spicelands. They could possibly achieve this objective by controlling the midway supply station.

The work of sailors involved long and dangerous journeys on unknown seas and territories. It also exposed sailors to the risk of contracting sea sickness, or getting killed in sea accidents such as sinking or by pirates. It could possibly be that those recruited as sailors with the Dutch East India Company may have come from the low ranks of the society in Holland, with limited or no skills other than knowledge of sailing.

### Social Conditions

Colonial developments in South Africa started in the Cape province, particularly the Western Cape. This is the

point where Jan Van Riebeeck and his three ships first landed. The other three provinces which later formed the Republic of South Africa were not penetrated by the colonialists until the 1800's. The provincial borders which later became the cause of running battles between the Natives, the English and Dutch colonialists were nonexistent.

The first interaction between the settlers and the local inhabitants at the Cape was characterized by tensions. These tensions stemmed from territorial squabbles and unfair trading practices of the colonialists. The colonialists were repossessing the land previously occupied and farmed by the indigenous people, and also taking their markets (Nutting, 1970). It should be remembered that the passing ships were serviced by the local people prior to the arrival of the Dutch settlers.

In order for the colonialists to keep up with the trade demands of the passing ships which were monopolized by the locals, they had to have a large outlay of labor which they did not have. The problem of manpower became the main concern of the Dutch East India Company. The Dutch were familiar with slavery which they had been practicing for some time at their other settlements. They had no

difficulty in solving their manpower problems with slavery. The year 1657 marks the first introduction in South Africa of the most barbaric crimes ever to be committed to the human race, slavery (Davenport, 1987).

The Dutch settlers imported slaves from the East Indies and some parts of Africa to their newly established Cape colony (Armstrong & Worden, 1989). There was a common pattern during these early years among the colonialists throughout the world of displacing the local people with slaves brought from other parts of the world, as it can be seen in North and South American colonies and the Pacific colonies (Rodney, 1982).

It was during this period when some of the Dutch East India Company employees expressed some dissatisfaction with the Company, and subsequently asked to be released from the company duties in order to be on their own. They were relieved from direct Company control. The Company went further to appropriate land belonging to the local people and gave it to these new entrepreneurs (Guelke, 1989). These entrepreneurs became known as Free Burghers (free citizens). Though free from the direct control of the Dutch East India Company, these free burghers were still subjected to military services and other community services as the

company deemed necessary (Hattersley, 1973). Ironically, these free burghers who severed ties with Dutch East India Company because of the love of freedom, purchased and kept slaves.

### Assisted Immigration

Jan Van Riebeeck served the Dutch East India Company at the Cape for ten years before retiring to Holland (Davenport, 1987). In 1679, Simon Van Der Stel, another Dutch patriot, took over the governorship of the Cape. By this time the Cape had already gone through nine colonial governors since Van Riebeeck. At the same time unstable conditions in Europe were producing refugees, orphans and prisoners as a result of the 30 years of war. Holland had replaced Spain as Europe's economic power house (Lacour-Gayet, 1977). Refugees from strife-torn Europe were scattered all over Europe in search of safe haven. Holland became a favored place of refuge especially for the opponents of the Catholic church who had adopted the Protestant Calvinist doctrine. Holland had previously renounced Catholicism after being influenced by the teachings of John Calvin, a French religious reformer who advanced the theory of Predestination (Gordon, 1990).

The Dutch were overwhelmed by the heavy influx of the refugees into their territory. These refugees also provided an opportunity for the Dutch to expand their settlement in the Cape with more Europeans. In around the 1680's, the Dutch embarked on an assisted immigration to the Cape of all those refugees who had settled in Holland. They were hoping that by increasing the European population in the Cape, they would defuse the looming native threat.

These refugees came from widely different social and national backgrounds. They brought with them their culture to South Africa which had a lasting impression on last names such as du Toit, du Plessis, Joubert, Fouche, and many other names which have become household names among the Afrikaners today. These refugees were given land and livestock seized from the natives. The majority of these refugees were the French Huguenots who had fled to Holland in large numbers following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. This resulted in the implantation of the French culture which became part of South Africa up to this day. In addition to these religious refugees, the Dutch East India Company also sent orphans to the Cape, especially girls to be used as wives for the colonists (Marquard, 1969).



The spread of the settlers in and around the Cape had disastrous consequences to the natives. Those natives who could not be subdued were driven off their land or killed. Around 1713 an outbreak of a deadly smallpox, which is believed to have been spread by the laundry brought from the passing ships from Europe, almost wiped out the native and slave population. It is believed that the reduction of the native population gave rise to the importation of more slaves to the country (Cole, 1966).

Soon the European settlers fused their culture with that of the local inhabitants, and because of their long drawn out absence from Europe began to view themselves as Africans (Afrikaners). This long isolation from Europe also invoked the feeling of being the rightful owners of the land. They even began to resist the authority of the Dutch East India Company. This led to the decline of the influence of the Dutch East India Company in the Cape which resulted in collapse of the Dutch authority and the recalling of Willem Adriaan, the then Governor of the Cape (Walker, 1968).

Some of these settlers opted to move further away from the Cape in order to escape Dutch East India Company's control (Davenport, 1987). These dissenters became isolated

to the extent that their culture and language was transformed. Their language was no longer the pure Dutch, but a combination of all the languages in which these rebels found themselves immersed. Realizing that their language was no longer pure Dutch and their realization that they were now Afrikaners, they called their new language Afrikaans (Cole, 1966).

#### End of Dutch Control of the Cape

The spirit of independence and republicanism gained momentum among the colonialists at the Cape, which resulted in economic instability. Europe was again drawn into more wars; by this time Dutch superiority had been replaced by France's and England's (Lacour-Gayet, 1977). In 1793, France invaded Holland, and William V, who was the ruler of Holland at the time, fled to England. England became troubled by this, fearing that its trade routes to the east might be in jeopardy should France seize Dutch settlements. The wounds of the American revolutionary war had not healed, when England lost its thirteen colonies. The fact that France supported this war against England was more troubling to the British.

During this period Dutch East India Company was bankrupt, and its representatives at the Cape were

demoralized. England, armed with its military hardware and a decree signed by the defected William V, snatched the Cape Colony from the Boers (Eybers, 1969). England occupied the Cape for a brief period and later returned the Cape back to the Dutch after the signing of a peace treaty with France at Amiens in 1802.

Events in Europe tended to affect South Africa either directly or indirectly. When Napoleon renewed war with England, South Africa again became the target of British occupation. In 1806, England seized the Cape from the Dutch for the second time. This time the British established a permanent settlement, and brought with them a host of regulations which were loathed by the Boers. The abolition of slavery was also met with great resentment since the burghers had grown accustomed to the abundance of slave labor. What really frustrated these burghers most was the fact that their compensation for the emancipated slaves could only be paid out in London. Not all the burghers could afford a trip to London (Armstrong & Worden, 1989).

The Dutch settlers felt oppressed by the new English settlers to the point that they found it necessary to migrate into the interior. In England the economic situation was not that favorable. The end of the Napoleonic

wars had created a severe economic crisis which resulted in high unemployment. The conditions became so volatile in England that the threats of civil unrest could be heard among the unemployed (Lacour-Gayet, 1977). The possible solution to this crisis in England was emigration. The Cape governor at that time advised England to adopt the policy previously practiced by the Dutch during their reign at the Cape, that of assisted immigration. In 1820, ship loads of economic refugees from England arrived at the Cape as the result of economic instability in England and the policy of assisted immigration. These refugees became known as the "1820 British Settlers." These new arrivals bolstered the numbers of the new rulers who were outnumbered by the Boers, and the natives.

Upon taking over the Cape, the English introduced several regulations which the Boers lacked the incentives to follow. The increased missionary activities and their idea of equality before the law was not well accepted by the Boers who were accustomed to slave labor. The English were determined to make sure that the Boer settlers conformed to their colonial policy. Vagrancy laws which were introduced earlier by the settlers to counter the emancipation of slavery were investigated by missionaries. Dr. John Philip

of the London Missionary Society was instrumental in reversing this law by appealing to the authorities to review this policy.

In 1828, ordinance 50 was introduced repealing the earlier vagrancy law known as Ordinance 49 (Davenport, 1987). The last straw came when some of the Afrikaners were tried for mistreating their slaves. This prompted one of the Afrikaners who took part in the Great Trek to make the following comment "Racial equality was contrary to the laws of God and the natural distinctions of race and religion" (Vatcher, 1965, p.8).

The Dutch settlers were religious fanatics who subscribed to the notion of being the chosen race placed on the African soil by God (Walker, 1968). To the Boers, this was the promised land. The Boers never saw themselves as intruders in South Africa. They were convinced that they were placed in South Africa by God. They were alarmed at the British intrusion into their promised land. The following satire demonstrates the frustration experienced by the Boer due to the British takeover of the Cape colony. Following is the Dutch version:

O Heere der here!  
Wie zal hier in Afrika weer regeere;  
Alle die uit Engeland zijn gebannen;  
Worden hier groote mannen;

En ons arme Hollandsche gezellen  
Kan men de ribben op het lyf at tellen.  
O heere, wilt ons toch verlossen  
Van al die Engelsche ossen,  
En leidt ons toch naar wenschen,  
Ons arme Hollandsche Christenmensen.  
Amen. (Kotze, 1975, p. 126).

Following is the translated English version:

O Lord of lords!  
Who will again rule here in Africa;  
All those who are exiled from England;  
Become great men here;  
And we poor Dutch fellows,  
Can count the ribs on our bodies,  
O Lord, will you not deliver us,  
From all the English oxen,  
And lead us to our wishes,  
We poor Dutch Christian people,  
Amen. (Kotze, 1975, p. 126).

The Dutch settlers bundled their belongings onto their oxwagons, armed with the rifle, the bible and faith, and took off into the interior (Cornevin, 1980). This mass exodus became known as "The Great Trek" (Eybers, 1969). These trekkers settled in the Free State, Transvaal and Natal provinces.

### Colonial Education

The first colonial education is reported to have been started in the Cape in 1658 (Horrell, 1970). Colonial education in South Africa was an outgrowth of European evangelism. It is important to note that the colonialists who settled in South Africa, were of European stock, and

education in Europe was, for the most part, in the hands of the religious institutions. In fact, formal education had been partly controlled by the church in Europe for a long time. Monasteries were not only centers for higher learning, but breeding ground for religious leaders who were sometimes government officials (Mulhern, 1946).

The Europeans who settled in South Africa in the 1600's brought with them their values and culture. Religious education is one aspect of the culture which found a permanent home in South Africa. Colonial education developed at various stages in the four provinces, Transvaal; Cape; Orange Free State and Natal. However, it was more developed in the Cape than in the other three provinces. A description of that development follows.

### Cape Province

Education in the Cape was modeled after the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC). The DRC embraced the doctrine of salvation by faith; with this belief came the obligation for every individual to be able to read the bible in order to meet his personal religious responsibilities (Behr, 1978). Pells (1978), expanded the notion of religious personal obligation in the following passage:

The most important thing in every colonialist's life was to qualify for member-

ship of the church. Without church-membership you could not marry, you could not beget, you could not die, at least, not in a socially acceptable sense. The Dutch Reformed Church was a protestant church. Everyone of its members had therefore to be able to read the scriptures for himself, write his name and recite the articles of faith (p. 10).

It is evident that with all these responsibilities, a certain level of literacy was necessary for the colonialist to function in the society. Therefore, the ability to read became indispensable for the colonialist. The literature reviewed for this study has produced very little information on early settler education. What became evident in the review is that colonial education in South Africa came with the missionaries. The first colonial school is reported to have been opened in 1658. The school was intended for the newly introduced slaves. The irony to this arrangement is that there is no mention of a school established for the settlers and their children, nor for the natives until 1662 (Cook, 1975).

There are several speculations one can make about this abrupt establishment of the slave school. One could be that the settlers were concerned about the challenges they had already experienced with the indigenous people; to counter these challenges, the settlers introduced foreign slaves. A quick indoctrination through schooling would reduce the risk



of slaves becoming rebellious and defiant like the locals, and that the slaves would be a perfect barrier between the natives and the settlers (Marquard, 1969).

This arrangement might result in total eviction or extermination of the natives as it was demonstrated later by the militia of the trekboer and the explorers (Walker, 1968). Another reason could be that the settlers wanted to introduce the slaves to the rudiments of their lifestyle in order to increase their usefulness. It seems that the settlers had a difficulty of separating religious instructions from general education. The confusion of what was formal education and what was religious instruction was amplified by another colonial revisionist Du Plessis, cited in Horrell, (1970) quoting from Van Riebeeck's diary:

Began holding school for the young slaves. To stimulate the slaves to attention while at school, and to induce them to learn the Christian prayer, they were promised each a glass (een Croessjen) of brandy and two inches of tobacco, when they finished their task (p. 3).

It is hard to imagine that slave owners could place the slaves before their children when it came to education. It is obvious, viewed from the passage above, that the settlers had no intentions of giving their slaves any meaningful education other than indoctrinating them to submission. This

could also be the basis of excluding their lot from this type of education.

In 1662, education in the Cape took a different turn; this time the schools were organized along race and gender. In addition to the slave school of 1658, two other schools were introduced, one for the natives and one for the settlers (Walker, 1968). These schools were organized haphazardly with no specific direction since the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) policy was mainly dictated by its commercial aims. Education became least important to the early rulers of the Cape. The church controlled all forms of education. Though these schools were fragmented, attendance was open to all races (Cook, 1975).

#### Mission Schools

It was not until 1676 that the Cape Church Council which was the controlling body of colonial schooling expressed the desire of having separate schools for natives, whites, and slaves. This could be viewed as the first sign of institutional racial segregation in South Africa. The following year a separate school was started for the natives. However, those natives who were considered to be outstanding were placed with master mechanics to be taught trades. This could be regarded as the first apprenticeship

program in South Africa. The rest were left to continue with religious instructions (Horrell, 1970).

The curricula also reflected the controlling body, and was loaded with religious instructions, such as bible, history, psalm singing, and reading of catechism (Pells, 1978). The only secular subject taught in the schools as Behr (1978) states, was simple arithmetic. The influence of the church was also demonstrated in the manumission policy, where slaves could earn their freedom by converting to Christianity (Davenport, 1987).

The church's influence on education was clearly demonstrated in the 1700's with the formation of the education controlling body, the Scholarchs, which later became known as Bible-and-school commission. This body was more concerned with social problems of the settler society. In 1813, the Bible-and-school commission undertook the responsibility of providing education to the indigent. The emphasis was on instilling moral and religious values among the neglected members of the colonialists while providing them with skills for work (Behr, 1978). Mission schools mushroomed all over the Cape colony around 1854 (Horrell, 1968).

The Moravian Mission Society opened a school for the natives and coloreds at Baviaanskloof. It should be noted that during this time the European settlers had been in South Africa for almost 200 years. During this 200 years, a new distinct group of people had emerged in the Cape due to the interaction of the settlers and the natives. The coloreds were the results of this interaction. The Moravian center was the first to produce colored teachers. Agriculture was also taught at this mission station. The teachers who were produced at this center were absorbed by other missionaries including Moravian, the other students were employed by the local farmers (Walker, 1968).

The London Missionary Society established several schools around the Cape under the leadership of Dr. van der Kemp. One of these schools was established at Bethelsdorp where women were taught knitting and men were taught agriculture. During this period schools were semi-segregated due to the Church Council segregation policy of 1676. There was more emphasis in manual training for the indigenous people and Coloureds than there was for the settlers (Walker, 1968).

The missionaries insisted on maintaining integrated learning centers. This was the case with the establishment

of Lovedale mission school which was intended for the indigenous people. According to Horrell (1963a), "Lovedale opened with eleven African and nine white male students." (p. 3). Lovedale was established by the Glasgow Mission Society in 1824, named after Dr. John Love, one of the founders of London Missionary Society, who later became chairperson for the Glasgow Missionary Society before he died. Lovedale offered courses in carpentry, masonry, wagon-making, blacksmithing, shoemaking, tailoring, printing and bookbinding, teaching, ministry (theology), and domestic science or homecraft for girls (Horrell, 1963a).

The Methodist established a mission school known as Healdtown, which gained prominence in the 1800's. Healdtown was named after a Manchester philanthropist, Mr. Heald. The other Methodist mission school was Bensonville, located in the northeast of the Cape colony. Both schools offered industrial and teacher training programs (Horrell, 1963A).

The Anglican church's Zonneblom Training school was opened by Dr. Gray, the first Anglican Bishop in the Cape colony in 1858. This center was intended for the sons of the "native chiefs." This was the method commonly used by the colonialists to subjugate the indigenous people (Rodney, 1982). The idea behind this approach was that by

conditioning the future rulers of the natives, the colonialists will be able to rule through these converted leaders. This objective was actually realized about 100 years later through the infamous "Bantustan" system of control though it was short lived.

The Grey administration, having inherited the conflict started by the Boer settlers, was now faced with the problem of establishing peace in order to expand the British empire. Disturbances with the locals which were popularized as kaffir wars left most of the mission stations in ruins. During this period, mission schools were not receiving subsidy from the colonial government (Davenport, 1987).

George Grey, who had been appointed Governor, saw an opportunity of securing some funds from Britain to rebuild the destroyed mission stations which were instrumental in the achievement of most if not all colonial goals. Grey viewed education as a potent tool for subjugating Africans who were poised to stamp out colonial advancement (Rose & Tunmer, 1975).

Behr (1978), points out that Grey intended to subsidize missionary institutions so that they could train Africans in industrial occupations to work amongst their people as interpreters, evangelists, and school masters. Thus, he

intended it to be a pacification program geared towards total eradication of conflict with the Africans. The aim of the colonial governor was to gain economic and political superiority rather than establish harmonious coexistence with the Africans. His contention was that subsidizing mission stations would yield greater returns than the cost of waging war (Molteno, 1984).

It became clear that the other major interest of the colonial government was to produce better servants for the colonial empire. Molteno (1984), made the following observation regarding work and missionaries:

The subject of work is the burning on in this country. No complaint is heard more from the colonialist ... than that there is a great deal of work to be done and few are trying to do it. We want to see natives become workers ... we believe that Christianity will be chief cause ... of their becoming a working people. Christianity creates needs ... If you want men to work, then, you must get them to need.... Now the speediest way to create need among these people is to Christianize them. As they become more christianized they will want more clothing, better houses ... education for their children, and a hundred other things which they, do not have now and never have had. ... Christianity also teaches the duty of working, denounces idleness as a sin. So to Christianize a kaffir is the shortest way, and the surest, to make him put his hand steadily and willingly to the work that is waiting to be done (p. 60).

Judging from the views expressed regarding vocational and technical education, it becomes apparent that vocational and technical education was not regarded as important in the normal development of the society other than as a tool for subjugation. The mission schools, especially those that were not subsidized by the government, enjoyed academic freedom. These schools were free from government interference. The alleged abuses in the control of education matters, especially the subsidizing of schools in 1861, prompted the Cape Colony government to appoint Judge Watermeyer to preside on the commission of inquiry. This commission became known as the Watermeyer Commission.

Two years later the Watermeyer Commission published its findings which resulted in the passing of Education Act of 1865. The government secured the control of the mission schools through this legislation (Scholtz, 1975). In 1892, Sir Thomas Muir, who was then the Superintendent-General of education for the Cape used the same legislation to segregate mission schools by race (Horrell, 1963b).

Other missions were later established in the eastern Cape, such as Glasgow Missionary Society, Rheinisch Missionary Society, Berlin Mission, Paris Evangelical,



Wesleyan Missionary Society, London Missionary Society and Dutch Reformed Church mission.

### Discovery of Diamonds & Industrial Education

South Africa advanced politically by disasters as characterized by wars which were happening quite frequently, and economically by windfall (De Kiewiet, 1941). The greatest windfall to befall South Africa was the discovery of diamonds in the vicinity of Kimberly in 1868. With the discovery of the diamonds, there was an abrupt shift in the economy from agrarian to industrial. The population of the region increased almost immediately. The first railway line in the Cape which was completed in 1863, only went as far as Wynburg. The discovery of diamonds rendered this line to be extended to the diamond fields of Kimberly (Campbell, 1951).

New businesses were established. New employment opportunities requiring new skills were started. The conditions were extremely conducive for the establishment of education centers especially industrial schools. South African College, which was established in 1829 in Cape Town, took advantage of the conditions by opening the first mining school in Kimberly where industrial related courses were offered (Peires, 1989).

## Natal Province

Although Natal had been visited by the Portuguese sailors in the 16th Century, it was not until 1824 that the British established a permanent settlement. The British penetrated Natal from the south, while part of the contingent of the trekboers were encroaching from the west. Both the English and the Boers intended to establish a permanent settlement. There were several wars fought between the invading colonists and the invaded locals. The British, who were the victors in these skirmishes, retained permanent settlement while part of the Boer contingent moved north into the Transvaal province.

The economy of Natal was mainly agricultural. The emancipation of slavery in 1834-1838 created a shortage of laborers. Moreover, the local people resisted becoming laborers of the intruders who had robbed them of their land and cattle. The colonial sugar farmers had to look somewhere else for farm labor (Palmer, 1977).

In 1860, in order to overcome labor shortages, the colonists imported indentured Indian laborers from India to work in the sugar and cotton plantations. The importation of these laborers marks the beginning of the Indian population in South Africa (Wilson & Thompson, 1969). From there

onwards, a series of repressive laws were instituted by the colonialists to the vanquished Africans until 1994 when a democratically elected government replaced the colonial government.

The missionaries had an important role to play in spreading Christianity as well as establishing schools in Natal as they had in the Cape. Around 1840 and 1847 the American Board Mission under the leadership of Dr. Newton Adams and his colleagues Lindley and Grout started teaching children of the settlers in Natal (Behr, 1978). The first state controlled school for the settlers was established in Pietermaritzburg in 1848 (Horrell, 1970). In 1859, the first superintendent of education was appointed in Natal which laid the foundation of the public school system (Pells, 1970). During this period, segregation policies which were fermented in the Cape Colony became part of the Natal administration. Education continued in this newly found colony to be a segregated entity (Walker, 1968).

Schools were also segregated from their inception except for the mission schools. Though the mission school for Africans was started in 1835 in Durban, it was not until the American Board Mission opened Adams Mission in Amanzimtoti offering programs such as teacher training and

industrial arts. This was followed by the establishment of the seminary to teach girls housecraft in Inanda in 1869 (Horrell, 1970).

The Anglican missions established St. Augustine in 1880 under the leadership of Rev Charles Johnson. This school was established in the vicinity of Nqutu. In addition to general education, carpentry and building trades were taught. The Church of Scotland established an Industrial school in 1894, where industrial subjects were taught to males and domestic science was offered to females (Horrell, 1970).

The Catholic church opened an institution at Marianhill near Durban in 1882. The state of education in Natal pertaining to the Africans was in disarray. When authorities realized what the missions were doing for the Africans regarding education, they got involved by providing grants to the mission schools. In 1850, the government provided £200 to the Wesleyan Methodist church mission headed by Rev. James Allison (Horrell, 1963a). This scheme of promoting education in small communities seemed to be the favored policy rather than extending education to all. This policy gave rise to the mushrooming of several mission reserves all over Natal, such as St. Chads mission station near Ladysmith (Davenport, 1987).

The government went on to appoint a Commission of Inquiry in 1852. In 1853, the commission reported its findings and recommended that African youths should be apprenticed to farmers and tradesmen through the Resident Magistrate. The commission also recommended the establishment of industrial schools in each village habited by Africans. Though all these recommendations were never carried out, this prompted the legislation of 1856 which terminated the provision of funds to mission reserves (U.G. No. 978, 1935, p.7).

#### Orange Free State Province

Some of the trekboers who left the Cape at the beginning of the great trek settled in the area between the Vaal river and the Orange river. This area later became the Orange Free State republic. The trekboers came to the Free State as refugees running away from what they (trekboers) called British interference in their way of living (Lacour-Gayet, 1977).

The irony to this is that these very same trekboers who were running away from British oppression in turn oppressed the local inhabitants. On the other hand, the Cape government regarded the trekboers as their subjects despite their departure into the interior. In 1848, the Cape

government proclaimed sovereignty over all the areas occupied by the trekboers south of the Vaal river (Pells, 1970).

During this period, the trekboers were isolated from the Dutch culture they left at the Cape. They were also engaged in conflicts wars with the local people. These conditions were not conducive to the setting up of an education system. In 1855, the governor of the Cape made a monetary grant to the Boers for the establishment of a school in Bloemfontein. Around 1855-1859, a college was established in Bloemfontein named Grey College (Behr, 1978).

The condition of education was in an undesirable state throughout the Free State, except in Bloemfontein. In 1874, the first inspector-general of education was appointed. It is reported that most white children of school-going age were not attending school during this period (Pells, 1970). In 1895, all white children between the ages of 14 and 16 who lived within two miles of a school had to attend classes for at least one year (Behr, 1978). It was also required that Dutch be the medium of instruction. The policy of Dutch medium was unapplicable because there were no Dutch books nor teachers. Most of the public school teachers were recruited from the Cape, where English influence was strong.

Africans and coloreds were not served by this education system (Pells, 1978).

The missionaries were the providers of education for the Africans and the coloreds in the Orange Free State. The first mission school for Africans and coloreds was established at Philippolis in 1823 (Horrell, 1963a). In 1834, two other mission schools were opened for Africans and coloreds, one by the Methodist at Thaba Nchu, and the other by Berlin Mission at Bethanie. In 1865, the Dutch Reformed Church opened a school at Witzieshoek (Horrell, 1963a). Though all these mission schools belonged to different denominations, they had one thing in common--vocational education programs. It was not until 1899 when all the educational activities were brought to a standstill due to the Anglo-Boer War which changed the geography of South Africa.

### Transvaal Province

The Boer party that left the Cape during the Great Trek of 1836 spread all over the northern regions of the Cape. Part of this group settled north of the Vaal river. Around 1850, the Boers had spread across the Transvaal, displacing the local inhabitants just as the other trekboers who invaded the region between the Vaal and the Orange river.

This group also established their education system along the principles of the Dutch Reformed Church (Horrell, 1963a).

Upon driving away the local inhabitants off the region, the Boers declared this territory to be their Republic which they called Zuid Afrikaansche Republic (ZAR) in 1852 (Pells, 1970). Subsequently, they drafted the constitution where they made a declaration that "there would be no equality between black and white either in church or state" (Horrell, 1970, p. 23).

In 1859, the new republic organized its education system by setting up a committee to look after the affairs of education. Teachers had to be members of the Dutch Reformed Church in order to be employed (Behr, 1978). It is clear that with such conservative views and obsession about their race and religion, there was no way that the Africans could be accommodated in their education system, let alone the administration of the state.

Education of the Africans was undertaken by the missionaries. The first mission station to undertake the education work among the Africans was the London Missionary Society in 1842 when Livingstone and Edwards set up a station at Mabotsa (Horrell, 1970). The trekkers were still harboring some grudges against the English whom they got



away from in 1836, and they were not pleased to have the London Missionaries within their midst. In 1857, they [trekkers] invited the Harmansburg Mission Society to take over the work of London Missionary Society. The memories of their experiences with the liberal views of Dr. Philip of the London Missionary Society regarding slavery have been the motivator towards the expulsion of the London Missionary Society from ZAR (Theal, 1969).

The Berlin mission opened the station in the eastern Transvaal in 1860. This mission station later moved to Middleburg and became Botshabelo. Horrell (1963a) gives the following account about the origins of Botshabelo:

After founding mission station at Maleeuwskop, near the present Globblersdal, in the early 1860's, Dr. Hans Merensky of the Lutheran Berlin Mission church started further work amongst the Bapedi in Sekhukhuneland, in the area between the Steelpoort and Olifants rivers. In 1865, the paramount chief there came into contact with the missionaries, who were forced to flee, taking their converts with them. They settled about eight miles from the present town of Middleburg and called the new station Botshabelo, which means "refuge" ... A primary school was built, and training provided for catechists and evangelists (p.21).

In 1884, the Methodist Church opened a school near Pretoria called Kilnerton. This institution was named after Rev. John Kilner (Horrell, 1963a). There was one thing in common about these mission schools in the Transvaal: none of

them had vocational education programs. They were all concerned about producing evangelists who would carry on the mission work.

### Discovery of Gold

The discovery of gold in 1886 brought industrial revolution in this impoverished province. New industries were opened as the result of the discovery of gold. More immigrants from all over the world flocked to this province. Some of the operations which were established in Kimberly during the diamond rush were transferred to the Transvaal.

The city of Johannesburg was established which in the milieu of "Gold Rush" in 1886 became the hub of the entire country. The school for mines which was established in Kimberly was also transferred later transferred to Johannesburg later in the years. In this school mining related programs were offered. The Cape slowly lost its prestige since all the interest was focused at the newly found goldfields. Growth came with many problems, there were all kinds of disputes ranging from labor to politics. All kinds of social problems followed this new development. The outbreak of the Anglo-Boer war in 1899 brought all the activities in the mines to a grinding halt. The geography and education of South Africa took a different turn as we

will see the aftermath of this war in Chapter 3.

### Summary

This chapter surveyed the pre-colonial era in South Africa. In this chapter an attempt was made to trace the human existence in this part of the world prior to the colonial era. The development of social, political and economic of the indigenous people of South Africa was explored.

This chapter also looked at the colonial era with the arrival of the European settlers in South Africa, and the slavery that followed. The influence of missionaries in anti-slavery efforts in South Africa was explored. The missionary efforts in establishing schools, particularly among indigenous people of South Africa were studied. The chapter closes with the development of mineral wealth and the effects on the relationships between the Boers and the Britons, and the development of vocational and technical education.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE PERIOD FROM 1900-1930

#### Anglo Boer War

The years between 1899 and 1902 were extremely difficult for the inhabitants of South Africa, particularly in the Northern provinces of the Orange Free State and Transvaal. During this period the Boers and the Britons were engaged in a bitter conflict which became known as the "Anglo-Boer War" or the "Second War of Independence." Twenty years earlier the Boers were engaged in a small skirmish with the British led Cape Government. According to Marquard (1969) the Boers regarded this war as "Die Engelse Oorlog" (The English War) (p.18).

The outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War hampered the educational, social and economic development in South Africa, particularly in the two Boer Republics of Orange Free State and Transvaal. Many schools were closed, especially in the rural areas. There are reports of schools being destroyed in the rural areas towards the end of the war (De Kock, 1975). Some industries were closed in the Transvaal, Orange Free State, Northern Cape and Northern Natal.

In the two coastal English colonies of the Cape and Natal, the intensity of the war was not as severe as in the two Northern Boer Republics. Some Africans in the two English colonies, especially the Cape, viewed the conflict between the Boers and the Britons as an opportunity to advance their social, economic and political struggle. Some filled the positions left vacant by the conscripted Cape and Natal Europeans (Mohlamme, 1985).

In the Cape and Natal colonies, colonial laws as regards to Africans were less rigid than in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State Boer Republics. The liberal attitude of the British earned them [Britons] overwhelming support from the Africans against the Boers (Walker, 1968). Probably, the Africans in the two coastal colonies, particularly the Cape, were hoping that the Boer's defeat would result in the extension of their qualified franchise to the two Boer Republics, reducing the inhuman treatment of Africans by Boers. Thompson (1969) reported some of these inhumane practices as follows:

Under the laws of the South African Republic, African children who had been captured in warfare could be 'apprenticed' to farmers by military officers; ... The law drew a distinction between apprenticeship, as sanctioned, and slavery, which was prohibited. An apprentice could not be sold by one master to another, nor could he be held after the age of twenty-five (twenty-one in the case of

girls), nor if his parents were known, could he be held without their consent. ... the institution often enabled farmers ... to indulge in military expeditions for the purpose of obtaining children; and it also enabled farmers to put pressure on African parents to part with their children in return for food and immunity from attack (p. 437).

Reports such as these were the reason for Africans to resent the Boers more than the Britons, though their positions as colonizing forces were not different. It should be noted that in the Cape, any adult male regardless of race was entitled to register as a voter if he earned at least £50 per annum, and owned immovable property worth £75, and passed a simple literacy test (Horrell, 1970; Molteno, 1959; Thompson, 1960; Walker, 1968; and Warwick, 1983). Very few Africans could meet these standards with the condition colonialism had thrust upon them.

In the Natal colony, the application of franchise for Africans was different from the Cape colony. Thompson (1969) pointed out that:

In 1865 the Legislative Council passed a law which expressly denied the franchise of the African masses, but permitted an individual, who had been exempted from African law for seven years and had resided in the Colony for twelve years, to apply for the franchise, provided that he produced a certificate of recommendation signed by three white residents and endorsed by a Justice of Peace. This application, too, could be refused or granted by the governor at his discretion (p. 386).

Most of the conditions Africans had to meet in order to be franchised in Natal were difficult to be obtained. Communication barriers between the colonialists and the Africans could be regarded as one of the impediments for Africans to obtain the franchise. It is unthinkable that there could be three white residents willing to allow an African to vote during those colonial days.

#### Vocational and Technical Education for Whites

In an effort to bring the war to an end, the British gathered all the Boers families who remained in the farms into refugee camps. Most of the Boers who had remained on the farms during the war were women, children and the elderly. They were the only source of food and information for the Boer soldiers (Pells, 1978). The British destroyed the farms and removed the livestock making it difficult for the Boer soldiers who had resorted to guerilla tactics to survive (Davenport, 1987).

#### Camp Schools

Some school buildings in northern Natal were converted into refugee shelters, while others were used as British army depots (Behr, 1978). The captured Boer soldiers were sent to prison camps in the Cape Colony and other British Dominions abroad (Warwick, 1983). Among the Boer prisoners,

were school teachers who left teaching to participate in the war. Bot (1951) noted that these teachers started holding classes for their young fellow prisoners in these camps. De Kock (1975) stated that, "boys as young as eight or nine years old were serving in the Boer Commandos" (p. 324). The idea of prison schools was extended to other refugee camps though reasonable teaching could not be possible under the war conditions. According to (Behr, 1978 and Malherbe, 1925), the only subjects taught in these camp schools were reading and religion. The conditions in these schools were not favorable for the offering of vocational and technical education programs. Though Africans were placed in separate camps, there are no reports of schools being opened for them in the camps (Warwick, 1983).

The war-torn Boer republics fell under the control of the British in 1900. Upon the annexation of these two Boer republics (Orange Free State and the Transvaal), Alfred Lord Milner, who was then the governor of the Cape and British commissioner, resumed the administrative responsibilities of these two Boer republics (De Kock, 1975). Milner appointed Sargent, a British Civil Service and a High Commissioner, to resume the administrative responsibility of education in these annexed territories. Sargent opened more schools in



the camps and reorganized town schools. The war conditions had left schools in an undesirable condition. There was an inadequate supply of teachers in these camp schools (Bot, 1951).

The acute shortage of teachers both in the camp schools and town schools was one of the causes of the importation of English teachers from Britain and other British dominions (Davenport, 1987). These teachers were deployed among the Boer teachers in both camp and town schools (Pells, 1970). The introduction of English teachers had an Anglicizing effect on the Boers who were at that time resentful of the British. The Boers' fear of being Anglicized was confirmed by Sargant in a letter to Milner: "our military policy has gathered the greater part of the children population into these camps and I feel that the opportunity during the next year of getting them all to speak English is golden" (Rose & Tunmer, 1975, p. 162).

Some influential Afrikaners, in collaboration with the Afrikaner churches attempted to circumvent the British effort of anglicizing them by setting up Afrikaner private schools. This probably could be regarded as the beginning of the Kristelike Nasionale Onderwys (Christian National Education) (Pells, 1978).

During the peace negotiations between the Boers and the Britons, education became part of the major issues, particularly the language of instruction. The Boers were pushing for equality in language usage in government schools, and they also wanted education including the appointment of teachers, to be in the hands of parents (Rose & Turnmer, 1975).

The following excerpt from Headlam and Cassell (as cited in Rose & Tunmer 1975) confirms the determination of the Boers to retain control of education:

Whilst negotiations were in progress, a letter signed by the Rev. H.S. Bosman, moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Traansvaal, and others, had been circulated (March 23) to the Council of Congregations, refusing co-operation with the government in education matter until school teachers were allowed to be appointed by committees elected by people, and justice done "to the language of their church." The present system, it declared, must be opposed "even to the shedding of blood." Independent schools must be established, and no negotiations with the education department entertained (p. 103).

The Boers partially succeeded in securing Dutch in the schools.

#### Reconstruction Period

At the end of the peace agreement in 1902, numerous problems became evident to the authorities. Immediate solutions to these problems had to be found. Among these was

a big task of resettling refugees back in the towns, and the restoration of the infrastructure. Orphanages were opened for the children who were orphaned by the war. Schools previously closed due to the war were reopened, those that were destroyed had to be restored. Previously closed industries were reopened (Warwick, 1983). Extensive resources in the form of labor and material were needed to carry out the reconstruction process.

One of the biggest hurdles in the reconstruction program was the shortage of a skilled workforce. This was due to the inadequate education system in South Africa, especially in the two former Boer republics. There were few educational opportunities in the two Boer republics available to either Africans or Boers. According to Marquard (1969), "the Boers were mainly farmers, less concerned with book-learning" (p. 19).

There are reports of Boer children as old as 14 years old not attending school. Behr (1978) stated that, "All children between the ages of 14 and 16 years who lived within two miles of school had to attend classes for at least one year, unless they obtained exemption by passing an examination in the three R's" [reading, writing, and arithmetic] (p. 18). This statement suggests that there were

Afrikaner children 14 and under who were not attending school at all. This confirms that education was not a priority in the two Boer republics.

The mines were severely affected by the labor crisis. Mining was the major generator of revenue in South Africa then, as it is still today. The building of a railway network had taken most of the local semi-skilled workers leaving a big gap in mines. The authorities devised a temporary solution to the labor shortage by importing Chinese laborers to work in the mines (Davenport, 1987).

#### Industry and Technical Colleges

The mining companies had organized themselves earlier in 1887 into a single and powerful body known as the Chamber of Mines. This body consolidated all the activities of the mining industry. The Chamber of Mines was highly influential in the running of the government (Davies, O'Meara & Dlamini, 1984).

During this period there was general upheaval in the industries around South Africa, particularly the mining industry. The Chamber of Mines exacerbated this industrial unrest in 1907 by engaging a large number of African and Chinese miners in skilled positions (Carter, 1959). This action by the Chamber of Mines triggered a strike by the

Transvaal Miner's Association, the exclusively white labor organization formed in 1902 (Simons, 1975b). The authorities, with the influence from the Chamber of Mines, passed a series of legislation such as the Riotous Assemblies Act and Mines and Work Act of 1911 to curb further industrial unrest.

The influence of the mining industry on the government became obvious when Creswell, who was the manager of Village Deep Mine, became the leader of the Labor party. He subsequently became the Minister of Labor in the Hertzog Administration (Simons, 1975b). The mining industry's influence manifested itself again in the appointment of Juvenile Boards for whites in the urban areas in 1915 (Malherbe, 1925). When the Juvenile's Act of 1921 was passed, the governance of Juvenile Board fell under this Act. Juvenile Boards collaborated with school principals to register white school leavers for industrial training. Though the stated objective of the Juvenile Board was to make provision for the juveniles when they leave schools, the underlying interest of the mines was to secure labor for its industries. This was clearly demonstrated by the amount of control exercised by the Department of Mines and Industries over the Miner's Training Schools, where most of

the juveniles who left school early would eventually end (Van Der Horst, 1975).

The Chamber of Mines further established an elaborate skilled and unskilled labor producing machinery. It did this by opening labor recruiting agencies and by influencing the establishment of Technical Institutes. Some of the labor recruiting agencies that were started under the auspices of the Chamber of Mines were The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA) and Witwatersrand Native Labor Association (WNLA) (Davies, O'Meara & Dlamini, 1984). The unskilled labor was recruited through these agencies. Skilled labor was produced through several technical colleges which were established in the major industrial cities throughout the country around 1927. The list of the technical colleges appears in Table 1.

Technical education for whites in South Africa can be traced back to 1890 in the Cape after the discovery of the diamonds in Kimberley and gold in Johannesburg. The first mining influence in technical education probably started during that period. The development of railways which was intertwined with that of the mining industry may also be considered to have influenced the development of technical education in South Africa (Walker, 1968).

Table 1. Technical Colleges

Town	Institution
Pretoria	Pretoria Technical College
Cape Town	Cape Technical College
Durban	Natal Technical College
East London	East London Technical College
Johannesburg	Witwatersrand Technical Institute
Pietermaritzburg	Pietermaritzburg Technical College
Port Elizabeth	Port Elizabeth Technical College

Source: Official Year Book of the Union and of Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland, 10, 1927-1928, p. 154. Pretoria, South Africa: Government Printing and Stationery Office.

The opening of railways workshops in Durban for technical classes to apprentices in 1884 confirms the extent to which industry influenced technical education. Technical instructions were offered to apprentices in these workshops under the auspices of the Railway Institute (U.G. No. 483, 1945). These centers conducted mainly part-time evening classes.

In 1897, a School of Mines and Technology was opened in Kimberley. This school was intended to provide the diamond mines of Kimberley with the necessary skilled labor. The Kimberley School of Mines was an outgrowth of the South African College which was established in Cape Town in 1894 (the present University of Cape Town) (U.G. No. 483, 1945).

When Johannesburg became an important mining center, the Chamber of Mines exercised its influence on educational matters again. The Chamber of Mines' influence manifested itself in the transfer of the School of Mines from Kimberley to Johannesburg in 1903 (U.G. No. 483, 1945). In Johannesburg, the School of Mines was called Transvaal Technical Institute and was later named the Transvaal University College. An extension of this college was established in Pretoria in 1908 (U.G. No. 483, 1945).



In 1910, the year when the four provinces combined to form the Union, the administration of education went through some reorganization. This led to the incorporation of the Pretoria branch of the Transvaal University College. The Pretoria branch retained the name Transvaal University College while the Johannesburg branch assumed the name of South African School of Mines and Technology (U.G. No. 483, 1945).

Most universities in South Africa owe their existence to the technical colleges or institutes. An example of this is the South African College, the first college of its kind to be opened in South Africa in 1829. It started as a male only private school. In 1886 it became a public institution and admitted females for the first time. This institution began university work in 1900, and became incorporated as a university in 1918, becoming the University of Cape Town. Another example is the University of Natal which started as Durban Technical College, and only became a university in 1949 (U.G. No. 28, 1954/55).

The quest for higher education prompted the authorities to pass legislation related to universities. In 1916, the University Act (No. 13 of 1916) was passed. This legislation constituted the South African School of Mines

and Technology into a university, and in 1922 it became the University of Witwatersrand (WITS). Under the same legislation, the Transvaal University College became the University of Pretoria in 1930 (U.G. No. 10, 1927/28, p. 144). WITS University was moved from central Johannesburg to its present location at Milner Park, and a Witwatersrand Technical Institute was established at the old site (U.G. No. 483, 1945).

The development of other colleges in the other provinces followed almost a similar pattern. From their inception, technical colleges catered mainly to the needs of the industries. The courses were designed to facilitate the requirements of the industry. The dominant industry of the region dictated the type of courses that were to be offered in a particular technical college. Around the mining regions such as in Johannesburg, the dominant courses were mining engineering, mechanical engineering, and electrical engineering.

Technical Institutes offered a wide variety of industrial related courses leading to technical occupations. Some of these technical institutes offered courses which overlapped with university courses. An example of this was the South African College which offered theoretical courses

in mining engineering, and the practical part of the course was offered at the School of Mines in Kimberley (Malherbe, 1925).

The passing of the Higher Education Act in 1923 brought some changes in technical education in South Africa. This Act shifted the administrative responsibility of Vocational and Technical Education from the provinces to the central government. Technical Institutes were upgraded to Technical Colleges to offer advanced courses (Malherbe, 1925).

#### Rehabilitation through Industrial Education

The first known colonial industrial education in South Africa was established for native children in 1855 through the mission schools (U.G. No. 2004, 1920). It was not until 1837 that an attempt was made to introduce industrial education to destitute European children who were committed to boarding houses (Malherbe, 1925). Industrial education was offered in a form of practical agriculture at these boarding houses. The courses offered at industrial schools were not of the same quality as courses offered at technical colleges. They were mainly of a limited scope leading to the lower status in industrial and agricultural occupation (Malherbe, 1925).

The establishment of industrial schools spread throughout South Africa which provided the low-end technical education, mainly catering to Africans and indigent white children. Industrial education gained impetus after the Anglo-Boer War. The mass migration to the cities of the people displaced by the Anglo Boer war and the resettlement program instituted by the government as a result of the war, opened the path towards the establishment of more industrial schools (U.G. No. 14, 1926 ). The plight of the poor whites who were mostly Afrikaners both in rural and urban areas captured the attention of the authorities and various charity organizations. Many of these poor became popularly known as the "poor whites" (Davenport, 1987, p. 319).

Several commissions were appointed to investigate the plight of the poor and made recommendations to the authorities. The Transvaal Indigency Commission (No. 13 of 1908) concentrated its efforts in investigating the conditions of the "poor whites" in the Transvaal. The Carnegie Commission under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation (the New York-based organization) covered the entire country in its investigation of the poor white problem.

The Dutch Reformed Church (NGK) in its conference at the Cape in 1916 prescribed a string of remedies to be used in an effort to rehabilitate the poor (Davenport, 1987). Among the remedies prescribed by the NGK was the provision of Protected Employment in government agencies such as the municipalities, the police force, and in state-owned operations such as the railways and postal services (Davenport, 1987). This was to be accompanied by appropriate training.

There is one common element among the recommendations of these commissions, that of mass training of the industrial type. The Carnegie commission published its sensitive findings which struck a note with President Hertzog's administration, resulting in the passage of several laws aimed at protecting the white population in South Africa from ever falling into destitute condition. In explaining the inadequacy of education provided to the "poor whites," the Carnegie Commission made the following comments:

At the Cape, besides the older Anglicizing Policy of the educational system was an obstacle to the attempts at promoting state-education in rural districts. Education was largely looked upon, among the rural population, as something foreign, as a thing that had no bearing on their daily life and needs. For this and other reasons education was not considered as of great importance.

Insufficient acquaintance with English, which became increasingly the language of the towns, of commerce and industry, was also an important factor in barring a considerable part of the rural population from profitable employment in non-agricultural occupations (p. viii-ix).

This statement clearly confirms that the type of education given to the rural Afrikaners was not adequate enough to enable them to survive in both urban and rural settings. It should be remembered that the aim of education for the Afrikaner as far back as 1700 in the Cape, was to enable Afrikaners to read the bible for the purpose of membership in the church and to be able to get married (Pells, 1970). Thompson (1969) mentioned that education in the Orange Free State remained for the most part the transmission of the three R's. The absence of meaningful education placed severe limitations on the advancement of the Afrikaner. The prospect of vocational and technical education was unthinkable under these rural primitive conditions.

The Carnegie Commission went on to incite the extremists by blaming the government for its impartiality in providing industrial education to other population groups at the expense of the Afrikaners as described below:

We find that a suggestion of poverty and inferiority was always associated with industrial education and systematic vocation training. ...

the Cape government established industrial schools for colored and native pupils. But it took forty years before church and school authorities realized that a ... section of white population was falling into economic decline because it was practically excluded from industrial activities (p. ix).

Conditions in these two Boer republics were not conducive to extensive industrial activities except in small towns. Lack of industrial activities could scarcely promote education leading to industrial or technical expertise. The Census of 1926 confirmed the squalid conditions of the rural poor white, which were also attributed to lack of education, particularly vocational and technical education. The Carnegie Commission cited the 1926 census which showed the profile of the occupations held by the majority of the Afrikaners in rural areas to be unskilled and having the potential of promoting an indigent society. The following excerpt from the Carnegie Commission highlights such occupations:

At the 1926 Census there were nearly 58,000 white males, 15 years of age and over falling under the following occupational groups: shepherds, foresters and "bywoners," railway laborers, laborers in general (under various headings), unskilled industrial workers, "transport rider, diggers, ... men in their lowliest occupations. (p. vii).

Among the poor mentioned in the report there were widows, orphans, and victims of war. The conditions of the

poor whites described by the Carnegie Commission contributed to a new social structure particularly in the urban areas. The authorities responded with a series of legislation to ameliorate this devastating situation. Among these was the passage of the Children's Protection Act in 1913. Industrial education was attached to this Act. This Act was responsible for the establishment of orphanages and industrial schools. The number of industrial schools mushroomed all over South Africa, particularly in major industrial areas, to provide industrial education for the "poor whites" (U.G. No. 10, 1927/28).

Vocational and technical education has been used in the past in South Africa as a means of curing social ills. In 1891, Langham Dale, the then Superintendent of Education in the Cape, referred to schools as "hostages for peace" (U.G. No. 978, 1935, p. 13). His contention was that with more "Natives" in schools, the less the possibility of conflicts.

Earlier in 1851, George Grey, then governor of the Cape, regarded industrial education as an effective instrument to allay native uprising. In recognition of this, he provided money subsidies to the missionaries who were providing industrial education to the natives. This became known as the Pacification Program (Hlatshwayo, 1990). The



pacification program was intended to reduce conflict between the natives and the colonialists popularly known as the "Kaffir Wars" (Marquard, 1969).

In the 1920's industrial education had a different role, it was to be used as a caretaker for the indigent. Industrial education became a vehicle of delivering welfare services. Industrial schools which were established all over the country under the Children's Protection Act of 1913 were placed in the care of Union Education Department. During this period there were 76 orphanages under the Children's Protection Act, 54 of these were state subsidized. Three of these institutions offered vocational education, and were in the Cape Province: "Drostdy Industrial School for boys only, in Worcester; Industrial School for Girls, in Wellington; and A.C.V.V. Housecraft School for Girls, in Tulbagh," (U.G. No. 10, 1927/28 pp. 300-330).

The Vocational Education and Special Schools Act, No. 29 of 1928 was passed. This Act supported the establishment of vocational schools all over the country to facilitate requirements of the Children's Protection Act in addition to the orphanages. The vocational schools which were established under the Vocational Education and Special Schools Act, 1928 appear in Table 2. The authorities

Table 2. Vocational Schools for whites Established Under the Vocational and Special School Act, 1928.

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*In the Province of the Cape of Good Hope.*

- (1) Trade School, Knysna.
- (2) Trade School, Karreedouw.
- (3) Industrial School, (boys) Adelaide.
- (4) Industrial School, (girls) Adelaide.
- (5) Industrial School, Oudtshoorn.
- (6) Industrial School, Uitenhage.
- (7) Deaf and Dumb School, Worcester.
- (8) Blind School, Worcester.

*In the Province of the Transvaal.*

Industrial School, Potchefstroom  
School of Domestic Science, Johannesburg.

*In the Province of Natal.*

Weston Farm Training School.

*In the Province of the Orange Free State.*

Trade School, Bloemfontein.  
Trade School, Ficksburg.  
Trade School, Jacobsdal.  
Trade School, Kroonstad.  
Trade School, Ladybrand.  
School of Agriculture and Domestic Crafts, Tweespruit.  
School of Domestic Science, Bethlehem.

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Source: Union Government Vocational Education and Special School Act No. 29 of 1928. U.G. 29-28, 23rd July, 1928.  
Pretoria: Government Printers.

collaborated with charitable organizations and churches, especially the Afrikaner churches to provide schooling facilities for the indigent in the rural areas (Malherbe, 1925). Transportation was provided for the children of the farmers who were not within a walking distance from school (Davenport, 1966).

Hostel systems or boarding houses were established in remote areas where commuting was not feasible (Pells, 1978). The provision of boarding houses and transportation made it possible for the children of the poor to have access to some form of education. Vocational Education and Special Schools Act No. 29 of 1928, extended the provision of the Children's Protection Act by providing vocational education in the orphanages and reformatories.

The Children's Protection Act made the provision for free and compulsory education for all white children between the ages of 7 and 16 in South Africa. This Act made education, particularly vocational and technical education, (in the case of the poor and the infirm) accessible to all white children of school-going age in South Africa (U.G. No. 10, 1927/28).

### Apprenticeship Program

Apprenticeship in South Africa can be traced as far back as the 1800's when the colonialist farmers were empowered by the Proclamation of April 23, 1812 to apprentice native children as young as eight years for a period of ten years (Davenport, 1969). This form of apprenticeship was a form of modernized slavery.

The Report of the Commission on Technical and Vocational Education states that the first apprenticeship program in South Africa was organized by the Railways in Durban in 1884. The apprenticeship programs at the Railways workshops were of voluntary nature. There were no special contracts drawn between the railways and the apprentice (U.G. No. 14, 1926).

Post Anglo-Boer war industrial development in South Africa was accompanied by population growth in the urban areas. Vocational and technical education flourished during this period as more unskilled rural Afrikaners flocked to the urban industrial centers. Subsequent a competition ensued between the Africans and Boers over the low-end positions in the industries (Welsh, 1971).

Welsh (1971) characterized the newly urbanized Afrikaner as lacking the skills to survive in an industrial

based economy. He further stated that they were not psychologically and educationally equipped for competitive nature of the urban economy. Setai (1979) further stated that the Afrikaners lacked the right attitude to compete with the people they were raised to regard as inferior to them (as in the case of competing with Africans in the industries as explained earlier), and that they regarded manual work as below their dignity. This attitude can be traced back to the history of slavery in the Cape.

The viewing of manual work by the Afrikaners with contempt was captured by the Carnegie report as follows:

When the aboriginal inhabitants in increasing numbers offered their services very cheaply to farmers, the need for personal hard, manual work grew less. This led, in some parts of the country more than in others, to a certain social prejudice among white men against particular forms of manual work, as being below their dignity (p. xi).

These Afrikaners, although poor and unskilled, could not be ignored by the authorities. Their vote was a potential tool they could use to redirect the policies of the country which the Africans did not have. In fact, the Afrikaners did use their vote in 1948, which made South Africa notorious with its most resented policy of apartheid. The authorities responded with a series of Acts as a means of protecting the Afrikaners, such as: Passage of Railways

Regulation Act of 1908; Mines and Works Act of 1911 (also known as Color Bar Act); Apprenticeship Act of 1922; Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924; and the civilized Labor Policy. These protective policies laid the groundwork on which successive discriminative labor policies were built.

The Apprenticeship Act made provision for the additional number of technical colleges to be built, and laid down the minimum education requirements for admission to certain trades (Davenport, 1987). There was a marked increase in enrollment in technical colleges since the Apprenticeship Act mandated the taking of classes at these colleges by apprentices. This Act opened an entryway into skilled work for many white youth, by designating certain industries as training centers. Technical colleges provided theoretical part of education while the industries provided practical training (Davenport, 1987).

The Civilized Labor Policy was tied to the Apprenticeship Policy in that it legalized job discrimination by classifying white labor as civilized labor, and African Labor as uncivilized Labor. Though there was no discriminatory clause in this act, the standards prescribed by this act for entry into Apprenticeship precluded members of other population groups. The government

used the Civilized Labor Policy to reserve certain public sector jobs for whites. Incentives were provided to those private businesses upholding this policy (Nattrass, 1981). The significance of these protective policies in the history of vocational and technical education in South Africa is that they laid the foundation for legislated unequal education in South Africa.

#### Rehabilitation through Agriculture Programs

Agriculture was the backbone of the South African economy before the discovery of gold and diamonds. The tradition of agriculture dates to pre-1652 (Inskeep, 1969). Conditions created by war and economic depression created population movement from rural areas to the cities. The development of industries in the cities contributed to the townward migration. The great migration to the cities, particularly that of the Afrikaner, was viewed with great disfavor by some Afrikaner organizations (Welsh, 1971).

The South African government authorities felt that the best place to rehabilitate the poor Afrikaners was not in the cities where there was competition with Africans, but in the countryside, away from the Africans. The townward movement by Afrikaners was regarded as a "Journey from Canaan to Egypt" (Welsh, 1969, p. 204). The Back to the

Land Movement became strong in the urban areas, particularly among the NGK adherents (Welsh, 1969).

Those who could not be absorbed by the industries were provided with yet another chance to get out of poverty. The authorities extended the rehabilitation program through the use of Agriculture. The department of labor opened training farms in the rural areas. In these farms, practical agricultural education was provided.

#### Teacher Preparation

The provision of teachers during the early colonial era in South Africa had always posed a problem. As far back as the 1700's the settlers engaged anyone who could read to teach. In the late 1800's the services of itinerant teachers were still prevalent, particularly in remote areas (Pells, 1978). The shortage of teachers prompted Brebner, who was the first school inspector in Orange Free State, to open transit schools on the farms. Transit schools were temporary schools where the teachers rotated from one to another for a limited time. The state would rent the building from a farmer for a period of six months to a year to be used as a school. The state provided the teacher, and the farmer undertook the responsibility of providing boarding and lodging for the pupils and the teacher (Behr, 1978).



In the early 1900's a large number of teachers was imported from abroad. The enactment of Higher Education Act No. 23 of 1923 drew a line of demarcation between primary and post primary education. This Act removed the control of post primary education from the provinces and placed it under the central government.

Vocational and technical education was classified as higher education under this Act. Teacher preparation became the function of vocational and technical colleges or technical high schools. Teacher preparation schools were known as Teacher Training Schools or Teacher Training Colleges. According to Malherbe (1925) a training school could be upgraded to a training college if it maintained a minimum of 20 students a year. Some of these teacher preparation schools were known as Normal schools which appear in Table 3.

The development of universities under the University Act No. 12 of 1916 brought some changes to some of these training colleges. Some merged with university colleges to form Colleges of Education. For example, the School of Education at the University of Cape Town was the result of the merger between the University of Cape Town and Cape Town Normal Colleges (Malherbe, 1925).

Table 3. European Training Colleges and Training Schools  
for Teachers In Each Province of the Union between  
1900 and 1930

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*Cape of Good Hope*

Cape Town Training College  
Cradock Training College  
Graff-Reinet Training College  
Grahamstown Training College  
Kimberley Training College  
King William's Town Training College  
Oudtshoorn Training College  
Paarl Training College  
Stellenbosch Training College  
Steynsburg Training College  
Uitenhage Training College  
Wellington Training College

*Orange Free State*

Normal College, Bloemfontein

*Transvaal*

Normal College, Pretoria  
Normal College, Johannesburg  
Normal College, Heidelberg  
Normal College, Potchefstroom

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Source: Official Year Book of the Union and of Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland, 10, 1927-1928, p. 161. Pretoria, South Africa: Government Printing and Stationery Office.

## Vocational and Technical Education for Africans

The history of colonial education for Africans in South Africa is shrouded with lots of ambiguities. The year 1658 is regarded as the year when the first non-European colonial education was started in South Africa. Though it has been difficult to authenticate this date, many authors on South African education have accepted this as the actual genesis of colonial education for non-Europeans in South Africa.

The missionaries are credited with establishing most of colonial education in South Africa. However, there is no evidence which confirms that their mission was to open schools in South Africa when they left Europe. Missionary activities in the early years of European settlement in South Africa clearly shows that the primary objective of the missionaries was to win souls, rather than imparting knowledge. The ability to read the bible was very important to the missionaries in the proselytizing of Africans. Missionary work among Africans was synonymous to education; that could be one of the reasons why education for Africans in South Africa has remained the function of the missionaries until recently.

Education for Africans has been a thorny issue since its inception. There has been no distinction between general

education and vocational education for Africans. African education had some element of vocational training in it. There are several speculations concerning the intentions of the authorities in England for Africans. One that seems to be clear is that the Government's intention was that of controlling or maybe of retarding the Africans. This was clearly demonstrated in Grey's (who was a governor of the Cape Colony in 1855) address to the colonial parliament about the plan for his civilizing policy shown below:

The plan I propose to pursue ... is, to attempt to gain an influence over all the tribes ... by employing them upon public works, which will tend to open up their country; by establishing institutions for the education of their children, ... and by these and other like means to attempt gradually to win them to civilization and Christianity, and thus to change by degrees at our present unconquered and apparently irreclaimable foes into friends ... at the same time unremitting efforts should be made to raise the Kaffirs in Christianity and civilization, by the establishment among them, ... missions connected with industrial schools .... The natives [will be] won by our exertions to Christianity, trained by us in agriculture and in simple arts, ... (cited in Rose & Tunmer, 1975, pp. 204-205).

It can be seen from the above passage that Grey placed strong emphasis on evangelization of Africans in addition to industrial training. The intentions of retarding the development of Africans was clearly expressed in the "Natal

Native Commission" of 1881 which was appointed to investigate the condition of Africans in Natal colony regarding the African law and rites. The speaker of the legislative council, W.J. Akerman, who was also a member of the Natal Native Commission made the following report on behalf of the commission:

With the large increase amongst the Natives of wealth and possessions, ... very markedly so in the young men, a spirit of self-importance and assertion which, if further supported by lands in freehold, either tribally or individually, or if not subjected to efficient control, must, I fear, sooner or later eventuate in disaster to both races... cited in Rose & Tunmer (1975, pp. 209-210).

This commission, though it was critical of the advancement of Africans, did recommend some form of industrial education to be provided to Africans (Cook, 1975). On the other hand, Dale, who was the Superintendent-General of Education at the Cape, viewed the training of Africans, particularly the introduction of compulsory schooling, with mixed feelings. Dale was of the opinion that compulsory schooling for Africans, particularly academics would produce a large number of educated Africans whom the civil service would not absorb. He was in favor of manual education, particularly, the one associated with

gardening and farming. In his 1891 Cape of G

parliament report, he made the following comm

to lift the Aborigines gradually, as circumstances permit, to the platform of c and industrial life is the great object of educational vote. What the Department want to make all principal day schools places of manual industry, as well as of book-instruction. It is not expected that all the boys will become expert tradesmen; but is something to train them to use the spade and the hoe, the plane and the saw, the mason's trowel and the plumb-line .... As a matter of social economy and of political interest, the question of diffusing elementary school instruction everywhere among the masses of the heathen ... will have to be answered. Whilst the present cautious system is pursued, no social inconvenience or practical danger can result; but if some system of obligatory school-attendance were introduced and thousands of Kaffirs were leaving school year by year with sufficient school instruction ... what would you do with them? What agencies could be devised to direct teeming thousands into the various channels of colonial industries? Labor, especially agriculture, is wanted; but will the educated Native leave his home and take services, especially in the western districts? (p. 11).

The implication was that Africans should not be exposed to education, but if they are to be taught, it should be the rudiments of industrial education which will lead them to agricultural occupations where natives were most needed in European farms. The aristocratic social tradition of slavery must have been greatly responsible for this attitude of the colonialist in providing Africans with education which would lead them to the farms. In Natal colony the same words of

drawing Africans to farm work were echoed by the colonial governor to the legislative council in 1859 as follows: "We shall give the native an industrial pursuit which will awaken in him a permanent interest in the soil; ... and thus create in him, not only higher principles of Government, but set in action strong elements of civilization" (U.G. No 978, 1935, p. 20).

Dale, like most other colonialists stressed the importance of attaching evangelism to vocational and technical education. He was not enthusiastic about academic empowering of Africans. The following is an excerpt from his report attesting his abhorrence to provision of any meaningful education to the Africans:

The capacity to read and write is not in itself a panacea for the abominations of savegeism. The influences of Christian teaching, which, among the Kaffirs, are very slow in penetrating the mass, must work together with the school-instruction and the handicrafts; and when the children leave the school and the workshop, the directive intelligence of the European clergyman is wanted to keep them in the ways of temperance and industry. Knowledge is power even to them, but it may be power for ill (p. 12).

Theal, another colonial historian and public figure reiterated Dales' contempt of Africans. He was of the opinion that Africans should be given a small dose of vocational and technical education if ever they should be

given education. Theal's verbal evidence to the commission was unwavering about the type of education suitable for the natives:

What is the education they (natives) should have in their own interests and in the interest of the public? - I would say it should be industrial. In what form? - I would teach the natives to dig the ground and make their furrows straight; and also the rudiments of carpentering .... Do you think it is practicable in this colony ... to start this industrial training ...? If the natives are to be taught at all, they should be taught industry. I do not myself see much use in teaching the natives to read and write without you teach them to make use of their hands as well .... Would you start an industrial school on each of the large locations? If there were sufficient funds I would (cited in Rose and Tunmer, 1975 (pp. 31-36)).

The views expressed by Theal were not uncommon among the colonial legislators. Though vocational and technical education featured prominently in their speeches, it was not the empowering type of vocational and technical education. They were envisaging a marginalized program for Africans which was intended to fit them for their station in life. According to the colonialist view of the African station in life was that of servitude; the hewer of wood and drawer of water for the colonialist (Wilson, 1969). In the same report when Theal was asked if he would let Africans participate in the planning of their education, he gave a numbing response: "I do not think it would be much use. The native's voice is



after all the voice of the man who has control over them" (p. 213). The implication was that the voice of the African was that of subordination. According to the colonialist, Africans were the subordinates of Europeans, therefore only Europeans could speak on behalf of Africans.

The colonialists' actions showed that they aimed to reduce the Africans to a state of servitude. Deprivation of the opportunity of intellectual advancement is tantamount to violence. This was articulated by Freire (1970), "Any situation in which some men prevent others from engaging in the process of inquiry is one of violence ... to alienate men from their own decision-making is to change them into objects" (p. 73).

Theal, like most colonialist historians and legislators, felt that Africans were just objects to be used, not educated. He advocated that a limited number of Africans should be exposed to certain types of education other than vocational education for the benefit of colonial administration. For the most part, colonial education was intended to produce sufficient Africans to man the colonial stations (Rodney, 1982). Theal, in the same report expresses his attitude regarding provision of education to

Africans other than vocational education when asked the following questions:

Do you think it is advisable to have no schools for the natives unless they are industrial? Industrial instruction should form the most important part. There are certain natives who can be educated to get their living without working with their hands; a few of them are clergymen, and there are some school masters. There are also some interpreters ... these can gain a good living without working with their hands; but the bulk of the native people must work with their hands in order to gain an honest living. To teach them to read and write, without teaching them to work, is not doing them any good (Cape of Good Hope, G.3-1892, p. 31).

Another colonialist educator of the Theal type, an inspector of Native Education in Natal province expressed his views on the scope of African schooling as follows: "I would define it as being to qualify the native youth for the effective discharge of their probable duties in life. These, for the present generation of school children, are those connected with the stable, kitchen, nursery, wagon and farm (Molteno, 1984, p. 65). This policy, systematically engineered through education, aimed to keep the future position of the African population in an inferior state.

Muir, who replaced Dale as Superintendent-General, was critical of the missionaries due to their denominational rivalry. There are reports of missionaries recruiting converts from other denominations by luring them with gifts

(Davenport, 1987). He went further to criticize the course offerings in the mission schools as being "bookish" rather than practical. In the *Report of the Inter-Department Committee on Native Education*, Muir made the following remarks in opposition to what he saw during his visits to African schools:

Not uncommonly two or even three mission schools exist where there is but room for one. Mission schools for Natives often owe their origin more to ecclesiastical rivalry than to educational zeal. Some of the missions are more zealous in starting a school and securing the Government grant than in superintending the work of the Native teachers and attending to the wants of the school generally (p. 14).

The missionaries became extremely important in shaping the native policy in South Africa. In Natal, the authorities adopted the policy of settling natives in the mission reserves, where respect and obedience to colonial policies was inculcated. A portion of land was granted to the missionaries to be held in trust for natives. The purpose of these reserves was to promote mission work in addition to education. The natives paid the rental of £1.00 per hut, per year, half of which was used for mission work (U. G. No. 798, 1935).

Though many of the legislators were opposed to the provision of education for Africans, some were concerned

that if Africans were deprived of higher education, they would go overseas where they will get not only education, but ideas detrimental to the interest of the colonialist. In 1905, the South African Native Affairs Commission reported that several independent churches were sending natives to institutions of higher learning overseas. Their fears were real when Rev. J.L Dube, who had been sent by the American Board Mission to study at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, U.S.A., upon his return to South Africa opened Ohlange Institute of Education in 1904. He later started a newspaper Ilanga Lase Natal (Natal Sun). In 1908, Dr. Tansi and his colleagues who had attended Wilberforce University in Ohio, U.S.A. returned to South Africa and opened Wilberforce Institution in Evaton in the southern Transvaal (Horrell, 1963a).

In addition to the opening of these institutions, another important event of great significance was also spearheaded by these foreign educated graduates. In 1912, a delegation met in Bloemfontein headed by a group of African prominent figures, among them was Rev. J.L. Dube (the founder of Ohlange Institute of Education) and Dr. Sene, a graduate of Columbia, Oxford, and Middle Temple. At this gathering, the African National Congress organization was

formed. The African National Congress together with other liberation movements assumed the liberation struggle which has persisted ever since (Karis & Carter, 1972).

The determination of Africans to go beyond the limits set by their rulers in acquiring higher education did not pass unnoticed. This provoked debate from some government quarters. In 1908, a Select Committee on Native Education voted in favor of establishment of the Institute of Higher Learning for the natives. This led to the opening of the first African college of higher learning, the South African Native College which later became University of Fort Hare in 1916 (U.G. No. 29, 1936). Education was extremely important to Africans. Section 31 of the Native Administration Act. No. 38 of 1927 provided an exemption for educated Africans from a barrage of oppressive laws such as Curfew Laws, Pass Laws and many other restrictive laws affecting Africans.

#### African Education After the War

At the end of hostilities between the Boers and the Britons in 1902, education for Africans was in disarray, especially in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Some mission stations which were responsible for African education had closed. British authority now ruled all over South Africa. The government undertook the responsibility

of reorganizing education in the two new colonies. In the Transvaal, the Education Ordinance was passed in 1903 to facilitate the reorganization of the mission school for Africans.

The ordinance stipulated the amount of grants which were to be provided to the selected mission schools. The government prescribed a new course of study to be followed by the native mission schools in order to qualify for grants. The required courses were published in an education report in 1903. Teaching English language was mandatory for all pupils up to standard three (5th grade). The report cited communication difficulties experienced between employers who were European and employees who were Africans. The previously dominant language in the Boer republics was Dutch, which the Boers did not care to teach to Africans. Probably it could be that the Boers were still developing their language (Afrikaans) which only matured in 1925 (Davenport, 1987).

In addition to the English language, gardening, brick-making, basket-making, and mat-weaving were recommended for boys. In the urban areas wood-working was recommended. Courses prescribed for girls were needlework and housecraft. Though these recommendations were prescribed for the

Transvaal Native Schools, this course of study seemed to have been followed throughout the country (Horrell, 1968).

The Transvaal and the Orange Free State were now modeled after the Cape Province and Natal. Natal and the Cape offered a larger variety of industrial programs than the two former Boer republics. Loram (1969) published the figures for the Cape province in 1914 showing the distribution of males and females in various industrial programs. There were 606 males in 11 institutions and 394 females in 11 institutions. The distribution of the students and their training programs appears in Table 4.

The distinction between gardening and farming may probably be described through the size of land required for each. The high number of students pursuing gardening rather than farming reveal the condition in which the Africans were living at that time. The Land Act of 1913 which made provision for territorial segregation between Europeans and Africans where 8% of the land throughout South Africa was allocated to Africans who constituted almost 80% of the population. This Act had rendered Africans landless, and therefore, no landless people could aspire to be farmers (Davies, O'Meara & Dlamini, 1984).

Table 4. Distribution of Males and Females in Training Programs in the Cape Province

Programs	Number of Students
<b><u>Males</u></b>	
Blacksmith	4
Bookbinder	4
Carpenter	164
Farming	43
Gardening	252
Housework	20
Mason	23
Printing	15
Shoemaking	19
Tailoring	11
Wagon-Making	15
Miscellaneous	58
<b><u>Females</u></b>	
Cooking	286
Dressmaking	2
Housework	276
Laundry work	164
Miscellaneous	6

Source: Loram, C.T. (1917). The education of the South African Native, New York: Negro Universities Press (p. 151).



Unlike in schools for European children, where vocational and technical education was the function of the post-primary school, for African children it formed the basis of primary education curriculum. There were numerous problems regarding the offering of vocational and technical education to Africans during this period. The Africans were moved from land where schools were established to areas where there were no schools due to the land policy. The opposition of the white trade unions of competition with Africans for skilled work in the industries determined the type of vocational and technical education that was to be provided to Africans, resulting in protective legislations mentioned above (Simons & Simons, 1983).

Protective laws were passed to curb the competition of skilled Africans with white workers. The irrationality of these policies was captured by Loram (1969) as follows:

The white man's attitude is often beautifully illogical. His idea of Native education is that the Native should be taught to work; and when the missionary teaches the Native how to work, the European brings up the charge of unfair industrial competition (p. 156).

The passage of the Civilized Labor Policy which was intended to protect white workers from African workers designated certain categories of work as civilized work. Work such as rock blasting in the mines was performed by

both Africans and Europeans, this act reserved this work for Europeans only. When the trade unions realized the hazards of this job and the number of fatalities, they advocated the reclassification of this job so that it could be performed by Africans (Welsh, 1971). It became a pattern in South African labor, whenever a protected job became hazardous it would be reclassified (Loram, 1969).

This policy of job classification was dramatized by Loram (1969) in the following passage:

An interesting incident regarding the relationship of the white and black workmen took place lately in a large South African town. The Town Council permitted the employment of Native workmen to paint the poles which carry the overhead electric tramcar wires. On a protest being made the blacks were dismissed, and unskilled out-of-work white men were employed. The latter, however, on being informed of the danger from live wires, refused to paint the upper parts of the poles, so the Natives were reinstated, and one had the amusing spectacle of seeing Whites doing the simple painting of the trunks of the poles while the Natives up aloft performed the more intricate and dangerous work (p. 159).

Job discrimination limited the number of vocational and technical education programs offered to Africans. Skilled Africans were most often doing unskilled work as a consequence of the unjust laws. The other hindrance to the offering of vocational and technical education to Africans was the shortage of teachers. Most of the teachers in the

missionary schools were European missionaries who were mostly interested in saving souls rather than the teaching of vocational education. Some form of teacher education had been in existence in the Cape as early as 1850. It was not until 1904 that a teacher preparation program was established in the Transvaal (Cook, 1975).

The Transvaal Education Ordinance of 1903 stipulated the minimum entry level of Standard III (5th grade) for entry into teacher education program. The proposed curriculum in the teacher training program required industrial subjects to be taught in addition to English and other elementary subjects up to Standard VI (8th grade).

There were 15 teacher training institutions for Africans in operation between the years 1900 and 1930. The list of training colleges and training schools for teachers in each Province of the Union appear in Table 5. Loram (1969) published a list of teacher training schools and colleges which were in operation at the same time as the schools which appears in Table 5, in addition to the 15 schools. Loram added the following schools: Cape: Buntinville and Genandendal; in Natal: Kwamagwaza (Church of

Table 5. African Training Colleges and Training Schools for Teachers in Each Province of the Union between 1900 and 1930

<i>Name of School</i>	<i>Missionary Affiliation</i>
Bensonvale	Wesleyan
Blythswood	United Free Church of Scotland
Clarkebury	Wesleyan
Emfudisweni	Wesleyan
Emgwali	United Free Church of Scotland
Engcobo, All Saints'	English Church
Healdtown	Wesleyan
Lovedale	United Free Church of Scotland
Mariazell	Roman Catholic
Mvenyane	Moravian
Ndamase, Buntingville	Wesleyan
St. Matthew's	English Church
Shawbury, Girls'	Wesleyan
Tiger Kloof	London Missionary Society
Umtata	English Church

Source: Official Year Book of the Union and of Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland, 10, 1927-1928, p. 161. Pretoria, South Africa: Government Printing and Stationery Office.

England) and Umpumulo (Scandanavian Missions); in the Transvaal: Lemana (Swiss/Presbyterian Missions). He also included schools in Lesotho, though Lesotho was not part of South Africa.

#### Vocational Technical Education for Coloreds and Indians

Education for coloreds and Indians in South Africa had an uncertain beginning. This could be attributed to the origin and social make-up of both coloreds and Indians. As mentioned earlier in this study, the Indians appeared for the first time in South Africa in 1860 when they were brought over as indentured laborers in the sugar plantations of Natal (Carter, 1959). According to Davenport (1987), most of the indentured Indians were mainly of low-caste Hindus from Madras as it is not possible that members of the upper caste could be subjected to this type of arrangement.

The coloreds are a product of a biological and social combination of various ethnic groups (Cook, 1969). Elphick and Gilomee (1989) and Davenport (1987) claim 1775 as the emergence year of the colored people of South Africa though there is no substantial evidence which they offer to support their contention. It is possible that the origin of the colored people of South Africa may have taken place immediately after the arrival of Van Riebeeck and his crew

in 1652, but not a century later as alleged by these historians.

There are some indications which suggest that coloreds may have been socially preferred by the colonialists as compared with Indians, not to mention Africans. The co-option of coloreds by the colonial government can be traced back to 1865 when the Cape government recommended granting of land to coloreds, when land was being forcibly taken from Africans (Dickie-Clark, 1966). Marais (1957) stated that coloreds were being used by the colonial government in commando raids against the Africans. Their preferred status manifested itself during the negotiations of a unified South Africa as regards to the franchise. Walton (1912) gives the following resolutions pertaining to the decision on the franchise reached at the National Convention:

Every Non-European who has reached the age of 31 or who proves the possession of the civilization qualification before an impartial tribunal to be given a vote equal in value to 1/10th the vote of a European. The son of every Non-European who has been given a vote, provided he himself has reached the age of 30 and possesses the civilization qualification to receive a vote equal in value to 1/9th the vote of a European .... The son of a European father and a Non-European mother possessing the civilization qualifications to receive at the age 26 a vote equal in value to the 1/5th the vote of a European ... (p. 148).

The political voting rights applied only in the Cape province (as prescribed by the Act of the Union of 1909) where most coloreds resided. In the other provinces the voting rights of Non-Europeans were put on hold pending the establishment of the Union. These rights have been on hold until recently. In support of preferred status for coloreds, Dickie-Clark (1966) writes that, when segregation laws were strengthened in Durban, the authorities used such terms as "of European descent" instead of Europeans only. The coloreds could use any facility since they could claim "European ancestry" (p. 102). Another demonstration of preferential status given to coloreds was made by Eiselen who was then the Secretary for Native Affairs. This is what he said:

it was the Government's policy eventually to remove all Africans from the Cape Western Province, since this was the natural home of the colored people who should receive protection in labor market (Horrell, 1963b pp. 18-19).

This is a perfect demonstration of the divide and conquer technique skillfully used by the colonialists over the years.

The early beginnings of education for coloreds is intertwined with that of Africans and Europeans. As early as the 1800's the missionaries provided education in their

mission stations for coloreds, Africans and Europeans (Cook, 1975). Zonnebloem, which opened in 1858 was attended by Africans, Europeans and coloreds until the 1920's when both Africans and Europeans left the school (Horrell, 1963a). During the 1900's a distinct line of demarcation between African and colored education was visible though that between European and colored was somehow not clear (Walker, 1968).

#### Technical Education for Coloreds

Many of the mission schools which provided general education for coloreds also provided industrial and manual education. Horrell (1970) writes that, (Sister Mary of St. Theresa) at the orphanage for colored in Durban offered Building and Carpentry to the colored males and teacher training to colored females. During the period between 1900 and 1930 technical education for colored was offered through technical colleges for Europeans. Cape Technical College and Witwatersrand Technical colleges both had special arrangements for the provision of technical education to colored students (Horrell, 1970).

Teacher training for colored was provided by various missionaries, mainly in the Cape. The course of study followed in teacher training did not differ much with from



offered to Africans. The following institutions offered teacher training programs to colored people between 1900 and 1930: Zonnebloem, Paarl, Salt River and Uitenhage (U.G. No. 10, 1927-28, p. 161).

### Indian Education

Education for Indians can be traced as far back as in 1883 in Natal though it was sporadically arranged (Cook, 1975). Missionaries provided education for Indians for a long time during the 1800's, though on a small scale. It is possible that during this period some European schools accommodated Indians as they did for the coloreds.

There were no facilities providing full-time technical education for Indians during this period. However, commercial classes were provided at Sastri College in Durban and the Hindu Young Men's Association (HYMA) in Pietermaritzburg, in the Natal province. The courses offered were, bookkeeping, commerce, typewriting, commercial arithmetic, shorthand, commercial correspondence, Afrikaans and English (U.G. Report #1511, 1942). As far back as 1931 domestic science classes were held in Durban at the Albert Street school and Sastri college. The courses offered were needlework, dressmaking and cookery. There were 18 apprentices who were indentured under the Apprenticeship Act

of 1922 during the year 1942 mainly in furniture industries (U.G. Report No. 1511, 1942).

### Summary

This chapter covered the period between 1900 and 1930 of the development of vocational and technical education in South Africa. The outbreak of the war between the Britons and the Boers and its aftermath was highlighted in this chapter. This chapter also explored the development of vocational education as a result of the Anglo-Boer war. The use of vocational and technical education programs as a means of delivering social programs became prominent in this chapter.

This chapter further covered the vocational and technical education programs offered to Africans, coloreds and Indians. The disparities between various ethnic groups were also shown in this chapter. What became prominent in this chapter was the resistance of colonial authorities to the offering of education of any sort to Africans. Some government officials even suggested that, if Africans should be educated, they should be provided with dead-end programs such as manual education.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE PERIOD 1930-1960

#### Depression and World War II

South Africa was not immune to the depression of the 1930's which shook the world. Her trading partners moved from the gold standard which was the life-blood of South African economic strength. There was a remarkable drop in the export of commodities due to the economic imbalances. The authorities, in an attempt to achieve a balance of payment, punished their trading partners by imposing high tariffs on most of the imports (Davenport, 1987). When the government realized its economic policies were nearly impossible to execute, it abandoned the gold standard in order to participate in the global economy. This was followed by an economic boom, all sections of the manufacturing industry experienced a tremendous growth (Carter, 1959). The demand for skilled labor to fill positions in the prospering industries was on the rise.

The outbreak of World War II in 1939 stimulated industrial growth in South Africa. The demand for manufactured goods increased during this period. Production of war supplies dominated the manufacturing industry. Due to the increased demand for manufactured military supplies,

a Scientific Research Council Act of 1945 was passed by the government. This led to the creation of industry related organizations such as The Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) and the South African Bureau of Standard (SABS). The latter was to provide manufacturing industries with current technical information through research and development. In 1940, the Industrial Development Corporation was created as a means of stimulating industry and setting of uniform standards in manufacturing (U.G. No. 24, 1948).

The industrial boom attracted more people to the urban areas. The mass urbanization was accompanied by a host of economic and social problems. Some of these problems were shortage of housing, juvenile delinquency and the flooding of the newly created industries by unskilled workers (Jones, 1973). Within the African and European communities, voices could be heard calling for houses, schools, clinics and general infrastructure; on the other hand, business and industry were calling for skilled workers. Vocational and technical education was in a better position to meet some of the demand of the labor shortage.

## Vocational Education Commission

Due to the demands of skilled workers by the industry, the Technical and Vocational Education Commission was appointed in 1945 to investigate various aspects of technical and vocational training, such as:

- (1) The most suitable methods of training for industry, having regard to the role of apprenticeship in leadership in such training, and the providing of facilities therefore.
- (2)
  - (a) Whether and to what extent greater provision should be made than at present for instruction of a vocation character in the curriculum of primary and secondary schools which provide educational facilities of a general character.
  - (b) The scope of the vocational and technical instruction which should be given in educational institutions established for that specific purpose.
- (3) The parts that should be played by the Union and Provincial Education Departments respectively in the matter of vocational and technical education, having regard to:
  - (a) the functions on the whole of tech technical colleges as they have developed as institutions of higher education under Act. No. 30 of 1923;
  - (b) the relationship between the work of the vocational schools of the Union Education Department and the technical colleges in so far as they fall within the field of secondary education on the one hand and the ordinary secondary education activities of the provinces of the other;
  - (c) the relationship between the work done at the vocational schools of the Union Education Department and the work done at technical

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  - (c) the relationship between the work done at the vocational schools of the Union Education Department and the work done at technical

colleges in so far as it is of the same general character;

(d) the desirability of co-ordinating the various activities mentioned.

(4) Any financial implication arising from the above (U.G. No. 65, 1948, p. 1).

This commission was placed under the leadership of an industrial advisor to the Department of Commerce and Industry (U.G. No. 65, 1948).

The commission found that there were numerous obstacles hindering the provision of viable vocational and technical education. Among these was lack of national outlook. Most educators they met with saw education as a local entity rather than a national one. They were against any form of reform especially if it required some sacrifices regarding their local outlook.

The other obstacle was lack of clear definition of the relationship between vocational education and general education (U.G. No. 65, 1948). This lack of definition affected not only the educators, but the parents and the students. The commission defined general education as "education which is not designed to meet the specific demands of a particular occupation or a particular group of occupations, in other words, education which is not adapted to the vocational aims of the pupil concerned" (p. 14).

The commissioners found that there was no school which fitted the description cited above. Most schools were of dual track, that of vocational and general education. The commission recommended that a full-time general education should be followed by a distribution of students on the basis of their individual purposes and need to various types of vocational biased training (U.G. No. 65, 1948). This recommendation was in line with the requirements of the industry. It is no surprise that the recommendations of this commission came as they did; De Villiers who was the chairperson of this commission, was the industrial adviser to the Department of Commerce and Industry (U.G. 24, 1948).

General education was to be directed towards meeting the common needs of all future workers. Complete development of each and every student regardless of his or her career objectives was to be the focus of general education curriculum. This approach suggests that all education should be vocational or is vocational in nature, since it catered to the total development of future citizens and future workers (U.G. No. 65, 1948).

The commission contended that if education was to meet the ever changing social and political make-up of the society, it should aim at total development of the whole



person. Those entrusted with the responsibility of educating future citizens and workers should be guided by definite goals and objectives of the society within which they live and that of the individual student (U.G. No. 65, 1948).

Another argument the commissioners put forth was that, the present secondary and high school curriculum fails to meet the needs of individual students and that of the society, stating that the current curriculum is dictated by the university requirements. During this period provincial high schools were preparing students for matriculation examination which was required for entry into the university of the country. Provincial departments of education were determined to alter the secondary school curricula to meet that part of the population not seeking university entry. The provincial department of education went on to suggest another senior school-leaving examination in order to facilitate probably the needs of the industries (U.G. No. 65, 1948).

Some industries had set their own standards of employment and the remuneration was based mainly on educational attainment of the applicant. Industrial growth had imposed numerous demands in the society where education

was expected to partly meet those demands, such as the provision of a skilled workforce (U.G. No. 24, 1948).

The commission called for total reform in education in order to meet both individual and national goals. It was convinced that the salvation of the country required a national outlook in education. The preparation of sufficiently educated citizens and efficient workforce could not be treated as local or provincial matters if the country was to succeed. A suggestion was made to replace a provincially coordinated education with a national one (U.G. No. 65, 1948).

#### National Development

The Industrial development required a viable transport system. As a result of the efforts the Roads and Bridges Committee appointed in 1925, the National Road Act of 1935 was passed. This legislation required that a tax be levied on gasoline, and individual provinces were held responsible for implementing the tax. A five-year plan was set up to develop a network of roads linking major industrial center in South Africa (U.G. No 10, 1927/28). The National Road Act opened another demand for workers with skills in construction and other technical fields. However, this

ambitious proposal was not realized until the 1960's, when highway construction began on a large scale.

There were some voices of discontent from industry criticizing the restrictive labor policies of the country. The Minister of Native Affairs reiterated the concerns expressed by industry by criticizing the restriction of Africans as a hindrance to economic growth. Influenced by industry, the Minister of Native Affairs urged that Africans should be trained in order for them to be efficient industrial workers (Lipton, 1985). The protective laws of the early 1900's were a major obstacle in the provision of viable vocational and technical programs for Africans. Vocational courses such as gardening which featured so prominently in the manual education curriculum for Africans was not intended to equip them with required skills for industries.

The transfer of vocational and technical education from Provincial Administration to the Central Government (under the Higher Education Act of 1923), provided for the financial support of the programs related to vocational and technical education to be undertaken by the Central Government. The deteriorating conditions in the urban areas

created by urbanization and industrialization called for an urgent social action (U.G. No. 10, 1927/28).

In the height of the war in 1943, the Prime Minister, Jan Smuts, appointed a committee to investigate the existing conditions and give recommendations (Jones, 1975). The committee put forth three recommendations in order to minimize the squalid conditions in the community. These were:

- (a) The development to fullest possible extent of the creative and earning capacity of every individual.
- (b) The fullest employment of all in occupations appropriate to individual capacity.
- (c) A guarantee of a decent subsistence in all events (Report of Social Security Committee, U.G. No. 14, 1944, p. 417).

The committee noted that a decent standard of living cannot be achieved without the consideration of education and training in addition to nutrition and better housing. The development of earning capacity, creativity and the provision of employment for individuals in occupations appropriate to their capacity were prerequisites of a viable social security (Jones, 1975). There was great emphasis on the development of all educational facilities and making them accessible to all population groups. Further, development of vocational and technical education was strongly encouraged.

The Children's Act of 1913 which regulated the provision of some of the vocational education programs in conjunction with the Department of Education under the provisions of Vocational Act of 1928 was amended in 1944 in order to accommodate the extended requirement of social services. This legislation played a decisive role in various social problems regarding juveniles. The Department of Social Welfare (DSW) was empowered under this legislation to establish institutions for the dependent and delinquent children. These institutions were Industrial schools, Orphanages, Reformatories and other places of safety (U.G. No. 65, 1948).

Vocational training was made available to the urban youth and the disabled veterans of the Second World War. This was intended to rehabilitate and refit the infirm war veterans into civilian society, and develop employment capacity for the youth. There were several state subsidized trade schools within South Africa providing vocational education mostly to the needy. In 1936 there were 13 state subsidized industrial schools serving 1,715 European children in South Africa. Children under twelve were not admitted to these industrial schools. (U.G. No. 24, 1948).

The government authorized the establishment of reformatory schools under the Children's Act. These centers were used as an alternative to prison sentence for the young offenders. Reformatories provided industrial courses to these young delinquents. During 1948, the following reformatory schools existed in South Africa:

- (a) Constantia Reformatory school in the Cape catering for European males under the age of 21 years.
- (b) Porter Reformatory school in the Cape catering for Coloreds and Indians under the age of 21 years.
- (c) Durbanville Institute in the Cape catering for European female pupils.
- (d) Diepkloof Reformatory school in Johannesburg catering for African male pupils.
- (e) Eshowe Reformatory school at Eshowe in Natal catering for Colored and African pupils
- (f) Houtpoort Reformatory school in Heidelberg in the Transvaal was converted into a fully fledged industrial school for European boys (U.G. No. 24, 1928, p. 236)

In addition to Reformatory schools there were several placement hostels which were providing industrial courses. These hostels served the children who were no longer in need of care and had no home to go to. These pupils were ready for placement into employment (Van Der Horst, 1975).

Although the official policy stipulated that industrial education be provided to the needy, delinquent, and neglected children, there was great disparity between various population groups. Simon (1975a) cites studies

conducted by the Institute of Race Relations which show that 16 industrial schools were built during this period for the needy European children, while none was reported to have been built for other population groups. The report went on to mention that the reformatory school in Diepkloof which had the capacity of 400 often had almost twice that number. It is possible that the provision of industrial training in these schools, if it existed was of inferior quality (Simon, 1975a).

War recruitment resulted in a shortage of labor to run the industries. This created a temporary and unofficial relaxation of some of the labor protective laws such as the Civilized Labor Policy of 1924 and the Mines Works Act of 1911 (U.G. No. 10, 1928/29). Policies such as these were greatly influenced by South African white labor unions. This was demonstrated by M.J. Green, the President of Motor Mechanics Union in Johannesburg, when he announced that his society would not service cars owned by anyone who was not white (Simon, 1983). These policies greatly affected the provision of vocational and technical education to other population groups.

All state owned enterprises such as the railways and postal services were mandated by this policy to reclassify

most of their jobs in order to fit into the prescribed civilized category. Private industries were induced with government contracts to adhere to this policy. However, during this period of growth an increase in employment of Africans, coloreds and Indians in positions previously reserved for Europeans was visible in many organizations. According to Cook (1975), there were 443,000 people engaged in various types of mining related occupations in 1936. Of that figure, 393,000 were Africans, 46,000 were Europeans, 3,000 were colored, and 900 were Indians. There was also a marked increase of employment in the manufacturing industry. A significant number of women gained employment in the manufacturing industry during this period.

Van Der Horst (1975) in 1936 asserted that there were 29,000 European women and 7,000 colored women employed in manufacturing. There were very few African and Indian women employed in manufacturing. During the same period, the transport industry had 177,000 men and 4,000 women. These figure are for all population groups. Most of these newly employed Africans, colored and Indians in the untraditional occupations lacked the necessary education to execute their jobs due to prolonged educational and industrial deprivation. Consequently, the demand for vocational and



technical education could not be met with the existing facilities. This led to some organizations setting up internal training programs.

### State Enterprises

State-owned enterprises such as the railway and the postal services were severely affected by the labor shortage. The South African Railway, which previously practiced discrimination in employment as the result of the Civilized Labor Policy, was forced to ignore the requirements of the Civilized Labor Policy. In 1945, large numbers of Africans, colored and Indians were employed in positions previously reserved for European South Africans (Jones & Muller, 1992). The racial composition of the employees of the South African Railways and Harbors in 1945 appears in Table 6. The greater proportion of Africans and coloreds employed by the railways were laborers. Most of these recruits were not skilled for these positions due to previous deprivation in educational opportunities (Van der Horst, 1975).

In the same year, a Railway college was opened at Esselenpark in Kaalfontein near Johannesburg. The need overruled the standing labor and training policy, in that all population groups who were employed by the Railways were

Table 6. Racial Composition of Employees of the South African Railways and Harbors (1945)

European Staff (graded)	61,974	
Railworkers	11,982	
European Casuals	<u>11,770</u>	
Total European Staff		85,726
Colored Staff	5,969	
Indian Staff	565	
Native Staff	30,621	
Non-European Casuals	<u>26,154</u>	
Total Non-European Staff		<u>63,309</u>
Total		<u>149,035</u>

Source: Van der Horst, S.T. (1975). Labor. In E. Hellmann & L. Abrahms (Eds.). Handbook on race relations in South Africa (p. 122). New York: Octagon Books.

admitted for training at this college. Instructions were provided in railway related occupations such as engine driver, several kinds of clerical work, truck drivers, conductors, bus drivers, railway inspectors, cooks and waiters, telegraphists, police, fire fighting, ticket examiners and railway inspectors (U.G. No. 29, 1956/57). These courses were of a short duration of time. In 1955, there were 21,775 students at this college. Out of this figure, 19,467 were European. Other railway training was conducted in other centers around the country. Though this college operated independently, it was still regulated by the Apprenticeship Act (U.G. No. 29, 1956/57).

#### Training of Demobilized Personnel

Social conditions created by the Second World War and the Industrial Development in South Africa was of great concern to the authorities. When the war came to an end, there was a great shortage of housing, particularly in the urban areas. This was accompanied by an acute shortage of skilled workers. According to Simon (1983), the scarcity of houses became a national scandal prompting the government to pass the Housing Act of 1945. In 1945, the government appointed the Central Organization of Technical Training (COTT) to resume the training of demobilized Europeans and

coloreds on various trades. In order to prevent industrial dispute with regard to these training programs by COTT, a Management Board consisting of various Trade Unions, Employers, Organizations, Departments of Labor, Defense, Education and the Directorate of Demobilization was established in order to facilitate the training of these war veterans (U.G. No. 29, 1928).

There was great resistance within the labor organization regarding the training of demobilized Africans at COTT. Some trade unions threatened to strike if Africans were afforded training opportunities. In 1946, the government approved the training of Africans at the COTT scheme at Milner Park, Johannesburg, a year after the training of Europeans and colored had resumed. Upon approval of training of Africans at COTT, the Building Labor Unions urged COTT instructors to resign from their positions rather than to train Africans. Those who resisted were threatened with the loss of their membership in the union (Simon, 1983).

The trades taught at COTT differed for various groups in South Africa. Europeans were taught trades in Bricklaying, Woodworking, Electrical Wiring, Painting, Plastering, and Plumbing. Coloreds and Africans were taught

all what was taught to Europeans except Plumbing and Electrician (U.G. No. 24, 1948). In 1944, the COTT Section for Africans at Milner Park was transferred to King Williams Town in the Cape (Hellmann, 1975).

### Housing Needs

As far back as the 1930's there was a big outcry from various organizations calling for the employment of Africans in the building industry to meet the housing demand for the growing urban population. It was argued that the cost of building houses for Africans using expensive European labor was not a wise idea (Simon, 1983). In 1946, it was estimated that 28,000 houses were needed in Johannesburg for Africans, 4,000 for coloreds, and 3,000 for Indians (Hellmann, 1975).

The Minister of Welfare and Demobilization blamed the employers in the building industry for the shortage of houses. The minister made mention that there were only 2,209 apprentices to 19,554 journeymen in the building industry which was 8.8 journeymen compared with 2.3 per journeymen in engineering industry (Hellmann, 1975).

As a result of the housing crisis, particularly in the Johannesburg area, the Municipality of Johannesburg opened a Vocational Training Center at Dube in Soweto in 1942. This center provided courses in building trades such as building

construction, carpentry and joinery, plumbing and drain laying. The graduates from Dube Vocational Center were used in the construction of houses in Soweto. During the same year, Automotive program was established at Dube Vocational Center for Africans where courses in Auto Mechanics were offered in addition to the building trades (Welsh, 1971).

#### Administration and Financing of Education

The administration of education during this period was extremely fragmented. It was divided along provincial and racial lines. Education for whites, coloreds and Indians was classified as primary and secondary (see Figure 4) for Africans it was classified into four levels:

Lower Primary (Substandard A through Standard 2)

Higher Primary (Standard 3 through Standard 6)

Junior Secondary (Standard 7 through Standard 9)

Senior Secondary (Standard 10 through Standard 11) (See Figure 5).

The agreement was reached during the formation of the Union that the provinces will have authority over their respective education (Waltons, 1912). The provinces were supposed to administer their education systems for the first five years, whilst the Union was organizing itself. Since 1916, which was five years after the founding of the Union,

numerous commissions were appointed to study various aspects of education within the country and give recommendations to the Central Government. In 1917 a commission under the leadership of J.W. Jagger was appointed to investigate the progress of the Provincial Administration. The commission recommended the transfer of education to the Central Government (Rose & Tunmer, 1975).

The report went further to recommend that Technical and Industrial education should be under the control of district councils, and courses given should lead up to higher education. However, these recommendations were not accepted. The provinces were not prepared to relinquish power to the Central Government, hence, another commission appointed by the Transvaal Government under the leadership of H.L. Malherbe also recommended the formation of the District Councils, rather than handing over education to the Central Government (Rose & Turner, 1975).

During the period after the formation of the Union, the Transvaal province was levying a heavy tax on Africans in order to finance education. The Union Government intervened by passing Act No. 5 of 1922. This Act barred the provinces from imposing direct taxation on natives. The Central Government took over the financial responsibility for

African education (Cook, 1975). This Act also made provision for the control of Technical education in Natal and the Cape. In 1924, vocational and technical education became the responsibility of the Central Government throughout the country. However, general education for Europeans, coloreds and Indians was retained by the Provincial Governments. Native Taxation and Development Act No. 41 of 1925 was passed by the central government. Under this Act the Central Government used taxes collected from Africans to finance African education (UNESCO, 1967).

The Union Government grouped vocational and technical education into two separate entities for funding purposes. Technical colleges which offered technical education were state-aided institutions. The Central Government paid 50% of the cost of state-aided institutions. Vocational, Housecraft and Industrial schools received 100% funding from the Central Government. There were 43 technical and commercial high schools, 31 housecraft high schools, and 39 schools for industries in operation in South Africa between 1945 and 1947. The cost of running these schools during that period is shown in Table 7. Total government expenditure on European education appears in Table 8; total



Table 7. Cost of State Vocational Schools from 1945-1947

Class of School	<u>Total Cost to the State</u>			<u>Net Cost per Student</u>		
	1945	1946	1947	1945	1946	1947
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Technical and Commercial High Schools	247,994	455,215	519,764	106.66	154.55	179.38
Housecraft High Schools	90,671	97,914	117,103	88.04	109.47	128.62
Schools of Industries (under the Children's Act, No. 31 of 1937)	245,306	291,688	357,245	138.11	151.86	177.58
TOTAL	£ 583,971	844,817	994,112	114.49	146.66	171.18

Source: Official Year Book of the Union and of Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland, 24, 1948, p. 353. Pretoria, South Africa: Government Printing and Stationery Office.

Table 8. Government Expenditure on European Education 1946 in Provinces and the Union

Class of School	Cape	Natal	Trans-vaal	Orange Free State	Union
	£	£	£	£	£
Training of Teachers	124,351	16,561	138,55	424,382	303,848
Secondary Education	400,763	914,676	1,070,429	117,445	1,783,313
Primary and Preparatory Education	2,122,534	583,672	2,641,774	422,610	5,770,590
Combined Primary and Secondary Education	628,662	273,727	497,424	543,203	2,943,016
Agricultural Education	32,879	12,419	38,136	16,410	99,844
TOTAL	£ 4,3090,189	1,081,055	4,386,317*	1,124,050	10,900,611*

Source: Official Year Book of the Union and of Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland, 24, 1948, p. 376. Pretoria, South Africa: Government Printing and Stationery Office.

\* An amount of £417,477 (£412,580 for feeding, £4,897 for equipment) is excluded from the above table as it is impossible to classify according to heading.

government expenditure on African education appears in Table 9 total government expenditure for colored education appears in Table 10. Colored and Indian education was financed on equal bases during this period (U.G. No. 24, 1948).

Funding had a direct impact on the type of education offered and the quality of teachers. The supply of teachers in Non-European primary, secondary, and industrial schools in 1946 appear in Table 11. The annual expenditure per pupil by race for years 1930-1945 appears on Table 12.

#### The Afrikaner Takeover

The change of government in 1948 swept the Afrikaners into power under the banner of total segregation which later became popularly known as apartheid. Education became yet again in the fore-front in the Malan Administration. The government, under the National Party, appointed a commission to inquire into native education under the chairmanship of Dr. Eiselen who was then Secretary of Native Affairs (U.G. No. 53, 1951).

The Eiselen Commission formed the basis of Bantu Education Act of 1953. It also gave impetus to the homeland earlier, emphasized that Africans should receive manual education. One of the important aspects of African education was its inappropriateness, citing the provision of

Table 9. Government Expenditure on African Education 1946 in Provinces and the Union

Class of School	Cape	Natal	Trans-vaal	Orange Free State	Union
	£	£	£	£	£
Inspection School	21,781	13,173	10,578	9,327	54,706
Supervision	11,719	3,366	7,621	1,899	24,605
Training of Teachers	64,782	38,137	38,065	19,237	160,221
Secondary Education	64,668	749	36,979	—	102,396
Primary Education	773,433	236,982	336,568	133,292	1,480,275
Primary and Secondary Combined	14,994	48,658	8,121	9,134	80,907
Industrial Education	20,386	7,652	16,484	6,358	50,880
General	39,073	298,012	173,129	73,807	584,021
TOTAL	£ 1,010,773	646,729	627,545	252,964	2,538,011

Source: Official Year Book of the Union and of Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland, 24, 1948, p. 385. Pretoria, South Africa: Government Printing and Stationery Office.

Table 10. Government Expenditure on education of Other Colored [Colored and Indians] Scholars 1946

Head of Expenditure	Cape	Natal	Trans-vaal	Orange Free State	Union
	£	£	£	£	£
Primary and Secondary Education Salaries, Wages and Allowances	1,216,590	453,385	406,312	13,605	2,089,892
Other	446,503	137,122	20,319	3,985	607,929
Training of Teachers-Salaries, Wages and Allowances	38,536	-	44,127	-	82,663
Other	13,297	-	119	-	13,416
TOTAL	£ 1,714,926	590,507	470,877	17,590	2,793,900
GRAND TOTAL	£ 2,725,699	1,237,236	1,098,422	270,554	5,331,911

Source: Official Year Book of the Union and of Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland, 24, 1948, p. 385. Pretoria, South Africa: Government Printing and Stationery Office.

Table 11. Teachers in Non-European Primary, Secondary and Industrial Schools, 1946

Province	Certified				Not Certified				Total
	Euro-pean	Native	Asiatic	Co- lored	Euro-pean	Native	Asiatic	Co- lored	
Cape	366	5,444	-	4,031	66	178	-	120	10,205
Natal	329	2,554	782	91	34	762	208	21	4,781
Transvaal	204	3,070	135	342	6	1,002	7	36	4,802
Orange Free State	6	831	-	52	5	544	-	22	1,460
UNION	905	11,899	917	4,516	111	2,486	215	199	21,248

Source: Official Year Book of the Union and of Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland, 24, 1948, p. 383. Pretoria, South Africa: Government Printing and Stationery Office.

Table 12. The Annual Cost of Education Per Pupil by Race  
1930-1945

Year	Whites	Colored and Asians	Africans
1930	£4. 13s 2d	10s 5d	2s 1d
1935	£4. 14s 7d	16s 10d	2s 0d
1940	£4. 19s 5d 11d	18s 11d	2s
1945	£7. 4s 7d	£1 19s 8d	6s 0d

Source: Bulletin of Educational Statistics for the Union of South Africa, 1947. Issued by the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research. Pretoria: Government Printer, cited in Horrell, M. (1963). African education: some origins, and developments until 1653, p. 32. Johannesburg. South African Institute of Race Relations.

\*£ = pound  
\*s = shilling  
\*d = penny

\*During the Union Government 1910 to 1961, the South African currency was based on the British pound.

agricultural education when the 1913 Landless (U.G. No. 53, 1951).

The commission, though recommending a curriculum for Africans, was opposed to the African artisans due to the provisions of the Labor Act which precluded Africans from skilled labor. This is what the commission had to say about training of the African artisans:

Little attention was paid to the demand for the types of artisans trained, with the result that much money has been wasted in training artisans who can find no employment as such and gradually drift into other spheres of labour. As a first step a careful survey should be made of the actual and potential avenues of employment for the products of such vocational schools.

Agricultural schools should be established, which would fit the students to play a part not only as agricultural demonstrators but also as foremen or handymen on farms and as independent agriculturists in the reserves and on Trust land (p. 135)

The commission further recommended that Africans should be provided the type of education which will provide sufficient laborers to run the Apartheid administration. The commission was against offering of academic education to Africans, as the following excerpt clearly showed:

We should not give natives an academic education, as some people are too prone to do. If we do this we shall later be burdened with a number of academically trained Europeans and non-Europeans, and who is going to do the manual labour in the



country? .... I am in thorough agreement with the view that we should so conduct our schools that the native who attends those schools will know that to a great extent he must be the labourer in the country (p. 135).

The minister of Native Affairs' speech to the House of Assembly was congruent with Eiselen's envisaged permanent place for the African, namely the Bantu stan. The following is Dr. Verwoerd's remarks, the then Minister of Native Affairs:

Bantu education must be controlled in conformity with the policy of the state. Good racial relations could not exist when education is given under the control of people created wrong expectations among the Bantu. Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life. In terms of the Government's plan for South Africa, there was no place for the Bantu in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within their own areas, however, all doors were open. Education should, thus, stand with both feet in the Reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of a Bantu society (Horrell, 1963, p. 5).

During the same period of the Eiselen Commission, a policy on Christian National Education (CNE) was published by the Afrikaner social organization known as [Federasie Van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge (FAK)]. This organization was charged with the responsibility of plotting out the education system which would guarantee the perpetual

domination of the Afrikaner over all non-Afrikaners (Vatcher, 1965).

The CNE policy invoked the Anglo-Boer War of 1899 which alarmed non-Afrikaner population of South Africa, especially the English-speaking who were in control of commerce and industry. The policy advocated separation of schools as prescribed in Article 8 of the Manifesto:

8: We believe there must be at least two types of schools for primary and secondary education, one for the children of Afrikaans-speaking parents, with their social creed and language, with Afrikaans only as a medium, and one for children of English-speaking parents with English as a medium. We believe that in both types of schools there must be the right relation between the family, the school, the church, and the state, so far as concerns the spirit and trend, the establishment, maintenance and supervision of the schools (Vatcher, 1965, p. 294).

This manifesto had some disturbing implications for technical education. Article 12: Technical and Other Specialized Education reads:

12: 1. We believe that the Christian-National attitude to life and to the world is applicable to technical colleges, reform schools, high schools for domestic science, and schools for specialist instruction in the case of the deaf and the blind, and schools for physical and mental defectives, etc.

2. We believe that the aim of teaching in the technical and special schools is not merely to give knowledge and skill in technical subjects, and specialized instruction to the underprivileged, but also to convey the Christian

and National cultural wealth of the nation in broader significance.

3. We believe that the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction in all the abovementioned schools, and that, therefore, there ought to be separate schools for those who speak Afrikaans and those who speak English.

4. We believe that these schools should not only be opened and/or closed with a religious service, but that religious teaching should form an important part of their activities; and that adequate time and attention should be devoted to it, in order in this way to determine the Christian spirit and trend of all the activities.

5. We believe that the further content of the instruction must be adapted to the condition of our country and national needs.

6. We believe that there ought to be proper integration between the fields of activities of these schools and colleges and those of the ordinary secondary schools and university institutions.

7. We believe that the teachers should be Protestant Christians and bilingual South Africans.

8. We believe that the full period of training of pupils in industrial schools, reform schools, and technical high schools ought to secure recognition from trades unions in respect of apprenticeship.

9. Owing to the fact that the parents of children in industrial schools, reform schools, technical high schools, and high schools for domestic training for the most part are not in a position to elect a majority of the representatives for the control of these schools, we believe that a complete controlling body should be elected from and by the local community, a controlling body for an Afrikaans-medium school: from and by the English-speaking community for the English-medium

school. We believe that the controlling body of the technical colleges should consist for a large part of parent representatives irrespective of other representatives in accordance with the statutory rights of the various colleges. We believe that the abovementioned controlling bodies should be invested not only with advisory powers, but also with such powers as are granted to school committees in terms of Article 8 of this directive (Vatcher, 1965, pp. 298-299).

The aspects of the CNE policy were visible in the Eiselen Commission which formed the basis of the most loathed Bantu Education Act of 1953. This act shifted the administration of African schools to the Department of Native Affairs. Article 15 of the CNE laid the direction in which Africans should be educated.

15: The teaching and Education of natives:

We believe that the education and task of white South Africa with respect to the native is to Christianize him and to help him on culturally, and this vocation and task has found its immediate application and task in the principles of trusteeship, no placing of the native on the level of the white, and in segregation. For this reason we believe that any system of teaching and educating natives should be based on these principles. In accordance with these principles we believe that the teaching and education of the native must be based on the European's attitude to life and to the world, more particularly that the Boer nation is the senior European trustee of the native; and that the native should be led, *mutatis mutandis*, to an acceptance of the Christian and National principles in education as these principles are more fully described in Articles 1,2, and 4, provided it is an independent acceptance. We believe also that the mother tongue is the basis for instruction and education, but

that the two official languages of the country should be learned as subjects because they are official languages of the country and constitute for the native the keys for that adoption of culture which is necessary for his own cultural advancement. Because of the cultural immaturity of the native, we believe that it is the duty and task of the state in co-operation with the Christian Protestant churches to provide and superintend education for natives. We believe, however, that the actual teaching and education of the natives and the training of native teachers should be undertaken by the natives themselves as soon as possible and under the control and guidance of the state; with the proviso that the financing of native education be placed on such a basis that it is not provided at the cost of European education. Finally, we believe that instruction and education for natives must lead to the development of a native community on Christian-National lines which is self-supporting and provides for itself in all ways (Vatcher, pp. 300-301).

Missionaries, who were running most of the African schools were given the option of handing over their schools to the Department or retain them at their own expense (UNESCO, 1967). The Catholic Church and the Seventh-Day Adventist resisted the pressure from the government and raised funds to maintain their schools (Horrell, 1968).

Three years prior t

education (U.G. No. 65, 1948). Its task was to look at the offerings of vocational education at the primary and secondary schools in relation to Central and Provincial education (Rose & Turner, 1975).

The commission found that there was a lack of cohesion in education, a "lack of national outlook" (p. 35). It also found that vocational and technical education was ill-defined. One of the proposals the commission put forth was the creation of the junior high school which was to act as a clearing house where all students will be transferred after completing school. The sorting will be done at this midway station where two routes will be opened, one leading to a senior high school and the other to a vocational high school. The commission advocated the centralization of education. The total centralization envisaged by this commission was not realized, since the province did retain some control of all education other than what was classified higher education including vocational and technical education (U.G. No. 65, 1948).

The De Villiers commission team found out that there was general consensus among the industrialists and educationists in most of the countries they studied in support of general education for all children before

vocational and technical education. They also found that vocational and technical education in most of the countries they visited only began at the end of the compulsory age of 16. The De Villiers commission also mentioned that some of those countries were considering raising the age of compulsory education to 18 years. The following reasons were cited for raising the age limit to 18:

- (1) The development of mass production and the consequent use of machinery of a large scale.
- (2) The development of technology and the specialization in work which has resulted.
- (3) The development of the so-called "Automation" and the resultant push-button production.
- (4) The vocational school can no longer train for this large-scale, specialized and mechanized world of industry, hence the industrialists prefer the person with a general training who has the necessary adaptability and who can train himself within a short period in and for his specialized undertaking (Rose & Tunmer, 1975. p. 54).

Pilgrimages to foreign countries for the purpose of studying the education systems of those countries became a norm whenever there was a perplexing issue in education in South Africa. Some of these recommendations found their expression in Bantu Education Act of 1953 incorporated in future legislation.

## Summary

This chapter explored the depression era and its effect on the development of vocational and technical education. The influence of the Second World War on development of industries was also highlighted in this chapter. Industrial boom attracted large numbers of people to the urban areas creating a socially unfavorable climate in the urban areas.

This chapter also reviewed the impact of the social conditions as a result of World War II and industrial development on the development of vocational and technical education program. The government's efforts to support industry through promotion of vocational and technical education, as demonstrated by the appointment of the Vocational and Technical Commission were discussed

The relationship between national development industrial development and the development of vocational and technical education was outlined in this chapter. The involvement of state enterprises in the provision of vocational and technical education programs was discussed in this chapter. This chapter closes with the takeover of the Afrikaners and their official policy of apartheid as well as its effect on education particularly to the Africans.



## CHAPTER 5

### THE PERIOD FROM 1960-1990

#### Decolonization

The developments in Africa in the 1960's had a critical effect on the political, social and economic development in South Africa. Political developments in the African continent were extremely unsettling for the South African government. Decolonization was sweeping southward with former European colonies north of South Africa gaining independence one after the other, most of them through violent means. The British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan referred to these drastic changes as the "Winds of Change" (Lacour-Gayet, 1977, p. 310). It can be safely said that the entire African diaspora was up in flames, while the United States was also experiencing violent desegregation demonstrations.

South Africa was threatened by these winds of change which were sweeping through the continent. The South African government responded to this threat by passing several laws. The result was the tightening of the segregation laws with the hope of discouraging any form of uprising within South Africa. The South African government decided to use labor and education in an attempt to reduce the possibility of

political uprising. The government made desperate attempts of co-opting coloreds and Indians and some Africans who seemed to be in support of the Bantu Authorities and land consolidation proposals, which formed the basis of the Bantustan system. The government embarked on the promotion of economic and educational development of coloreds. The Indians were also recognized as the citizens of the Republic of South Africa in 1963 (Davenport, 1987). In the same year, Transkei was granted some form of self-government and Chief Matanzima was installed as the head of this homeland (Malan & Huttingh, 1976).

The Defense Amendment Act, No. 12 of 1961 was passed by the South African government. This Act conferred all powers to the Minister of Defense in order to enable him to take any measures to prevent or to suppress whatever he perceived to be capable of creating internal disorder. This meant that the minister could unleash the military wrath on the citizens at the whim of the perceived threat without taking any responsibility for the consequences of his action. This was followed by the Indemnity Act, No. 61 of 1961. This Act made provision for the indemnity of any government officials, against any civil or criminal proceedings brought against him or her in respect of any act he/she may have

committed in the process of preventing or suppressing disorder (Horrell, 1963b).

The South African government passed many laws in addition to the ones mentioned above for the purpose of suppressing any potential uprising. The University Act No. 45 of 1959 was implemented prior to this period of turmoil. This Act provided coloreds and Indians each with their own universities. Coloreds and Indians had no university of their own, in the past they were accommodated in several Whites-only universities and in the only African university which existed then, Fort-Hare University College (Horrell, 1970). This law created two more universities to serve Africans. However, this law also prohibited admission of anyone who was not White in a university designated for Whites, except through special permit. Various ethnic groups were then confined by law to their respective universities (Horrell, 1963b).

During the same period, the Vocational Education Amendment Act, No. 25 of 1958 was passed. This Act was followed by the Special Education Act, No. 45 of 1960 and of 1963. These acts segregated the administration of education according to the ethnic make-up of the South African population. African education was placed under the

Administration of Bantu Education, coloreds under the control of the Minister of Colored Affairs, and the Indians under the control of the Minister of Indian Affairs. The education for Whites remained under the control of the Department of Education, Arts and Science (Horrell, 1963).

The passage of the Vocational Education Act in 1955 completely altered the way vocational and technical education had been offered in South Africa for all ethnic groups. The demands imposed by rapid industrial development necessitated the reform of vocational and technical education. Herd (1963) reported in "Industrial South Africa" a marked growth in manufacturing and mining industries during this period. Foreign investment was reported to be R3,100 million (approximately \$1.3m) with Germany investing R14 million. The Railways announced general increase in wages in 1962 for African, white, colored and Indian workers amounting to R21 million a year. Out of this amount R18.5 million was allocated to 110,000 white employees, and the remaining R2.5 million distributed among 104,000 Africans, coloreds, and Indians. Skilled labor in South Africa could not meet the demands due to industrial development (Herd,1963).

### Meeting Labor Needs through Immigration

Instead of developing local skills to meet the demands imposed by rapid industrialization, the Government looked to immigration to meet these needs. The political climate in the African continent provided the incentives for the immigration program. Decolonization of African states north of South Africa sent a wave of Europeans from the former colonies to South Africa. In 1961 alone, 9,000 white immigrants from former African colonies settled in South Africa (Herd, 1963). Immigrants in South Africa served two purposes: to fill the labor needs of the country, and to increase the European population in South Africa which was very important for the government at that time (Child, 1983).

The authorities implemented a selective immigration policy which was restricted to whites only. Almost half a million mainly from Europe had settled in South Africa by 1972. The government embarked on the Assisted Immigration which was operated from 14 special established South African Immigration offices in Europe. According to Child (1983), the government provided 80% of the adult fare and 100% for children, plus free transport from the port of entry to the destination. Contributions made by these immigrants were extremely important not only to the industrial development,

but also to the development of vocational and technical education (Herd, 1963).

The South African government was so obsessed with race purity to the extent that purity screening experts were stationed in each of the 14 recruiting offices in Europe. The Deputy Minister of Immigration, Dr. Piet Koornhof said in a parliamentary speech in 1969 that four steps were being taken in order to ensure the racial purity of the prospective immigrant. That is the immigrant:

- (a) must declare on his application form that he and all persons concerned are of pure White descent;
- (b) each applicant must be accompanied by a very clear photograph of the applicant and his next of kin by which his color can be judged;
- (c) every applicant must appear in person before South African immigration officers abroad, for personal inspection;
- (d) on arrival in South Africa, all immigrant families are examined by a well trained immigration control officer on the lookout for anyone who may have slipped through the net previously (Child, 1983, pp. 1-2).

Dr. Koornhof said that the precautions had been so effective that the Immigration Department could not discover a single case where an immigrant subsequently had to be re-classified as non-White (Child, 1983, pp. 1-2).

Private and public sectors were also recruiting from overseas, through newspapers looking for all kinds of professions. Teachers recruited abroad had to pledge

allegiance to the principles of "Christian Nationalism" before they could be accepted (Child, 1963). It is amazing that most bigoted organizations or movements hide behind the banner of Christianity in order to achieve their objectionable acts. In the U.S. the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) refers to itself as the Christian Knights. They claim that their cause is a noble one, that of preserving Christianity against atheism. The South African regime based its tyrannic policy of apartheid on religious grounds. One of these justifications was captured by Walker (1968):

the demand for racial equality all along the line was a defiance of that God who had shown plainly that He wished peoples and nations to become and remain distinct by dividing light from darkness, the waters from the dry land and one thing from another so that He might make a world, and who, though He had made of one blood all the nations of men, had scattered abroad the builders of Babel who tried to hold mankind together (p. 855).

In 1962 the Minister of Labor and Immigration, A.E. Trollip on his trip to Europe, used local television stations to recruit immigrants (Herd, 1963).

#### Vocational and Technical Education for Whites

Since the passage of the Vocational and Technical Education Act of 1955, vocational and technical education for Whites took a dramatic change; It was placed under the control of the Department of National Education, Arts and

Science (UNESCO, 1967). Vocational and technical education programs were also strengthened at the high school levels (HRSC, 1984).

#### Commercial and Technical High Schools

As a result of the recommendation of Roos Commission which was appointed in 1935, a National Education Board was established to advise the Secretary of Education on industrial, commercial, and agricultural education for high schools. This was followed by the report of the De Villiers Commission which recommended that some of the general education high schools be converted into commercial and technical high schools. These schools were created to provide marketable skills for the large number of White children who were leaving high schools prematurely (U.G. 46, 1934).

#### Commercial High Schools

Commercial high schools were free and compulsory. They provided the Junior and Senior Commercial Certificates. The National Junior Commercial Certificate was awarded at the end of Standard VIII (9th grade) after passing a minimum of 4 commercial subjects out of 6 (Sasnett & Sepmeyer, 1966). The National Senior Commercial Certificate was awarded after completing Standard X (12th grade). The following subjects



were offered in commercial high schools for Whites:  
Shorthand (English), Shorthand (Afrikaans), Bookkeeping,  
Commerce, Commercial Arithmetic, Economics, Mathematics,  
Mercantile Law, Typewriting, Religious Instructions, Music,  
Speech and Drama, and Physical Education (Sasnett &  
Sepmeyer, 1966).

#### Technical High Schools

Education at technical high schools was free and compulsory. The following courses were offered at the technical high school: Afrikaans, English, Mathematics, Physical Science, Machine Drawing or Building Drawing, Applied Mechanics or Workshop Practice Theory, Music, Religious Instruction and Physical Education. The National Junior Technical Certificate was awarded at the end of Standard VII (9th grade). The National Senior Technical Certificate was awarded at the end of Standard X (12th grade) (Sasnett & Sepmeyer, 1966).

#### Technical Colleges

The primary function of the technical colleges was to provide the "theoretical part of apprenticeship training ... they are polytechnic in nature in the sense that they offer a variety of technical and commercial courses on a full-time or part-time basis" (HSRC, 1984, p.1).

Attendance at technical colleges was voluntary and students had to pay tuition. National Technical Certificates I-III [NTC I-III (N1-N3)] were offered in three stages. NTC I (N1) was awarded upon successful completion of first year courses, with NTC II (N2) and NTC III (N3) being awarded at the end of the second and third year work respectively. HRSC (1984) gives an example of the structure of theory courses offered in the electrical and mechanical trades appears in Table 13.

Students attending the technical colleges could choose from the following course offerings:

Aircraft Construction and Drawing, Machine Construction and Drawing, Electrical Construction and Drawing, Drawing for Boilermakers and Structural Steelworkers, Mathematics or Workshop Calculations (Engineers), Air conditioning, Applied Mechanics or Elementary Strength of Materials, Electronics, Geology, Heat Engines or Internal Combustion Engines, Physical Science or Chemistry or Senior Instrumentation, Aircraft Engineering, Baking, Boat building, Boot and Shoe Manufacturing, Butchers, Chemistry, Furniture, Hairdressing, Telecommunications, Highway Engineering, Horticulture and Landscape Gardening, Production Engineering, Tailoring, Vehicle building, Armature Winding, Instrument Mechanics, Electric Lifts (Sasnett & Sepmeyer, 1966).

There were 13 technical colleges serving white students in 1966, with the enrollment of 32,708 of which 23,296 were part-time. By 1985 this number had risen to 72,000. As a result of pressure from the private sector, some of the

Table 13. Theory-Based Courses Offered in the Electrical and Mechanical Trades Technical Colleges

NTC 1	NTC 2	NTC 3
Mathematics	Mathematics	Mathematics
Applied Science	Applied Science	Engineering Science
Technical Drawing	Technical Drawing	Engineering Drawing
Trade Theory	Trade Theory	Trade Theory

Source: Human Science Research Council (HRSC) (1984) Training and Career Opportunities for School-Leavers before Standard Ten (p.10). Report MM-97. Pretoria:Author

white technical colleges relaxed their segregation policies. The first one to admit coloreds was the Grahamstown Technical College in 1980 though Africans and Indians had to apply for a permit from the Department of Education, Arts and Science to gain entry to this technical college (Bot, 1988).

In 1985 technical colleges for whites obtained an autonomous status. This enabled each technical college to set its own admission criteria. With the change of status, some technical colleges were able to make independent decisions in their admission policies. Some technical colleges also started to admit Africans during this period. In 1987, F.W. de Klerk, a Minister of National Education then, mentioned to the House of Representatives that admission policies were the responsibility of the technical colleges. He went on to tell the House of Representatives that admission matters should be directed to the heads of these technical colleges (Bot, 1988).

The passage of the Advanced Technical Education Act No. 41 of 1967 provided upgrading of continuation classes to the rank of Technical Institutes. Continuation classes were previously used by part-time students taking technical courses for the purpose of meeting apprenticeship

requirements (Behr, 1978). In 1976 there were 36 technical institutes for whites spread throughout the country. Under the Apprenticeship Act No. 46 of 1963, all apprentices were mandated by this Act to attend either technical institute or technical college for their theoretical training while being indentured at their work stations. This greatly increased the enrollment in these institutions. They could also take a National Trade test which was administered at a central location resulting in the attainment of NTC 1 - NTC 4 or N1-N4 Certificate.

### Technikons

The passage of the Advanced Technical Education Act No. 40 of 1967 provided for the establishment of Colleges for Advance Technical Education (CATEs). These colleges later became technikons. Technikons provided advanced technical education offering courses overlapping with those offered at the universities. The comparison between technikons and the universities appear in Table 14. Under the Advanced Technical Education Act, the following technical colleges were made technikons: Cape Technical College, Natal Technical College, Pretoria Technical College, Witwatersrand Technical College, Port Elizabeth Technical College, Vaal

Table 14. Comparison of Universities and Technikons

Category of Comparison	University	Technikon
Level	Tertiary	Tertiary
Admission Requirement	Matriculation Exam or Matriculation Exemption	Senior Certificate
Objective	Scientific pursuits	Applied scientific pursuits
Function	Professional preparation	Professional/Technical Technical Instruction
Instruction knowledge:	Gathering & systematizing of knowledge	Application of development & presentation of application methods
Approach	Theoretical Fundamental/Original Philosophical	Applicational Reporting of existing Information & technology
Product	Scientific thinkers Graduates Professors	Occupational students Technicians Technologists
Awards	Degrees	Diplomas
Research	Basic & applied	Applied & Developmental
Type of Study	Full-time, Part-time Correspondence	Full-time, Part-time, Sandwich course, Correspondence

Source: Cramer, D.J. and Woolston, V.A. (1980). A study of the educational systems of Botswana, Lesotho, South Africa, Southwest/Namibia and Swaziland with an Addendum on Zimbabwe-Rhodesia; A guide to the Academic Placement of Students in Educational Institutions of the United States, (p. 99). Washington, D.C. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 249 897)

In addition to advanced technical subjects, technikons offered teacher training and industrial management. In the 1970's there was a demand for admission into the whites only technikons by members of other ethnic groups in South Africa. A Commission of Inquiry was appointed under the leadership of Justice Theron to investigate matters relating to coloreds (Theron Commission). This commission recommended that colored should be admitted into whites only technikons (Bot, 1988). Technikon examinations were conducted by the Department of National Education resulting in the issuance of National Technical Certificate Part 4 and 6 (NTC-4 and NTC-6) (Behr, 1978).

As of 1987, the government was encouraging students from all races to choose technical education rather than university education (Bot, 1988). The rate at which technikons have developed in such a short space of time indicates that in the near future, universities will play an insignificant role in economic development of South Africa. In less than 20 years of their inception, technikons had risen to the total of 12, whereas in approximately 90 years only 16 universities have been developed in South Africa.

## Vocational and Technical Education for Coloreds and Indians

Since the passage of the Colored Person's Education Act No. 47 of 1963 and the Indian Education Act No. 61 of 1965, education for these two population groups was the same as the one provided for whites. However, the administration of colored and Indian education fell under the Department of Colored Affairs and Indian Affairs respectively. The combined structure of coloreds, Indians and Whites schools appears in Figure 4.

In 1966, several commercial and technical high schools were established throughout the country by the Department of Colored Affairs. These schools were intended to shorten the period of apprenticeship for the colored youth (Behr, 1978). These schools also provided vocational guidance for the colored youth. Apprentices who had a technical or commercial high school diploma were eligible for a 3-year reduction in the apprenticeship program. If the duration of time in a particular program was 5 years, a graduate with either a technical or commercial diploma would take only 2 years to become an artisan. By 1968 there were 28 commercial high schools and 4 technical high schools for coloreds in South Africa (Horrell, 1970). In areas where there were no technical or commercial high schools for



coloreds such as in some parts of Natal, colored students would attend Indian schools.

There were several technical colleges spread throughout the country which started as continuation classes. Courses at these colleges were prescribed by the Department of National Education. The examination which led to the attainment of the National Technical Certificate parts I-III (NTCI-III) were also conducted by the department of National Education (Behr, 1978).

The Advanced Technical Education Act, No. 40 of 1967 made provision for the upgrading of Peninsula Technical College in Cape Town for coloreds which had been established in 1962. This institution began to offer advanced technical courses, subsequently becoming a technikon in the same year (Bot, 1988).

Technical education for Indians was offered along the same lines as for the coloreds. The Indian Advanced Technical Education Act, No. 12 of 1968 made provisions for elevating M.L. Sultan Technical College which had been established in 1946 to the status of Advanced Technical College (Behr, 1978). This college later became a technikon. The course offerings at M.L. Sultan compare fairly well with those offered at white technikons. The

comparison between M.L. Sultan Technikon for Indians and Witwatersrand Technikon for whites appear in Table 15.

### Vocational and Technical Education for Africans

The Industrial Conciliation Act, No. 28 of 1956 which made provision for job reservation by specifying certain types of work to be reserved for certain ethnic groups. The policy legitimated unfair labor competition. In addition to protecting white employees, this legislation also protected Colored against African competition (Davenport, 1987). Under this Act the Minister of Labor could reserve any type of work for a given ethnic group. These measures also prevented certain population groups from accessing certain types of vocational and technical education, as a result creating a shortage of skilled labor. This led to limited access to education, especially vocational education, by Africans.

The passage of Vocational Education Amendment Act, No. 25 of 1958, placed vocational and technical education under the control of the Minister of Bantu Education. Under the Bantu Education a number of technical courses were eliminated in African schools. An example of this was the elimination of the Motor Mechanics program for Africans at Dube Vocational Training Center in Soweto in 1960 due to the

Table 15. Comparison of Course Offerings at the Witwatersrand Technikon (for whites) and the M.L. Sultan Technikon (for Indians) in 1978.

Witwatersrand	M.L. Sultan
Art & Design	Art & Design
Chemistry	Chemistry
Commerce: cost accounting	Commerce & Management:
printing management	printing management
private secretary	private secretary
public administration	public administration
state account & finance	state accounts & finance
shipping & forwarding	shipping & forwarding
administration	administration
tourism	registration of deeds
Engineering:	Engineering:
civil, building	electrical, mechanical
electrical mechanical	production
production	
Hotel Management	Hotel Management
Paramedical Sciences:	Paramedical Sciences:
community/public health	community/public health
nursing	nursing
food technology	food technology
health education	health inspectors
medical technology	medical laboratory
	technology
public health	public health orthopaedic
	technicians
Telecommunication	Telecommunication
Television	
Mining & Metallurgy	Agriculture & Horticulture

Source: Cramer, D.J. and Woolston, V.A. (1980). A study of the educational systems of Botswana, Lesotho, South Africa, Southwest/Namibia and Swaziland with an Addendum on Zimbabwe-Rhodesia: A guide to the Academic Placement of Students in Educational Institutions of the United States, (pp. 92-93). Washington, D.C. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 249 897)

pressure from White trade unions (Horrell, 1968). There were 11 technical high schools for Africans in South Africa in 1968 offering a variety of trade courses leading to Standard VIII (10th grade) (Horrell, 1978). The Eiselen Commission in 1951 recommended that vocational and technical high schools for Africans be moved to the homelands. According to Eiselen and his cohorts, they believed that Africans were visitors in towns, therefore, there was no need to build any infrastructure for visitors (U.G. No. 53, 1951).

Manufacturers were induced with tax breaks and guaranteed a constant supply of cheap labor if they moved their businesses to the edges of the homelands or Bantustans. The industries were popularly known as the "border industries." These industries were low-skill and labor intense type. Border industries thrived because of Job Reservation laws which prevented Africans from becoming artisans. These industries employed skilled Africans at the unskilled rates because Africans were not recognized as artisans. Even though the Apprenticeship Act had no discriminatory clause, it prevented Africans from participating by setting standards which were not within the

reach of Africans. The employers were also less inclined to indenture Africans (Horrell, 1978).

The few trade schools for Africans which were located in the border areas were designed to provide Africans with low occupational qualifications which were not recognized by many employers. Dube Vocational Training Center located in Soweto, maintained by the Municipality of Johannesburg is the only vocational center which was located in the urban areas for Africans offering courses which led to the National Technical Certificate (NTC) qualifications (Horrell, 1978). Some training centers were specifically created for a particular industry. An example of this practice was the textile school which was created in the homeland of Ciskei. This school was training workers for a textile factory which was established at the border of this homeland (Horrell, 1968).

#### Technical and Commercial Secondary Schools

Unlike other ethnic groups who had technical and commercial secondary schools, Africans had vocational and commercial secondary schools. In the 1970's, a number of technical secondary schools were introduced in South Africa for Africans (Behr, 1978). These schools were offering instructions both in technical and commercial subjects. The

following courses were offered for the technical programs: building trades, welding and sheet metal works, needle work and dressmaking, housecraft and cookery, religious instruction, music, African language, English, Afrikaans and Physical Education. The following courses were offered for the commercial programs: bookkeeping, commerce, typewriting, shorthand, general science, African language, English, Afrikaans, history, geography, chemistry and biology. These trades were offered at the following schools: Batswana, Mafeking; Edendale, Pietermaritzburg; Jabulani, Soweto; Vlakfontein, Pretoria; Umlazi, Durban; St. John's (Umtata) and Bloemfontein (Horrell, 1968, p. 104).

#### The Era of Turmoil

In 1979, education for Africans took another turn in South Africa. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 was repealed by the Education and Training Act of 1979. The Department of Bantu Education became the Department of Education and Training. The interesting thing here is that while the other ethnic groups had to be educated, Africans had to be educated and trained. The authorities were hoping that the name change would ease the resentment Africans had of the inferior education they were receiving. Name changing became the major tool of pacification. Anything associated

with Bantu was considered to be the source of African dissatisfaction. Bantu Affairs Department (BAD) was changed to Plural Relations. The Plural part had the integration connotation, that could be the reason that Plural Relations was dropped. The Plural Relations was replaced by the Department of Co-operation and Development (Davenport, 1987).

This legislation was mainly a response to the Soweto Student Uprising of 1976 which engulfed the entire country. In 1975, the then Minister of Education, M.C. Botha, took the aims of Bantu education a step further by mandating that the medium of instruction in African schools be in Afrikaans. His actions sparked the riots which sent the government reeling for cover by passing one law after the other, which perpetuated the riots rather than quell them (South Africa Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR, 1988/89).

It is interesting to note that the same Minister of Bantu Education did not act any different from African students when he felt threatened by English acculturation. In 1943, M.C. Botha, in his capacity as the Secretary of Afrikaans Cultural Board, made an attempt to organize a strike among Afrikaner students against being swamped by the English Culture (Hlatshwayo, 1993). Vorster, who was the

Prime Minister during the riots, was rattled by an information scandal, which forced him to resign his. His right-hand man, Van den Bergh, who was at the time heading the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) was also implicated and was forced to step down. P.W. Botha inherited the country which was at the crossroads in 1978 (Lambley, 1980).

The business community was threatened by the instability caused by the poor judgement of the Minister of Bantu Education, in that the business community called for a free and compulsory education for Africans. This was followed by the establishment of Pace Commercial High School in Soweto by the American Chamber of Commerce. At the height of the riots, in November 1976, a conference of businessmen established the Urban Foundation in order to defuse the rampant militancy in the African urban setting by stimulating urban development (Davenport, 1987). The Government recognized the permanency of Africans in the urban areas through the introduction of the 99-years lease hold for Africans. The 99-years lease permitted Africans to buy and own houses in the urban areas while leasing the ground on which these houses were built for 99 years (SAIRR, 1988/89).



Foreign governments were also interested in finding the solution to the social mayhem caused by the long oppressive policies of the South African government. This was evidenced by the involvement of the U.S. government through the Sullivan Principles. The Sullivan Principles mandated all U.S. businesses in South Africa to uphold the fair employment practices-though not all businesses complied. The Sullivan Principles were drafted by Rev. Leon Sullivan who had been a member of the Board of Directors at General Motors since 1971. Though the Sullivan Principles did not call for the complete dismantling of apartheid, it was loaded with education and training, particularly in technical fields, in addition to fair employment practices. Principles IV, V and VI stressed the need for corporate social responsibility in the provision of education. The following are the Sullivan Principles as described by Schmidt (1979):

**Principle IV** Initiation of and development of programs that will prepare, in substantial numbers, Blacks and other non-whites for supervisory, administrative, clerical and technical jobs. Each signator of the Statement of Principles will proceed immediately to:

- Determine employee training needs and capabilities, and identify employees with potential for further advancement.
- Take advantage of existing outside training resources and activities, such as exchange programs, technical colleges vocational schools, continuation

- classes, supervisory courses and similar institutions or programs.
- Support the development of outside training facilities individually or collectively, including technical centers, professional training exposure, correspondence and extension courses, as appropriate, for extensive training outreach.
  - Initiate and expand inside training programs and facilities (p. 11).

**Principle V** Increasing the number of Blacks and other non-whites in management and supervisory positions.

Each signator of the Statement of Principles will proceed immediately to:

- Identify, actively recruit, train and develop a sufficient and significant number of Blacks and other non-whites to assure as quickly as possible there will be appropriate representation of Blacks and other non-whites in the management group of each company.
- Establish management development programs for Blacks and other non-whites, as appropriate, and improve existing programs and facilities for developing management skills of Blacks and other non-whites.
- Identify and channel high management potential Blacks and other non-white employees into management development programs (p. 11).

**Principle VI** Improving the quality of employees' lives outside the work environment in such areas as housing, transportation, schooling, recreation and health facilities.

Each signator of the Statement of Principles will proceed immediately to:

- Evaluate existing and/or develop programs, as appropriate, to address the specific needs of Black and other non-

white employees in the areas of housing, health care, transportation and recreation.

- Evaluate methods for utilizing existing, expanded or newly established in-house medical facilities or other medical programs to improve medical care for all non-whites and their dependents.
- Participate in the development of programs that address the educational needs of employees, their dependents and the local community. Both individual and collective programs should be considered, including such activities as literacy education, business training, direct assistance to local schools, contributions and scholarships.
- With all the foregoing in mind, it is the objective of the companies to involve and assist in the education and training of large and telling numbers of Blacks and other non-whites as quickly as possible. The ultimate impact of this effort is intended to be massive proportion, reaching millions (p. 11).

During this period General Motors (GM) and other U.S. based corporations were in collusion with the apartheid regime reaping profits generated from cheap African labor (Setai, 1979). They also provided the apartheid regime with most needed foreign exchange and technology. Table 16 shows position grade levels and the race of General Motor employees who were hourly paid for 1972 (Setai, 1979).

Table 16. Hourly Employment by Work Grade Classification and Race at General Motors (GM) South Africa, October 1972

1	2	3	4	5
Work Grade	Total White	Coloured	African	Total for Coloured and Africans
1	-	146	196	342
2	3	233	98	331
3	2	326	110	436
4	32	486	99	585
5	5	267	24	291
6	35	107	5	112
7	50	46	4	50
8	139	176	5	178
9	268	55	10	65
10	446	-	-	-
11	92	-	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,072</b>	<b>1,839</b>	<b>551</b>	<b>2,390</b>

Source: Estes presentation, cited in Sethai, B. (1979). The political economy of South Africa: The making of poverty. (p. 189) Washington, D.C.: University Press of America.

Column 1 depicts position grade levels from 1-11; with 1 being the lowest job and 11 the highest and most senior job. It can be seen from the table that there were no whites at the lowest grade level of the jobs at General Motors in 1972, and there were no Africans and Colored in Grades 10 and 11 which were the highest grade level jobs. The table also reveals that Africans dominated the lowest job grade. Despite that Africans constituted about 75% of the total population, they were the least employed by GM in 1972.

Some South African private companies embarked in relatively ambitious programs in an effort to quell the frustration of the African employees. Kraak (1991) makes mention of the 6-M (manpower, material, machinery, money, market, and management) course offered to African employees at some steel and engineering companies. This course was developed by the National Institute for Personnel Research (NIPR). The 6-M course concentrated on the structure of the company and the manner in which it was financed, explaining also the role played by the share holders. It also explains several concepts such as the markets, competition, and advertisements. The course emphasized the benefit to the employees by explaining financial gains through bonuses and

salary or wages raises. The course goes on to explain how the employees (who are the trainees) fit into the puzzle of running a viable company. It embraces trade unionism by explaining the effect of trade unions on business, and provide guidelines on how employees can induce businesses to comply with the workers' demands. This could be viewed as an attempt on the part of the industries to dampen the militancy of the African employees which was rampant during this era (Kraak, 1991). Several trade unions had turned the industrial scene into a political battle field in the same way the students had turned schools into political battle zones (Davies, O'Meara & Dlamini, 1984).

All these activities completely changed the education for Africans in South Africa. A selective compulsory and free education was introduced for the first time in South Africa for Africans in 1980. Technical education for Africans was also partially improved with some whites-only technical schools opening their admissions to Africans. Table 17 shows the number of students for each population group enrolled in technical colleges in a ten year period 1975-1988. Table 18 indicates the number of students in each population group enrolled in courses offered at the

Table 17. Technical Colleges Headcount of Students According to Population Groups including Part-time Students

Year	Whites	Coloreds	Indians	Africans
1975	36,186	28,926	3,026	-
1980	52,533	45,777	4,156	-
1981	57,834	49,121	5,917	-
1982	64,287	52,036	7,854	1,228
1983	90,636	70,651	9,353	3,003
1984	91,704	71,343	9,642	3,197
1985	94,362	73,019	9,323	3,147
1986	71,176	55,070	3,217	6,068
1987	71,042	53,064	3,525	6,711
1988	58,795	42,397	4,014	3,682
Total	688,553	541,404	60,027	27,036

Source: South African Labor Statistics, 1989 cited in Swaison, N. (1991. Tertiary Education and Training Needs for Post-Apartheid South Africa. In Commonwealth Secretariat Human Resource Development for a Post Apartheid South Africa: A Document. Volume I, Revised September 1991. (Document D, p. 92) RSA/HRD(90)3.3. London.

Table 18. Technical Colleges: Full-time Enrolled Students According to Category and Population Group (1987)

Category	Whites	Coloreds	Indians	Africans
Agriculture & Renewable Natural Resources	7	-	-	-
Architecture & Environmental Design	1	7	-	-
Arts, Visual & Performing	830	3	103	-
Business Commerce & Management Sciences	5,437	408	193	2,080
Communication	739	27	-	-
Computer science & data processing	807	72	39	94
Engineering & Engineering Technology	3,670	278	140	14
Health care & Health sciences	33	25	2	1
Home Economics	592	74	396	3
Industrial Arts, Trades and Technology	4,223	1,015	216	5,203
Languages, Linguistics & Literature	1,782	2	132	1
Law	276	-	1	-
Libraries & Museums	227	-	-	-
Life sciences & Physical Sciences	1,792	297	169	9
Mathematical Sciences	2,416	366	174	13
Philosophy, Religion & Theology	18	14	-	-
Physical Ed. Health Ed. & Leisure	182	78	160	3
Psychology	18	2	1	-
Public Administration & Social Services	58	15	3	2
Social Sciences & Social Studies	452	-	157	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>23,561</b>	<b>2,683</b>	<b>1,887</b>	<b>7,424</b>

Source: South African Labor Statistics, 1989 cited in Swaison, N. (1991). Tertiary Education and Training Needs for Post-Apartheid South Africa. In Commonwealth Secretariat Human Resource Development for a Post Apartheid South Africa: A Document. Volume I, Revised September 1991. (Document D, p. 93-94) RSA/HRD(90)3.3. London.



technical colleges in 1987. Table 19 shows number of students for each population group enrolled in technikons. Table 20 shows a number of students in each population group enrolled in courses offered at technikons. Table 21 shows the number of newly indentured apprentices according to population groups in a ten year period.

In a desperate attempt, the Government made another daring move with the hope of co-opting Coloreds and Indians. In 1984, a new constitution was implemented. Under the new constitution, three Houses were created in the parliament instead of the previous Westminster style of Upper and Lower Houses. The three Houses consisted of the House of Assembly for whites, the House of Representatives for Coloreds and the House of Delegates for Indians. The Africans were left out of this new dispensation (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1988/89).

Several commissions were appointed by the Botha administration in order to defuse the ticking time-bomb of African frustration. The Riekert Commission appointed in 1979 made recommendations on new conditions for the training and employment of African workers in the industry, but fell short on the restricted movement of Africans (Davenport, 1987).

Table 19. Technikons Headcount of Students According to Population Group

Year	Whites	Coloreds	Indians	Africans
1975	36,827	1,008	5,605	373
1980	40,180	1,983	4,198	545
1981	39,790	2,120	4,217	762
1982	40,977	2,188	3,055	1,141
1983	45,645	2,394	2,961	1,394
1984	48,228	2,595	3,298	1,657
1985	51,069	2,765	3,680	1,604
1986	36,062	811	3,467	3,146
1987	41,540	4,375	3,980	6,387
1988	44,132	4,447	4,742	6,911
<b>Total</b>	<b>424,450</b>	<b>24,686</b>	<b>39,203</b>	<b>23,920</b>

Source: South African Labor Statistics, 1989 cited in Swaison, N. (1991. Tertiary Education and Training Needs for Post-Apartheid South Africa. In Commonwealth Secretariat Human Resource Development for a Post Apartheid South Africa: A Document. Volume I, Revised September 1991. (Document D, p.89) RSA/HRD(90)3.3. London.

Table 20. Technikon: Headcount of Students According to Category and Population Groups for the Year (1987)

Category	Whites	Africans
Agriculture & Renewable Natural Resources	856	108
Architecture & Environmental Design	697	34
Arts, Visual & Performing	1,977	24
Business Commerce & Management Sciences	6,559	519
Communication		
Computer science & data processing	1,979	126
Education	148	53
Engineering & Engineering Technology	3,582	563
Health care & Health sciences	1,080	234
Home Economics	1,075	54
Industrial Arts, Trades and Technology	503	11
Languages, Linguistics & Literature	1,732	362
Law	2,999	439
Life sciences & Physical Sciences	1,671	200
Mathematical Sciences	1,476	176
Psychology	227	24
Public Administration & Social Services	2,234	588
Social Sciences & Social Studies	1,631	350
<b>Total</b>	<b>31,059</b>	<b>3,926</b>

Source: South African Labor Statistics, 1989 cited in Swaison, N. (1991. Tertiary Education and Training Needs for Post-Apartheid South Africa. In Commonwealth Secretariat Human Resource Development for a Post Apartheid South Africa: A Document. Volume I, Revised September 1991. (Document D, pp. 90-91) RSA/HRD(90)3.3. London.

Table 21. Apprentices Newly Indentured According to Population Groups

Year	Whites	Coloreds	Indians	Africans
1976	9,368	1,385	464	-
1980	8,568	1,406	471	82
1981	9,232	1,595	645	495
1982	10,659	2,219	878	741
1983	9,867	1,455	507	656
1984	9,851	1,653	503	654
1985	9,246	1,148	513	666
1986	8,033	729	332	566
1987	6,633	665	330	557
1988	6,140	819	359	601
<b>Total</b>	<b>87,597</b>	<b>13,074</b>	<b>5,002</b>	<b>5,018</b>

Source: South African Labor Statistics, 1989 cited in Swaison, N. (1991. Tertiary Education and Training Needs for Post-Apartheid South Africa. In Commonwealth Secretariat Human Resource Development for a Post Apartheid South Africa: A Document. Volume I, Revised September 1991. (Document D, p. 84) RSA/HRD(90)3.3. London.

The Wiehan Commission which was also appointed in 1979 was concerned with the Legalization of African labor unions and a harmonious relations between the African workers and employers. Certain job reservation laws and influx control laws were repealed as a result of these two commissions (Davies, O'Meara & Dlamini, 1984). The call for the legalization of African trade unions was not intended to empower African workers, but to monitor and control the African workers who had joined the students in protest against unjust laws (Marcum, 1982).

#### Technikons

As a result of social instability and skilled labor shortage, yet another commission was appointed. The authorities appointed The Commission of Inquiry under the auspices of the Human Science Research Council (HRSC) to investigate all aspects of education in the country. The Commission was led by a former rector of the Afrikaans University who was then the president of the influential Afrikaner Broederbond (Hlatshwayo, 1991).

The report was released in 1981 and it recommended among other things the creation of a single ministry of education to eliminate the waste created by the duplication of facilities. The emphasis was placed on technical

education as a result of increased labor shortage (Marcum, 1982). In 1980 a technikon for Africans was established in the Northern Transvaal. This was followed by the establishment of Mangosuthu Technikon near Durban in Natal in 1982. This technikon received its financial support from private businesses (Swainson, 1991).

During this period whites-only technikons had begun to admit African students. In 1988, the number of Africans at these technikons had increased. Vocational and technical education in South Africa under the unjust colonial laws has continued to be elusive. It became a central tool for political manipulation in that social disparities were mostly tied to vocational and technical education. One example of the social disparities is the Job Reservation Act (Welsh, 1971).

In 1990, all technikons had a certain percentage of African students in attendance. Though all technikons were open to all ethnic groups, there were no white students enrolled in technikons previously designated for Africans. Table 22 shows the percentage of distribution of students by race in all technikons in South Africa. It can be seen in Table 22 that coloreds and Indians who were enrolled in technikons previously designated for Africans amounted to

Table 22. Percentage Distribution of Technikon Students by Race, 1990.

Technikon	% of total students			
	African	Coloreds	Indian	White
Cape	1.2	9.6	0.7	88.5
Northern Transvaal	99.0	0	1.0	0
Mangosuthu	100.0	0	0	0
M.L Sultan	18.7	3.9	72.3	5.1
Natal	5.8	2.8	4.0	87.4
OFS	1.6	1.0	0	97.4
Peninsula	22.3	73.4	2.7	1.6
Port Elizabeth	10.0	11.2	2.4	76.4
Pretoria	1.5	0.6	0.3	97.6
*RSA	30.7	7.2	5.0	57.0
Vaal Triangle	5.4	0.2	1.5	92.9
Witwatersrand	10.9	1.6	3.3	84.2
Ciskei	100.0	0	0	0
Transkei	97.6	2.4	0	0
Setlogelo	100.0	0	0	0

Source: Department of Education. (1991). Education Realities in South Africa 1990. (National Education Policy Branch. (Report: NATED 02-300, 91/06). Pretoria: South Africa

\*Distance Learning

2.4% and 1% respectively. Peninsula technikon was previously designated for Coloreds; M.L. Sultan for Indians; Northern Transvaal, Mangosuthu, Ciskei, Transkei and Setlogelo for African; Cape, Natal, OFS, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria, Witwatersrand and RSA were previously designated for whites.

#### Teaching Staff at Technikons

Teaching personnel in South African technikons remained segregated by race until the late 1980's, despite that segregation in admission of students was no longer in force. Although segregation laws prevented members of other population groups to teach at technikons which were designated for their population groups. However, this law did not apply to white teachers. In fact, white teaching personnel far outnumbered other population groups at the technikons (USAID Report, 1992).

Table 23 depicts the number of educators by race in each institution. The figures in Table 23 show that by 1990, only one African was appointed at a technikon previously designated for whites. This institution offers mainly distance education, and has the largest number of African students enrolled among all previously whites only technikons. Also, Africans were the least represented in the entire technikon teaching personnel despite that



Table 23. Number of Technikon Educators in South Africa with Permanent Appointments According to Institution and Population Group for 1990

Cape	Whites	Asians	Coloreds	Africans	Total
Cape (W)	271	0	1	0	272
Northern Transvaal	102	0	0	0	21
Mangosuthu	74	2	0	0	123
M.L. Sultan	48	105	0	0	153
Natal	260	3	0	0	263
OFS	90	0	0	0	90
Peninsula	52	13	91	0	156
Port Elizabeth	156	0	0	0	156
Pretoria	348	0	0	0	348
RSA**	92	0	1	1	94
Vaal Triangle	158	0	0	0	158
Witwatersrand	325	0	0	0	325
Transkei	7	3		6	16
Setlogelo (Bophuthatswana)	5	4	1	24	34
Ciskei	17	1	-	1	19

Source: Department of Education. (1991). Education Realities in South Africa 1990. (National Education Policy Branch. Report: NATED 02-300 (91/06). Pretoria: South Africa.

Africans constitute approximately 75% of the total population of the country (Europa World Yearbook, 1990).

### Summary

This chapter explored the effects of the political development in the continent of Africa as a result of decolonization, and their impact on the immigration policies of South Africa. The government embarked in a racially motivated immigration spree in order to circumvent training of Africans and to promote European population growth in South Africa.

The chapter also explored the development of technical and commercial high schools in South Africa, and their primary function. The influence of the industries in the development of advanced technical colleges, and their development into technikons. In this chapter African students' unrest and the country-wide political developments which forced the South African government to reform apartheid were explored. Several gains were made by Africans as the results of the political unrest, such as the repeal of some of the apartheid laws.

## CHAPTER 6

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Summary

In this chapter a brief summary of the study is presented. Recommendations that were drawn from the knowledge gained from this study are also attempted.

An attempt has been made to cast the mirror of inquiry into our little known past regarding the development of vocational and technical education in South Africa. In order to examine this past, the study had to draw some knowledge from other disciplines. Knowledge developed by disciplines such as history, archeology and sociology were used in order to make sense of the development of vocational and technical education in South Africa for the period under review.

Previous researchers in archeology provided valuable information to refute some of the myths advanced by the successive South African colonial administrations. In an effort to justify their actions, the colonialists had to perpetuate the myth that South Africa was a vacant mass of land waiting to be colonized when the European settlers arrived in the seventeenth century (Pells, 1978). This myth has been perpetuated up to the twentieth century. Cornevin

(1980) cites the following excerpt from Botha's (who was the Foreign Minister until 1994) address to the United Nations as evidence of this myth:

Thus on 25 October 1974 R.F. (Pik) Botha, South African Foreign Minister, declared to the United Nations Security Council: 'About the middle of the seventeenth century, the white and black peoples of Southern Africa converged upon what was then an almost uninhabited part of the continent' (p. 79).

The attempts of the South African colonial government to confuse the world was evident in the deployment of its officials all over the world to spread this myth. Another government official, C.P. Mulder, in 1975 reiterated Botha's myth at the World Affairs Council: 'The Bantu were not indigenous. They came after the Dutch and the British' *UNESCO Courier* (as cited in Cornevin, 1980).

Historical falsification has been perpetuated by many colonial historians in dealing with South Africa. To many of these colonial historians, the history of South Africa begins with the arrival of the Portuguese Sailor Diaz in 1488 and that of Van Riebeeck in 1652. These historians deliberately ignored pre-European history of the Africans despite the abundance of archeological evidence (Inskeep, 1971).

Research in archeology has also revealed that early man (*Australopithecus*) evolved in the continent of Africa

(Souer, 1961). Early iron smelting sites known as Smithfields industrial sites found in various parts of South Africa date around 5765 and 3450 B.C. suggest that a well developed culture may have existed in this region, capable of supporting the basic development of vocational and technical education (Inskeep, 1971).

The present study has also shed some light on the development of early education. The advances made thus far in education can be traced to the ancient development of early societies (Mulhern, 1946). Organized education existed in Africa, particularly in South Africa, prior to the arrival of European settlers. According to Fafunwa (1982) "African education emphasized social responsibility, job orientation, political participation and spiritual and moral values" (p.9). In essence, education in Africa was complete in a sense that it addressed immediate needs of the society. The impact of colonization on the indigenous people of South Africa and its effect on the development of vocational and technical education has been highlighted in this study. Vocational and technical education became a major political battlefield in that most of the discriminatory labor and industrial policies were tied to it.

The tumultuous interaction between the European settlers and the Africans was not conducive to the development of viable vocational and technical education programs. Colonization obliterated pre-colonial communal structures, including the education developed by Africans for the advancement of their societies.

The ethnocentric attitude of the European settlers had adverse consequences to social, political and economic development in South Africa. This racist attitude later became the official policy of the country under the name of apartheid. The behavior of the colonialists could be attributed to their convict status when they left Europe. As Walker (1968) stated:

"Like other European Powers, Great Britain had long been accustomed to send her more grievous criminals overseas as an alternative to hanging them at home .... Convicts were useful on public works, and ... had a better chance of making good in a new country than in old" (p. 241).

Colonialism was not only brutal to the colonized, but to colonists themselves. It is possible that some of those convicts who were shipped to the new world may have preferred to serve their prison terms in their home countries. This can be equated with the recent incidence in Massachusetts where the transfer of prisoners to Texas

prisons raised furor among the relatives and the lawyers of the prisoners (Washington Post, November 21, 1995, pA11).

The study has explored the impact of the missionaries on the development of education in South Africa. The missionaries played the role of a broker between the colonial government and the Africans. The nebulous relationship between the colonial authorities and the missionaries was viewed by some Africans with skepticism. This skepticism could be attributed to the fact that the missionaries had a common background with the harsh colonial administrators. As Cook (1949) pointed out:

The missionary came to South Africa to preach the gospel and dispel the darkness of heathens, but he taught the elements of the same culture to which the trader, the magistrate, and the farmer belong (p. 348).

Missionaries criticized the traditional African lifestyle creating division among Africans. The Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education (1935) reiterated the devastating impact of the missionaries on the African cohesion as follows:

Missionaries have not always realized the devastating effect which Christianity has had on Native social institutions .... Missionaries' teachings have acted like dynamite on tribal solidarity (cited in Rose & Turnmer, 1975, p. 234).

The ambiguous position of the missionaries in the colonial administration was further captured by Berman (1975).

At times missionaries differed with colonial officials on matters of African political and educational policy; more frequently, however, they actively encouraged the extension of imperial control. Denominational rivalry, often a problem for colonial officials, was closely linked with school expansion. While the spectacle of missionaries of differing persuasions arguing heatedly over the merits of some doctrinal subtlety may have led Africans to wonder about the sanity of the antagonists, the squabbles did at least lead each denomination to found its own school system, thereby providing Africans with several educational options (p. xiv).

Although missionary education may have had its imperfections like all other education, its contribution to South Africa, particularly to Africans, cannot be overlooked. In fact, most of the Southern African leaders who challenged colonialism were mission educated. An example of these leaders are, Robert Mugabe, the current President of Zimbabwe, who was educated at the University college of Fort Hare in South Africa and Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, former President of Malawi, who was educated at Lovedale college in South Africa. The current President of South Africa, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela attended Clarkebury Institute and Healdtown College which were both Wesleyan mission schools, and also attended the University College of



Fort Hare which was founded by the Scottish missionaries (Mandela, 1994).

It is not surprising to find some of the colonial government officials objecting to the exposure of Africans to missionary education. The Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education cited the undesirable traits of an educated African as follows: "education makes him lazy and unfit for manual work; education makes him 'cheeky' and less docile as a servant" (cited in Rose & Tunmer, 1975, p. 232). According to Pells (1978) the first comprehensive vocational and technical education for Africans in South Africa was provided by the missionaries.

The study explored the impact of industrial development on vocational and technical education. Industrial development was also accompanied by a number of adverse social conditions. The number of vocational and technical schools which mushroomed around the industrial and urban areas were mainly catering to industrial needs.

The administration of apprenticeship programs by both the Department of National Education (DNE) and the Department of Labor (DOL) demonstrated the influence of industries on vocational and technical education. Apprentices were required to take theoretical courses from

technical colleges, and the DOL placed them with approved industries. This practice by the DOL was used as a mechanism to limit Africans from participating in skilled work.

Also highlighted in this study was the effect of the hostilities between the Britons and Boers on the development of education in South Africa. The differing opinions on the language of instruction dominated most of the negotiations between the Boers and the Britons during the formation of the union.

The study has also shown the efforts made by the authorities to prevent Africans from attaining formal education. This was done in many ways, such as segregation of schools (separate and not equal), prescription of a dead-end curriculum, and inadequate funding. The inception of colonial education in the 17th century clearly attests to the segregated concept of education in South Africa. The literature reveals that the first colonial school in South Africa was for the slaves, which suggests that the curriculum in that school was designed to perpetuate the acceptance of slavery among the slaves. Later in the years when slavery was abolished, colonial administrators reformed

education for the indigenous people, but retained the subordinate content of the curriculum.

The development of technical colleges and the differing course offerings between Africans and other ethnic groups clearly indicates the intentions of the colonialists, that of retarding the development of the African. Vocational and technical programs which were provided for Africans at institutions such as Lovedale were systematically replaced by meaningless courses such as gardening and housecraft. On the other hand, technical programs of superior quality were encouraged and developed at predominantly white institutions.

Discriminatory employment practices and apprenticeship training rendered the offering of quality vocational and technical courses to Africans useless, since Africans were barred by law from being artisans. The distribution of technical colleges was another impediment to the technical advancement of Africans. The poorly equipped vocational and technical colleges for Africans were sparsely distributed on the fringes of the infamous homelands, where no employment opportunities existed. Coloreds and Indians were accommodated in whites only technical institutions when Africans were banished to the Bantustans.

When the possibility of integration in the technical colleges became inevitable due to forces outside education, the authorities went on a spree of preserving the most developed whites-only technical colleges for the exclusive use by whites. They did this through the creation of the elitist technikons. The admission requirements at the technikons made it practically impossible for Africans to be admitted even if they could legally seek admission. The location of the technikons also made commuting difficult for Africans because of the laws which segregated residential areas by race. When the pressure was mounting for equity in vocational and technical education, the authorities decided to change the status of two Bantustan technical colleges into technikons. The name change did not improve the position of Africans though politically it enhanced the image of the government.

It is of interest to note that during the development of technikons, the population of South Africa was about 30 million, about 23 millions Africans, 4 million whites, 2 million coloreds, and 1 million Indians. The distribution of technikons were as follows: 4 well-equipped technikons were set aside for the Whites, 1 each for coloreds and Indians, and only 2 poorly equipped and remotely located

technikons were designated for Africans. The legacy of Bantu education was clearly visible in the enrollment figures of these technikons.

The disparity in funding continued up to the 1990's. A report published by the Commonwealth Secretariat (1991) showed the disparity in expenditure on each student by race per year between the years 1955-1988. The most striking disparity was in 1988 which revealed that white students were funded at a rate of seven times than that of their African counterparts. In 1988 the government spent R3,983 for each white student, and only R583 for each African student, a difference of R3,400 (p. 26). This study showed that Africans were the least skilled and least educated, despite that they constituted the majority of the four population groups in South Africa.

This section concludes with the focus on the development of technikons for Africans. The prime movers of vocational and technical education in South Africa during the period covered seemed to be the industries and labor, religious organizations and the prejudicial policies of the colonial and apartheid administrators.

## Conclusion

This study traced the development of vocational and technical education in South Africa up to 1990. This study rested on three pillars: social, economic and political influences on vocational and technical education. The proposals put forth do not necessarily provide solutions to the problems embedded in post-secondary education. However, they laid a groundwork upon which dialogue can develop among the interested parties with the hope of progressing towards a solution which will be generally satisfying to all parties.

The author hopes that this study will provoke further research in this subject; and also hopes that the newly found democracy in South Africa will be preserved and protected through the provisions of learning resources to all for many generations to come.

## Recommendations

The following paragraphs present a series of recommendations. These recommendations are offered in the hope that by redressing the past unjust disparities in education, it will be possible for South Africa to approach the 21st century with great hope. Though the author recognizes that the effects of over 300 years of deprivation

may not be eradicated in a short space of time, efforts should be made to arrive at that noble goal of creating a just South Africa for all its citizens.

In order to achieve a democratically functional vocational and technical education in South Africa, the author recommends the following:

- 1. Vocational and technical education in South Africa should be unified at all levels.**

Post secondary education is fragmented in South Africa. Technikons are autonomous institutions that are only accountable to themselves. The administrative power at the technikons is concentrated in the principal's office, through a committee composed of technikon principals. Technical colleges and teacher training colleges are not autonomous, they are accountable to the central government. The autonomy at technikons allowed individual technikons to set their admission standards. These standards tended to exclude Africans. Since the admission requirements at technikons were the same as that of universities, Africans preferred to enroll in universities rather than at technikons.

Financing of technikons and technical colleges has been unequally distributed among the institutions on racial lines. Exorbitant duplication of resources between

technikons and technical colleges have rendered the running of these institutions inefficient.

I propose that a unified system of vocational and technical education under the ministry of education should replace the existing fragmented one. There should be a fair distribution of resources. The legacy of apartheid education has marginalized the position of Africans in South Africa. Extra resources should be provided to the victims of apartheid education, in order to minimize the deliberate deficiency created by apartheid education over the past years. More resources should be provided in early education. It is in early education where a good foundation can be set for a successful post secondary education.

**2. The doors of learning at all vocational and technical institutions should be open to all South Africans.**

The admission standards at technikons deprive Africans access to technikons. In 1988, there were 60,232 whites enrolled at technikons against only 6,911 Africans. Around the same period there were about 7,919 white apprentices against only 601 African apprentices Department of Manpower (cited in Swainson, 1991). The population in South Africa in 1991 was 37 million, 75.8% of this number were Africans and 13.5% were whites (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1991, p 10).



These figures suggest that there is gross inequity in the provision of vocational and technical education in South Africa.

I propose that an equitable access to post secondary education for all South Africans should be studied and implemented immediately. Technical colleges and technikons should be converted into comprehensive Community Colleges. The legacy of apartheid education has left many Africans inadequately prepared for post-secondary education. Adult Basic Education (ABE) should be developed at these community colleges to bridge the gap created by apartheid education. Certification at these community colleges should permit students to transfer to the university if they so wish.

**3. Vocational and technical teacher preparation programs should be developed and implemented in South Africa.**

Currently most if not all of the teaching staff at technical colleges and technikons is drawn from industry. There is no teacher preparation program designed to prepare vocational/technical educators to teach at technikons and technical colleges. Also, the current teaching staff at technikons and technical colleges is predominantly white. By 1990, only one African was appointed at a technikon previously designated for whites. This institution offers mainly distance education, and has the largest number of

African students enrolled among all previously whites-only technikons. Also, Africans were the least represented in the entire technikon teaching personnel.

I propose that the existing teacher training colleges, which are 101 in number countrywide, be converted to community colleges and teacher education programs be consolidated in universities. Teacher education programs designed to prepare community college teachers should be developed and implemented. Teacher education programs should prepare teachers who will be able to teach vocational and technical education programs from elementary education up through community college level. Staff development programs should be initiated for the orientation or retooling of existing teaching staff who were previously prepared to teach in a segregated environment. I propose that the teaching staff at technikons should be representative of the demographics of the population. The teaching staff should be encouraged to keep up with their disciplines through research and active participation in professional organizations.

**4. The vocational and technical curriculum should be restructured.**

Curriculum at South African educational institutions has been segregated according to population groups. Africans

were systematically excluded from disciplines such as engineering, natural and physical sciences and health occupations. According to a report compiled by the Academy of Educational Development in 1992, under the auspices of USAID, reported that in 1987 South African educational institutions produced a total of 1,544 engineering graduates. Out of this number, fewer than 2%(30) were Africans, despite the fact that Africans constitute 75% of the total population.

A new empowering curriculum should replace the previous disempowering apartheid curriculum. Currently, the curriculum at technikons is rigid and designed to produce graduates for a specific occupation. In order for South Africa to have a technically literate workforce and to be able to participate in the world markets of the 21st century the curriculum should be restructured.

I propose that the curriculum should be restructured from elementary through post-secondary. The curriculum should also have a component of integration of vocational and technical education with academic programs from as early as elementary education. The curriculum should also have a component of cultural diversity and character building. Local communities should be fully involved in the

restructuring of the curriculum. The instructional delivery systems should be upgraded to include instructional technology. The curriculum restructuring should require that teaching staff should use a variety of instructional methods/techniques, such as cooperative learning, presentations and discussions to be able to meet the needs of diverse learners, and to promote critical thinking.

Further research should be conducted on this topic in an ongoing process in order to assist the administrators to design and develop programs which will empower all South Africans.

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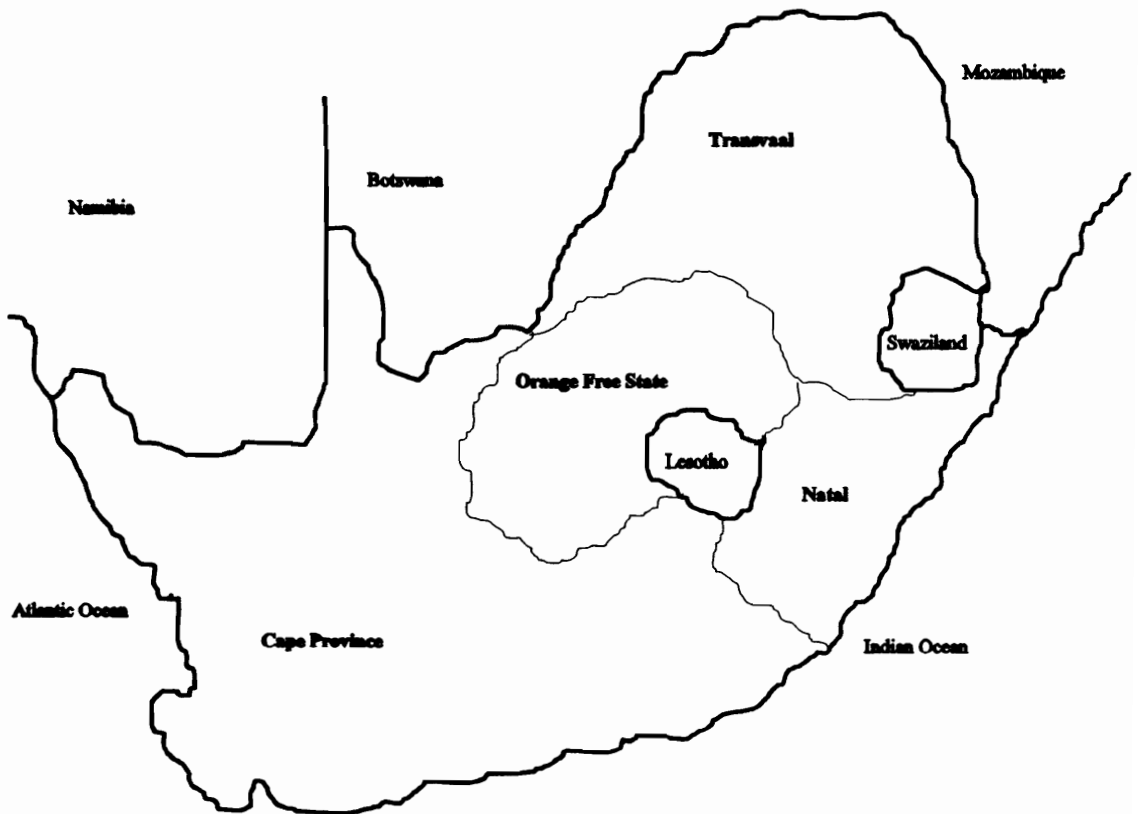
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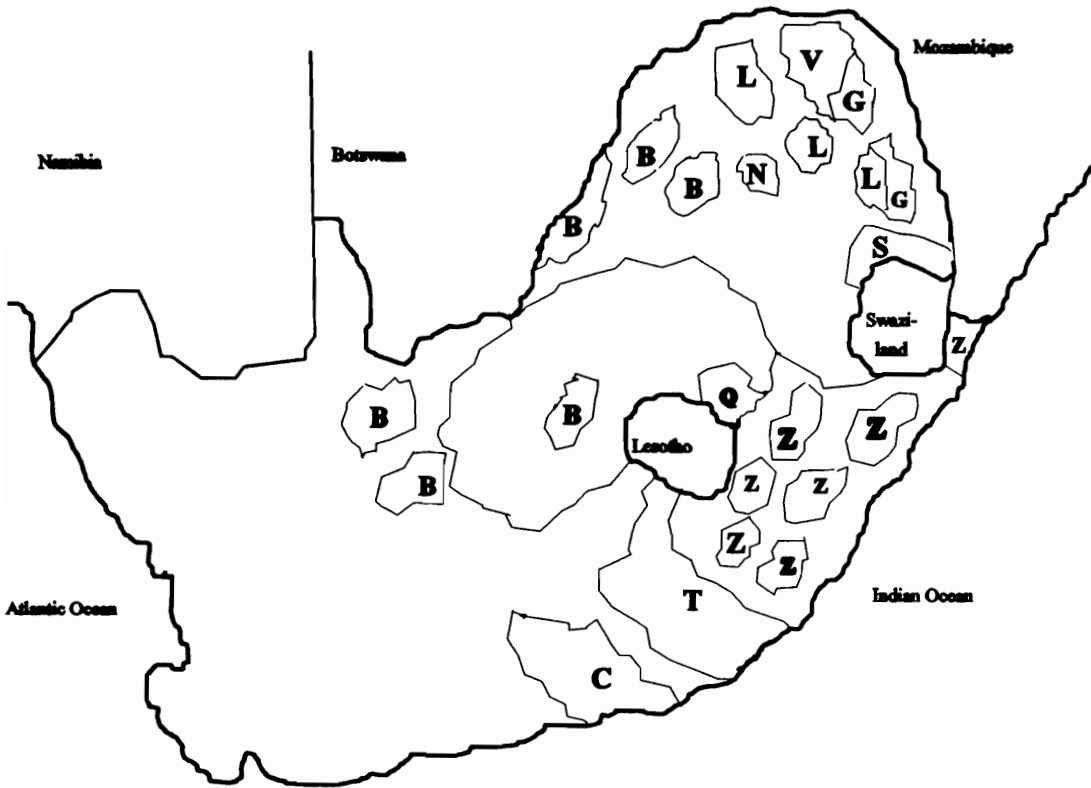
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**Figure 1.** Map Depicting the Four Provinces of South Africa as of 1910



**\*Map not drawn to scale**

**Figure 2.** Map Depicting the Homelands or Bantustan as of 1913



\* Map not drawn to scale

B = Bophuthatswana

G = Gazankulu

N = Kwandebele

Z = Kwazulu

T = Transkei

C = Ciskei

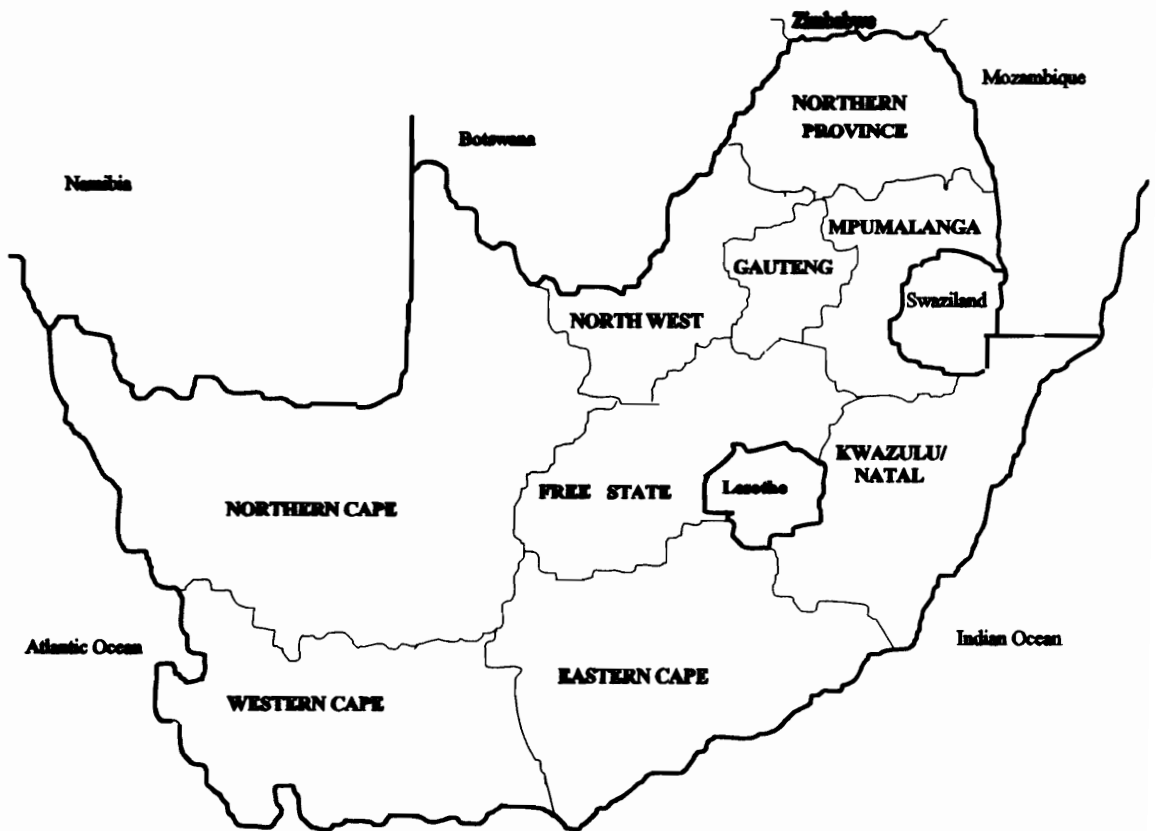
L = Lebowa

S = Kangwane

Q = Qwaqwa

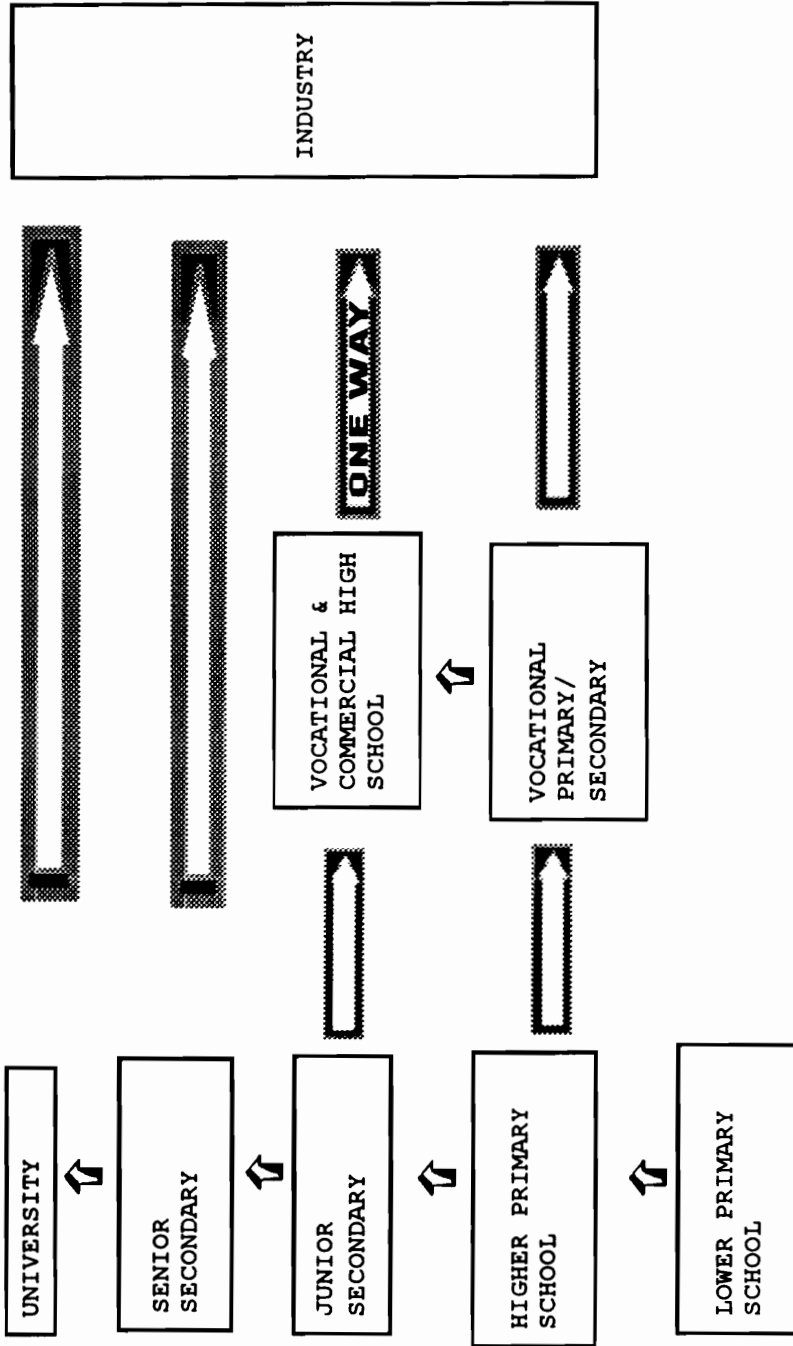
V = Venda

**Figure 3. Map Depicting the Nine Provinces of South Africa as of 1994**



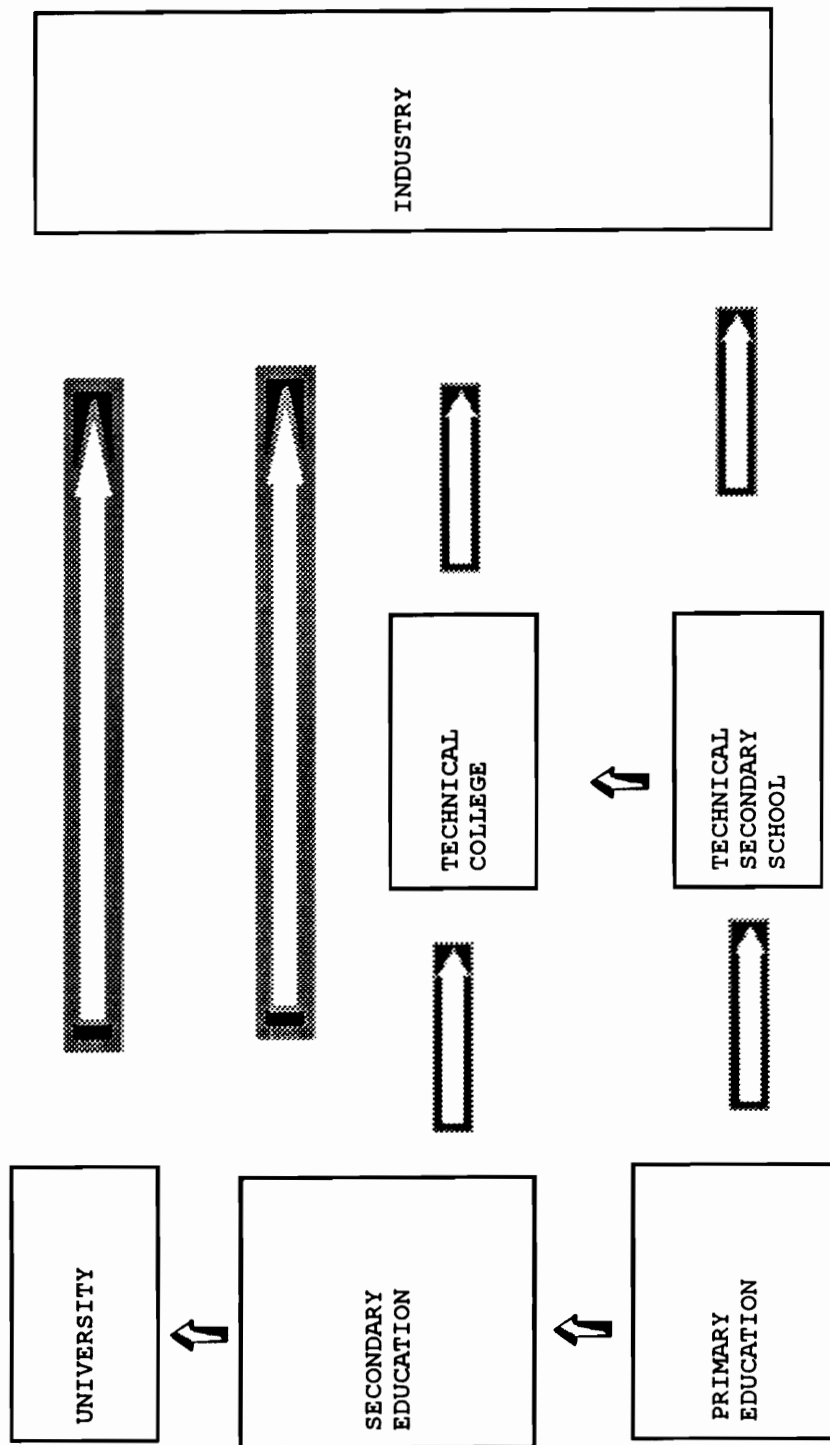
**\*Map not drawn to scale**

Figure 4. General Structure of schooling for Africans in South Africa in 1970



used in the construction of this figure came from (Horrell, 1970; Horrell, 1968; Cook, 1975; Davis, 1972; Sasnett & Sepmeyer, 1966)

Figure 5. General Structure of schooling for Whites, Coloureds & Indians in South Africa in 1970



Source used in the construction of this figure came from (Horrell, 1970; Horrell, 1968; Cook, 1975; Sasnett & Sepmeyer, 1966)

## VITA

### Reginald Thamsanqa Thabede

Reginald Thamsanqa Thabede was born in Alexander Township southeast of Johannesburg, in South Africa on June 12, 1952. He attended North Carolina Agricultural and State University, Greensboro, North Carolina. In May 1990, he received a Bachelor of Science in Industrial Technology with a double major in manufacturing and automotives. He continued his education at Appalachian State University in Boone, North Carolina where he earned a Masters degree in Industrial Education with a cognate in Adult Education in 1992. He subsequently enrolled in a doctoral program at Virginia Tech in the Division of Vocational and Technical Education. He concentrated in Technology Education with a cognate in Industrial Systems Engineering.

Reginald has held several positions in South Africa and the United States. In South Africa, he held the following positions: auto technician, chief technical controller, and operations manager. In the United States, he held the following positions: teaching assistant, laboratory assistant, and research assistant at the university level.

Signed \_\_\_\_\_