The role and function of the school (its teachers) in the promotion of respect for human values and dignity, of cultural understanding, tolerance and peace in South Africa

Monograph prepared for UNESCO by contract with the World Confederation of Teachers (WCT)

by

the Education and Research Committee of the South African Council for Educators (SACE)

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July 1996
The views and opinions expressed in this study are those of the National team and do not necessarily reflect those of UNESCO.
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PREFACE

Last year the World Confederation of Teachers (WCT), an international non-governmental organization, holding consultative status with UNESCO, was contracted by UNESCO to prepare the present monograph in collaboration with the South African authorities, including the UNESCO National Commission. Consequently a WCT delegation visited South Africa and made contacts with the Minister of Education, Prof. S.M.E. Bengu, through his representatives, as well as with the various education trade unions and universities.

Following these contacts a preliminary meeting was convened by Mr. C. Opperman, President of the South African Parastatal and Tertiary Institution's Union (SAPTU) to which were invited: Prof. E.M. Lemmer - University of South Africa, Me. E. Nonjonga - University of South Africa, Me. E. Von Kloëg - Vista University, Prof. N. du Preez - Technikon Pretoria, Prof. M. van Staden - Teachers Training College Pretoria, Me. S. Steenkamp - Vocational and Educational Development Company, Dr. E.H. Davies - National Association of Professional Teachers of South Africa (NAPTOSA), Dr. A. le Roux - Department of Education and Training, Me A.E. Rose - United South African Trade Union (USATU), Mr. T. Nxesi - South African Democratic Teacher's Union (SADTU), Mr. L.B. Honwana - UNESCO, Me. J. Glenny - South African Institute for Distance Education (SAIDE), Mr. C. Bouwer - Transvaalse Onderwyservereniging (TO), Prof. D. J. van der Merwe - South African Foundation for Education and Training (SAFET) and Adv. B. v.d. Walt - Federation of South African Labour Unions (FEDSAL).

The next step, in the light of the evolutions in South Africa, was a transfer of responsibility for the preparation of the monograph to the South African Council for Educators (SACE), by consent of the Minister of Education. It was then relocated within the SACE Education and Research committee, a newly established statutory body representing the organised teaching profession, and the State education authorities of South Africa.

The 2 convenors for the monograph are Mr. D. Hindle - Chairperson of the SACE Education and Research Committee and Mr. C. Opperman - President of the South African Parastatal and Tertiary Institution's Union (SAPTU).
The members forming the final Reference Group are Dr. W.J. Boshoff - National Association of Professional Teachers of South Africa (NAPTOSA), Mr. T. Bosvark - Department of Education, Mr. G. Abrahams - South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU), Mrs. S. Hendricks - Department of Education, Mr. L. Ngakane - Department of Education, Mr. D. Ngidi - Department of Education, Prof. D. J. Van der Merwe - South African Foundation for Education and Training (SAFET) representing thus both Teacher Organizations and State Education Departments. Prof. S.M.E. Bengu, Minister of Education, has indicated his consent for the publication of this monograph.

INTRODUCTION TO THE MONOGRAPH

In fulfilling the brief for the WCT and UNESCO, SACE is acutely aware of the value which it will gain from the project. As a new body, keen to impact upon the role and status of teachers in our new democracy, SACE recognises that this is an opportunity which will be simultaneously in its own interest. SACE will therefore utilise this document to inform its own activities in the field of human rights and education, and extends its appreciation to UNESCO and the WCT for having presented this opportunity.

The term Human Rights is used to describe a complex web of inter-related concerns, including human values and dignity; as well as cultural understanding, tolerance and peace. The dominant interpretation of these human rights is exemplified in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights with its clear linkages to an historical tradition that is predominantly western and strongly influenced by the liberal values of the European Enlightenment (Robertson, 1993). Although South Africa's new constitution falls within this tradition and uses an expansive definition of human rights in which civil, political, economic, social, cultural and environmental rights are all given recognition, there is still considerable contestation over the values that should inform and the practices that should embody a human rights culture in South Africa.

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Other terms used include the following racial or ethnic definitions: white, coloured, Indian and African. Their use is regrettable but necessary in any description of South Africa, and there is no intention to perpetuate or reinforce these categories. The term Black is used to include all but white South Africans.

As South Africa moves away from apartheid towards democracy and development, it is experiencing a transition full of contradictions and ambiguities. The negotiations over a new constitution were characterised by pragmatism and compromise; by the need to find core areas of agreement on basic values and frameworks for a new society within which continued contestation could take place between different interests, but within a framework of co-operative governance instead of civil war. Perhaps the most significant of these agreements was on the centrality of a human rights culture. Within this perspective, education has a special role to play in the process of socialising people into the values and practices that constitute a civil society. Education has also been an important area of contested change. It is difficult to account for the myriad ways in which changes across a broad spectrum interact with each other and influence the development of a schooling system in which human rights are respected and promoted. While not ignoring these complexities, this monograph focuses specifically on recent policy and an analysis of those factors that are most likely to impede its implementation and, hence, hinder the development of a strong human rights culture in our society.

South Africa has a large system of education, with over 10 million learners in school, and over 350 000 teachers. In addition, there are approximately 15 million illiterate adults who have been denied education by apartheid and are seeking opportunities under a democratic government. Our history condemns us to separate social positions and interests, based on colour, gender, class, language and culture, and no single report can address all of these. This monograph is an attempt, however, to provide an analysis of the present situation and to indicate future possibilities for schools and teachers to contribute to the development of Human rights in South Africa. We begin, in part 1, by giving an overview of the transition in South Africa. We place a strong emphasis on the importance of linking human
rights and education to the broader transformations taking place in South Africa. Of particular importance is the new government's commitment to democratisation and developing towards a society in which people have substantial human rights. In part 2, we describe legislation and policy documents which will influence education and human rights in South Africa. In part 3, we look at issues around the implementation of human rights policy in South Africa. We begin by describing some initial attempts at implementation and, then, proceed to look in some detail at two key challenges to human rights. The first is an examination of the problems faced by the democratisation and development of the rural areas of South Africa. The second is an analysis of some of the value-conflicts that are likely to undermine human rights. Part 4, concludes by way of offering some recommendations for the consideration of SACE.
PART 1: AN OVERVIEW OF THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

1. The promotion of a human rights culture in South Africa

Our colonial history has seen a systematic abuse of human rights over 300 years, more particularly by apartheid from 1948-1994. The advent of political democracy in 1994 has brought about major changes, but it has also left untouched the lives of the majority of citizens, predominantly the rural and urban poor, most of them African women and children, who still suffer from enormous poverty, as well as diverse forms of discrimination and oppression. These include gender, class, language, location and culture, and although no longer codified, they exist in practice, and their evidence is to be found in the high degrees of stratification in South African society, and the layers of privilege which accompany each strata.

Framed by a global context in which the "fall of socialism" was accompanied by deepening inequalities in an ever-expanding capitalism, the erstwhile liberation movements found their room for manoeuvre severely restricted (Deacon and Parker, 1996). The negotiations did produce a clear transfer of political power - with national, provincial and local elections producing legitimate political representatives. In attempting to meet expectations raised by its election as senior partner in a Government of National Unity (GNU), the African National Congress (ANC) has to meet basic needs and empower people to govern themselves. But, it also has to work through a large administrative bureaucracy, created under apartheid, including, in the ex-homelands, a system of traditional authorities. In addition, the financial resources of the new government were severely depleted by apartheid, and the economy, dominated by a white urban elite, is weak. These difficulties are further aggravated as the repressive boot of apartheid is replaced by a partially civil society, protected formally by a constitution and Bill of Rights, but ravaged in practice by crime and violence within a society fractured by deep structural inequalities of wealth, power and status.
In moving away from the negative consequences of apartheid, three challenges have to be overcome simultaneously: reducing the massive inequalities of wealth and power which fracture South African society along multiple lines of discrimination including race, class, gender, location, and education; constructing a national economy that is an effective competitor in a global economy; and, creating a civil democratic society in which the emphasis is on self-governance within a constitutionally based and substantive human rights culture.

A new society, based on mutual respect between races and cultures, which honors individuals for their integral merit rather than gender or other characteristics, which accords equal dignity to all forms of labour, and promotes democratic development, is the goal to which the new South African government has committed itself, and education will be one instrument in the struggle for that goal.

It is clear that there is a role for education in promoting peace and respect for human values, fostering a spirit of cohesion for social and economic development, and providing the skills necessary for development. Education is a major communicator of attitudes, and can be used to reinforce positive world views, or to discourage and even change negative ones. This process occurs through the formal programme of schools, as well as in the informal, extra-curricular moments, and is conveyed by both content and practice. What teachers teach is as important in this regard as how they teach, and in what circumstances.

A major part of this practice is the hierarchical structuring of knowledge, and the status accorded to different fields of study. In order to develop a culture which recognises the universal dignity of labour, South Africa has to break the boundaries between academic and vocational education, between abstract and applied knowledge, and between theory and practice.
2. The transformation of South African society

2.1 The Reconstruction and Development Programme

The ANC was elected to government in 1994, with the support of the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The foundation of its election manifesto was the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), subsequently adopted by the new government as an overarching policy directive. The programme is intended to tackle the poverty which is the single greatest burden in this country.

In terms of the RDP, the necessary social and economic development of the country is to take place through "growth, greater equity through redistribution, and sustainability". Conceived of as an "integrated, people driven programme", the RDP identifies four key elements which will achieve these aims:

- Meeting basic needs;
- Developing our human resources;
- Building the economy and
- Democratising the state and society.

The RDP offers us a human rights based conception of the nature of development and democracy, and the balance between them, within the historical context of South Africa. It is a vision which promotes a combination of development and democracy, economic growth and the levelling of inequalities, by a shifting of state power to local levels and reconstructing the apartheid economy into a strong competitor in the global market-place (Parker, 1996, Deacon and Parker, 1996). For this reconstruction to be more than cosmetic, the state has to develop economic and governance capacities at a local level through education, training, human resource and organisational development.
This integrated and sustainable programme is to be based on a people driven needs based process oriented towards peace, security for all and nation building. Achieving these goals requires linking reconstruction and development and the democratisation of the society (ANC, 1994b: 4/5). The concept of development contained in the RDP has three distinct dimensions: meeting basic needs, economic growth, and human empowerment. The RDP stresses that development is not about the delivery of goods to a passive citizenry. It is about the active involvement and growing empowerment of the people in the process of improving their quality of life. The RDP integrates development (economic growth) and democracy (empowerment) into a unified programme to meet basic needs and promote local and self-governance. Local governments and other organisations of motivated and skilled entrepreneurs and administrators will satisfy multiple basic needs including employment, land, housing, water, electricity, telecommunications, transport, a clean and healthy environment, nutrition, health care and social welfare (ANC, 1994b: 7).

The optimism of this vision is immediately confronted by the grim realities of South Africa. In 1994, the per capita gross national product was more than R8 500 (US$2 000) placing South Africa as an upper middle income country. This disguised the very high degree of inequality reflected in South Africa's Gini coefficient which is one of the highest recorded of any country: 17 million people, out of a population of approximately 40 million, were surviving below the minimal living level (ANC, 1994b: 14). The RDP argues that the economy is in a deep structural crisis of which the main characteristics are unequal distribution of income and wealth; regional disparities; exports reliant primarily on unbenefticiated minerals and to a lesser extent agriculture; a stagnating economy with investment dropping and rates of profit and incomes declining (ANC, 1994b: 75).

The dependence on mineral exports and an excessive concentration of economic power in the mining and financial sectors has resulted in a small number of very large conglomerates dominating the production, distribution and financial sectors. Over-production of manufactured goods for the wealthy has produced a manufacturing sector characterised by low wages, low productivity, high costs of imported
machinery, and a low level of exports (ANC, 1994b: 76). The agricultural sector is in deep trouble, experiencing sustained droughts, a serious fiscal crisis, high personal tax rates, and large budget deficits (ANC, 1994b: 77). There is a serious risk that the inequalities that marked apartheid with a developed core (predominantly white and urban) and an under-developed periphery (predominantly African and rural) will persist, although mitigated by an expanding African middle class. This economic scenario implies that the state will have difficulty in fulfilling its responsibility for satisfying basic needs and in promoting a civil society based on a human rights culture.

In recognition of this, one primary objective of the state's development policy will be to reduce its role to one of providing co-ordination and seed-funding. The primary responsibility for meeting basic needs will be devolved to a local level and for the construction of a human rights culture to civil society (ANC, 1994b: 85). For the RDP, the most effective way of overcoming poverty and meeting basic needs is to enable people to improve their own quality of life, by giving them as much control as possible over their own lives, in a context of national economic growth and democratic governance through which human rights are given substance. (ANC, 1994b: 15).

On this reading, the RDP is a two path strategy reminiscent of two stage theories of liberation. The core should develop into a competitive economic sector that generates the wealth needed to address basic needs in the rural periphery. This wealth will be redistributed by the national state not in the form of services but as financing for the activities of local governments and organisations. In a society fractured by inequalities, a two path strategy requires a complex nation-building programme. Those oppressed by inequalities must be persuaded to work their way towards equality through civil non-violent means. Hence the importance of a human rights culture and the skills which education and training can provide.

In South Africa's transition, policy is framed by three contexts. There is, firstly, a past which we inherit on which policy must impact. Then there is the policy ma-
king process itself, which has characterised much of the work of the new govern­
ment, in consultation with teachers, students and community based organisations,
since 1994. South Africa is now poised to move into the third context, with many
of the institutional and legal conditions for human rights in place, but an absence of
material change at grassroots level. Having provided a brief description of South
Africa's inheritance, it is time to look at current policy on human rights and educa-
tion.
3. National aims in South Africa as expressed in Government documents

3.1 The South African Constitution

3.1.1 Transitional provisions

South Africa and its institutions are located within an interim constitutional framework, negotiated prior to the 1994 elections. A new constitution has been adopted by the Constitutional Assembly, but this awaits certification by the Constitutional Court, in regard to its adherence to certain agreed upon principles. It is however significant to note that the logo of the new constitution comprises a tree, signifying the one trunk which supports many branches. This signifies the attempt to provide for the diverse interests which our separate histories have promoted, within a coherent national logic.

Constitutional issues of particular significance to education are a Bill of Rights, which includes the protection of language and cultural rights, as well as the distribution of national, provincial and local powers in education. Under the interim constitution, educational competencies are concurrent, and both national and provincial legislatures may make laws on education (other than for universities and technikons which are governed exclusively by national legislation). In the event of a conflict, the national Minister of Education is bound to demonstrate that the legislation fulfilled certain conditions as specified in Section 126(3)a-e. One of these is the provision for national legislation to prevail in order to establish "national norms and standards", which is most applicable to the educational context.
3.1.2 The Bill of Rights

A justiciable Bill of Rights has been incorporated into the interim Constitution, and into the new proposed Constitution awaiting certification. Extensive rights, greater than most democracies, are protected in the Bill, including that of gender orientation. Education and training are protected as basic human rights, and also that parents have an inalienable right to choose the form of education which is best for their children, subject to "reasonable safeguards". This right includes the choice of language, cultural or religious basis of the school.

The South African Bill of Rights is significant in that it includes socio-economic rights, including labour, land and housing, and educational rights. A Human Rights Commission was established in April 1994 as the guardian of the Bill of Rights.

3.2 Educational Aims as Expressed in Policy Documents

3.2.1 White paper

The first policy document to emerge from the new Ministry was the White Paper I, published in March 1995. It spells out its goals for education, and the strategies it will adopt in reaching those goals. Important sections for consideration include:

- a motivation for an Integrated approach to Education and Training (Chapter 2),
- a set of Values and Principles for Education and Training Policy (Chapter 4)
- a chapter on Fundamental Rights to Education and Training, and within Education and Training (Chapter 7), as well as
- a chapter on "Developmental Initiatives" (Chapter 5).

An Integrated Approach to Education and Training

The White Paper proposes a single system of education and training, under an umbrella qualification framework, which will permit articulation between types and areas of study. This integrated approach to education and training is informed by a
desire to break down artificial knowledge hierarchies which continue to oppress, and which perpetuate a class determined system. The White Paper contends that distinctions in curriculum and career choice are "closely associated ... with the ethnic structure of economic opportunity and power", and proposes an outcomes based approach, which permits a synthesising of the different forms of knowledge.

Values and Principles of Education and Training Policy

The values and principles promoted in the White Paper follow closely on those of the "Peoples Education" movement, comprising students, teacher and community organisations under the banner of the National Education Crisis (later Co-ordinating) Committee (NECC), and endorse a state obligation to provide lifelong learning opportunities of good quality. Increased access, and redress mechanisms, are designed to enhance equity within the system. Democratic and accountable governance is promoted in the interests of "liberty, equality, justice and peace." Mutual respect for diverse religious, cultural and language traditions, independent and critical thought, and respect for the environment are some of the desired outcomes for learners. Rational, autonomous learners are seen as the best hope for a democratic future.

Human Rights

In respect of education rights, the White Paper I acknowledges the constitutional basis of these rights, and accords with international conventions of UNESCO, the UN and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). Four rights are established:

- the right to basic education
- the right to equal access to educational institutions
- the right to instruction in the language of choice, and
- the right to establish educational institutions based on a common culture, language or religion.
In addition, "the freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief and opinion, which shall include academic freedom in institutions of higher learning", is guaranteed.

In order to move from rhetorical to practical measures, an Action Plan for Human Rights in Education is included, which includes a critical review of all departments and institutions. Information packs and checklists would facilitate this review, and should result in "action plans for every school, branch and section of the educational service", with monitoring, reporting and evaluation mechanisms in place to ensure a "purposeful, incremental improvement in human rights practice ...".

In addition, a Gender Equity Unit is proposed, which will "advise the Director general on all aspects of gender equity in the education system", including structural, curricular and other policy matters.

Developmental Initiatives

Developmental initiatives proposed by the White Paper I include the following important elements:

* A National Qualifications Framework (NQF)

Government policy is directed towards a vision of a nationally integrated lifelong learning system linking one level of learning to another and enabling learners to progress to higher levels from any starting point in the education and training system. Learning and skills which people have acquired through experience and informal training will be formally assessed and credited towards qualifications. The central features of the system are: ten years of free and compulsory general education leading to a General Education Certificate (GEC); a three year post-compulsory stage leading to a Further Education Certificate; a higher education sector including universities, technikons and colleges; a training sector based in workplaces providing three phase Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) leading to a GEC and Further Education; and, Community Learning Centres (CLCs) providing ABET and Further Education (ANC 1994a: 3-4; ANC 1994b: 84).
The key to this integrated system lies in the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) and the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA). These provide the norms and administrative structures which will govern the system and, in particular, establish equivalencies between different forms of learning and of examination. The solution to the tension between the desire for access and mobility with the need to maintain high standards of competitiveness is seen to lie in competency-based outcome criteria: a form of examination able to make equivalent different knowledges and subjects. Legislation has recently been passed establishing the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA).

* Teachers, Trainers and Educators

Because of its multiplier effect, the importance of intervening among teachers and trainers is recognised as a central pillar of a human resources development strategy. A comprehensive reform and redirection of pre-service and in-service teacher education, involving a wide range of potential service providers, is called for. It is also proposed that a new approach to distance education be utilised, and that a National Open Learning Agency (NOLA) be established, primarily for this purpose.

* Other priorities

The White Paper institutionalises Early Childhood Development (ECD) and Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) as formal phases of education, and proposes national ECD and ABET Councils to determine policy in these fields. Attention is also given to the needs of Learners with Special Educational Needs (ELSEN), where mainstreaming is favoured, and education support systems are recognised as critical features in ensuring all learners obtain maximum benefit from the system.

The reform of Higher Education is being led by the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE), which has recommended a unified structure, and the establishment of a Consultative Forum on Higher Education. Increased access and participation are expected outcomes of their proposals, which are presently under discussion.
3.2.2 White Paper II

This White Paper served to complete the determination of policy which was left for consultation under White Paper I. This related to the "Organisation, Governance and Funding of Schools", and the White Paper II was itself preceded by a representative commission, involving teachers, parents, students and others, to investigate these matters (The "Hunter Review Committee").

Following on the recommendations of the Hunter Review Committee and other foreign consultants, the White Paper recommended:

On the organisation of schooling:
that there be two types of school: public and independent;

On governance
that each school should have a governing body; representative of parents, teachers, and (secondary) students, as well as broader "community" representatives, and that governing bodies would have certain competencies and powers allocated to them by the provincial authorities, depending upon their capacity and desire to manage such powers, and

On funding
that the state fund public schools at an equitable rate, and that governing bodies be empowered to impose compulsory school fees, subject to sufficient conditions to protect the access of the poor to quality schools. Such amounts may be used at the discretion of the governing body, subject to provincial regulations and constitutional protections.

The White Paper proposal for an initial funding formula for schools will ensure redress through the use of an "index of need", in terms of which resources will be allocated. The need for a long-term goal of equitable funding, in terms of an agreed upon formula, is recognised, once a better distribution of available resources is achieved.
4. Legislation


Following extensive opportunities for comment, and minor amendments, the ethos and substance of the White Paper I was translated into legislation in the form of the National Education Policy Act (1995). This Act was itself challenged in the Constitutional Court for its interpretation of the provisions regarding national and provincial powers in education. The Court however rejected the challenge, and the legislation has been proclaimed.

Appeals for a co-operative relationship between national and provincial levels of governance are included in the explanatory memorandum, and supported by the establishment of a Council of (Provincial) Ministers, but the Act does provide the national Minister with the legal basis for "his or her policy to prevail in all the provinces". The Act also provides for the establishment of a National Education and Training Council as a statutory consultative body, as well as for a process of monitoring and evaluation to ensure quality.

4.2 The South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) Act (1995)

The second piece of legislation in education was the SAQA Act of 1995. This Act establishes a juristic, representative South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA), which will be responsible for developing and accrediting all learning programmes under the National Qualifications Framework.

4.3 The South African Schools Bill

White Paper II was similarly translated into the South African Schools Bill. The Bill provides for a new system of school organisation, as well as certain minimum norms and standards.
These include:

- two categories of school (public and independent);
- compulsory education from age 7 to 15 years;
- prohibition of corporal punishment, and the adoption of a code of conduct at each school;
- provisions for the determination of school language policy;
- freedom of conscience and religion at public schools.

The right to establish and maintain independent schools is acknowledged, subject to registration requirements, and governing bodies, with significant powers, are established at all schools. However this final aspect, together with the proposed "Financial models" relating to fees and other matters, can only be legislated upon once negotiations have been held with existing governing bodies regarding changes to their powers and functions. It is however expected that this Bill will be adopted shortly, without major changes.

4.4 The Education Labour Relations Act (1993), and the Labour Relations Act (1995)

Further legislation of significance is the Education Labour Relations Act (ELRA) of 1993, amended in 1994, which establishes an Education Labour Relations Council (ELRC) and governs labour relations with teachers. The ELRA also provides for the establishment of the South African Council of Educators (SACE), under whose auspices this monograph is being written.

The (universal) Labour Relations Act (LRA) was passed in 1995, but will only be implemented from August 1996, and will replace the ELRA (although structures like SACE and the ELRC are protected). The LRA is labour friendly, and attempts to simplify and expedite the resolution of disputes through conciliation, mediation and arbitration procedures. It also provides for the establishment of Workplace Forums, in which policy matters will be considered jointly, in a collaborative (rather than conflictual) structure.
PART 3: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICY

5. The translation of policy into classroom practice

5.1 Coping with Diversity

All South African teachers have grown up and worked in racially divided contexts, and are in need of awareness and skills development programmes to equip them to teach more appropriately in the future. Initial teacher training curricula must also be reviewed to include the same orientation towards a human rights ethos. Multi-cultural and multi-lingual classrooms will rapidly become the norm in South Africa, and teachers need to be better prepared for this.

The work of NGO’s is making a significant contribution towards better practice in this regard, and teacher education programmes, especially in universities, are increasingly oriented towards teaching in multi-cultural contexts.

5.2 Democratic Classroom Practice

Teaching methods and learning strategies are strongly influenced by the poor material conditions, including school facilities as well as teaching and learning resources. Overcrowded classrooms, with up to 70 in many classes, retard the possibilities of methodologies geared towards human rights. The absence of laboratory facilities hampers the effective teaching of Sciences, and a shortage of even outdated textbooks provides a bias towards teacher centred rote learning. This tendency has been reinforced by the nature and status of the final examinations, and reinforces the need for simultaneous material and pedagogical development.

However there has also been progress in this field, with initiatives aimed at all aspects of the curriculum. Materials development work is proceeding, and teaching methodologies, including many designed to work specifically under the constraining conditions, are being promoted.
Corporal punishment has also been the subject of a recent debate, and has recently been outlawed. While the principle of the move is widely supported, it is evident that there has not been sufficient training in alternative forms of discipline. Schools which had in many cases made extensive use of corporal punishment have been left in a vacuum, without knowledge of appropriate effective mechanisms for discipline, or the opportunity to negotiate these with students.

However other schools, with more progressive traditions, and supported by State and other agencies, have made significant progress towards such alternatives. Continuous action research is being conducted in the field, and the Gauteng provincial authorities have concluded negotiations on a Code of Conduct for pupils, with appropriate measures to maintain order.

5.3 School Governance

In respect of school governance the South African Schools Bill provides for democratic governance of schools. Governing bodies comprising a majority of parents, along with teachers and secondary students, will be accorded significant powers, including a role in staff selection, admissions policy, and the ethos of the school. These will of course have to accord with national policy, and all staffing decisions are ultimately those of the State authorities, in line with national service conditions.

Because these powers of self-governance are discretionary, there is a major need to implement a programme of capacity building, especially among parents. Large financial responsibility will be devolved to willing and capable schools, who will need to manage it effectively. This must not be allowed to become a situation of privilege in which rich schools become more self-governing because of their greater capacity. Partial self-management is considered desirable for all schools, and the SA Schools Bill should ensure that this cannot be "bought".
6. Curriculum reform

6.1 Interim processes

Since coming to power the new government has facilitated a process of curriculum reform. Under the auspices of a transitional mechanism, the National Education and Training Forum (NETF), a review of all existing school syllabi took place. This process had three objectives:

- to revise the information in terms of new developments
- to remove racist, sexist or other offensive material from the syllabi, and
- to consolidate the historically disparate syllabi prevailing in the different ethnic departments.

A significant precedent was the highly representative nature of the review committees, with each being comprised of teachers (4), students (2), community (1) and the Department of Education (1). The strong professional bias produced some realistic proposals.

In addition to the subject reviews, the different phases of education were considered, with Junior Primary, Primary and Secondary Phase review committees. Each Phase committee recommended the inclusion of a Life Skills programme, including Values Education, as a compulsory component. In addition, the Junior Primary committee argued for unconditional acceptance into school at age 6, and automatic promotion for the first three years. This latter position was in reaction to a 50% repetition rate in the first two years of many schools.

The Senior Primary and Secondary Phase Review committees also gave attention to exclusionary regulations pertaining to subject combinations, and to assessment and promotion matters, and developed significant new approaches to each of these. Continuous assessment is now used for at least 50% of any mark, and it was stated that the expectation is that students should progress with their age cohort. Where
appropriate, conditional transfers, which allow students to progress under interventionist programmes, should be permitted in order to facilitate this.

While this limited syllabus review by the NETF was largely a positive development, implementation of these new guiding principles has not been effectively managed in all schools. Lack of basic documentation (including syllabi) and support, coupled with inadequate teacher preparation (especially around continuous assessment) has contributed to its limited impact. A new process of curriculum transformation has since been initiated by the Department of Education, under the auspices of the National Curriculum Development Committee (NCDC) - a representative consultative structure. It will produce a new curriculum framework based on an outcomes approach to learning, for implementation as from 1998.

On a structural level, the NETF process also provided a basis for national and provincial co-determination of syllabi. The national department develops "core curricula", which presently delineate content areas, but which will increasingly determine "learning outcomes". The content of the programmes which provide these outcomes will be devolved to provincial, local and institutional levels, with increasing flexibility and choice in the delivery of the curriculum. In this way schools can develop appropriate and relevant curricula, responsive to local conditions, but within a coherent national framework oriented towards the goals and ideals of the system.

Unfortunately, a highly authoritarian form of teacher supervision by inspection, and rigid instructional programmes and control measures, has severely constrained the development of the teacher as a critical practitioner. It is to be hoped that as the new approach filters down to the classroom itself, teachers will regain some of the professionalism which has been eroded by many years of mismanagement.
6.2 Opportunities in the school curriculum for the promotion of human rights

6.2.1 Principles informing the Curriculum

A discussion document published by the national Department of Education in December 1995 proposes a Curriculum Framework for General and Further Education and Training, for implementation in 1998. This document was drawn up by a representative Consultative Forum on the Curriculum (CFC), now reconstituted as the National Curriculum Development Committee (NCDC), and spells out "the mission and principles which should inform all programmes and processes". The primary teaching aim is "to assist all learners to experience personal fulfilment, to grow as individuals and to contribute to society".

The principles informing curriculum design include those of nation-building and non-discrimination. "Learning programmes should encourage the development of mutual respect for diverse religions and value systems, cultural and language traditions; multilingualism ...; co-operation and civic responsibility...". They should "furthermore protect and advance basic human rights, irrespective of gender, race, class, creed, geographic location or age. Learners need to experience acceptance ... irrespective of what language they speak, what religious convictions they have, and what gender, class or ethnic group they belong to, whether they live in an urban or rural environment, a formal or informal settlement". (CFC Discussion Document, Section 4.2.6)

In addition, the new framework begins the move to an outcomes based approach to education. Defining outcomes, it is argued, will be a mechanism for developing national consistency at an exit level, while allowing flexibility of entry (thus increasing access), and greater choice in regard to the learning content which develops the required competencies.

This particular approach, which differentiates core competencies from actual content and method, also tries to reconcile the competing social demands on our
curriculum. On the one hand, following years of institutionalised differentiation, we are struggling foremost to develop a national collective identity as South Africans through a common General Education Phase. This is an essential and prior task, since it paves the way for the second imperative: a voluntary reintroduction of difference, on a positive note, without perceived threat to that common identity. We are part of a post-modern world where cultural differentiation is advocated, but with the process of nation building not yet assured. With the playing fields not yet level, the cultural or language separatist approach is presently viewed as an entrenchment of privilege and popularly resisted.

6.2.2 Core Competencies

According to the CFC Discussion Document, core competencies necessary at the end of General Education (9 or 10 years schooling), require that the learner:

- understands the relationship between their education and future opportunities;
- learns independently and with others;
- gains satisfaction from learning;
- affirms and acts on values that promote personal development and social welfare; and
- values both unity and diversity, and demonstrates understanding for all races and cultures.

These competencies are expected to be developed within all subjects. However various curricular programmes under the broad heading "Learning for Life" will specifically promote values and attitudes, and hence become important vehicles for the promotion of a human rights culture. The Guidance syllabus (as an example), refers to Citizenship Education, which includes:

- Street Law (a popular form of relevant legal education)
- Political Education (systems and tolerance)
- Democracy
- the Bill of Rights
- the Constitution, and
- Reconstruction and Development.
6.3 School ethos

In the same way as the curriculum has attempted to accommodate the common and the diverse, so too it is envisaged that the value systems of particular schools, or school ethos, will be recognised and supported. An overarching value system, underpinned by the Bill of Rights, will provide parameters, but differential religious, cultural and language traditions will be accommodated within these, at both independent and state schools. Respect and recognition for all is therefore promoted, but clearly has not yet been achieved. Attempts by some reactionary forces to use these liberal interpretations to delay or prevent deracialisation have been largely unsuccessful, and are to be regretted.

7. Teacher education

7.1 Defining "teachers"

In considering this issue, it must first be indicated that the definitions of a "teacher" are presently under review. The South African Council for Educators is attempting to define who is liable for registration under its provisions. In addition, the National Training Board (comprising business and labour interests) is working on an "Educator, Trainer and Development Practitioner Project" (ETDP), which is similarly attempting to understand the boundaries by identifying and separating "core" competencies applicable to any teaching and learning situation, from those which are deemed to be "context specific" in relation to education, training or development.

7.2 Audit of Teacher Education

The Committee on Teacher Education Policy (COTEP) is undertaking a comprehensive review of Teacher Education Policy, including an international conference during 1996, which will aim to refine a White Paper on the subject. This review
was prompted by a National Audit of Teacher Education, which shows a system in severe crisis, with too many teacher education institutions and programmes, too many students, low levels of education and professionalism, and high costs, particularly, in colleges. Universities have been guilty of contributing to the over production of teachers through their accrediting of dubious institutions and programmes - demonstrating more concern to increase income than with quality and professionalism. To create a high quality system that is equitable, democratic, effective and cost-efficient requires a radical transformation of existing provision. The most efficient and effective way to achieve this is to emphasise the importance of programmes over institutions: to create unified coherent programmes with multiple points of access and egress, offering high quality teaching supported by high quality curriculum development and research.

7.3 The structural location of Teacher Education

The long-standing differences in ownership, control and function between colleges and, particularly, universities, makes agreement on incorporating teacher education into Higher Education a difficult exercise. There are, however, key assumptions that can be made:

- The NCHE Discussion Document advocates a system of Higher Education in which state, universities, technikons, colleges and other stakeholders are bound together by co-operative governance structures including a Higher Education Forum (HEF) and a Higher Education Council (HEC). Within this system, the emphasis shifts away from institutional governance to governance of programmes. The development of coherent high quality programmes is privileged over the integrity and autonomy of individual institutions.

- There is a tension between the need for programmes to provide high mobility and flexibility through multiple points of access and egress, and the need to promote structured, or disciplinary, learning paths that lead to higher levels within the NQF and assume a sequential development of knowledge and skills (from Matric + 1 certificates through to Doctoral Degrees). This disciplined development of knowledge and skills is crucial to professionalism and can best
be achieved by integrating college and university programmes.

The major challenge to teacher education is a lack of capacity in regard to curriculum, staff and organisational development. The vision offered by the NCHE and COTEP is of a programme driven system with high quality curriculum and staff development (particularly in assessment). As a consequence of its historical function, the college sector has little capacity for research, curriculum and organisational development. Although universities have some expertise in research, this tends to be highly specialised and individualised. Universities and technikons do also have some expertise in organisational, curriculum and staff development, but this reservoir of expertise is underfunded and generally weak.

As a result of historical divisions, universities, technikons and colleges have developed very different administrative structures, curricula and organisational cultures. The reorganisation of the Higher Education sector will bring with it serious tensions between different institutions, provincial and national governments, and other stakeholders.

Once the emphasis shifts to programmes and a national system of co-operative governance, the institutional forms that incorporation may take become less important. It is to be expected that different models will emerge in different localities. At present, there is considerable negotiation taking place at national and provincial levels. There is a significant danger that inequalities of the past will be perpetuated; that, for example, historically white colleges will form strong links with historically white universities. Fears of marginalisation are especially strong for rural colleges of education. In general, the professionalisation of teacher education requires urgent national regulation and rationalisation. Following the White Paper on Teacher Education, legislation can be expected which will restructure the field, and transform the nature and content of programmes.
7.4 Programmes

7.4.1 Initial Pre-service Teacher Education

Current pre-service Teacher Education programmes include the following forms:

- Diploma courses (either 3 or 4 years), offered by Colleges of Education and Technikons;
- Integrated Degree programmes offered by Universities, sometimes in collaboration with Colleges, and
- Post-graduate Diplomas (1 year) following on a first degree.

These courses relate to Junior Primary, Primary and Secondary teaching, with universities primarily responsible for secondary training. Under the new "Norms and Standards for Teacher Education", all courses must develop key "knowledge, skills and attitudes" in six fields, namely:

- Education Studies (including History, Psychology, Sociology and Philosophy of Education)
- Professional Studies (including general teaching methodologies)
- Teaching methods in at least two subjects
- Teaching Practice
- Language competency and
- Religious Education.

A competency based approach attempts to distinguish between "core" competencies, relevant to all teachers, and specific competencies for each level and subject. Multi-cultural approaches and issues relating to teaching through the medium of a second language (or through more than one medium) are evident in some programmes, but much development is needed in this field.

The minimum requirement for Teacher Education is 3 years, although a large number of teachers have less than this because of historical factors. These teachers
are a major target for further development, where possible. In addition, state spon-
sored redress programmes such as SYSTEM (Students and Youth into Science,
Technology and Mathematics Education) are designed to give "second chances" to
those keen to teach in these shortage subjects, but who would not otherwise have
qualified to do so.

7.4.2 Ongoing Professional development of Teachers

The in-service education and training of teachers for ongoing professional develop-
ment is a poorly developed field. Historically the state education authorities have
provided limited and largely ineffectual programmes - essentially oriented towards
"skilling" teachers. Because of this poor delivery record, a number of NGO's have
made significant contributions to the area, although often without certification or
accreditation.

A useful analysis of the INSET field has been undertaken by the South African
Institute for Distance Education (SAIDE). At the request of COTEP, they prepared
a discussion document entitled: "Developing a System for the Ongoing Professional
Development of Teachers in South Africa (with special reference to Distance
Education). The "Open Approach" which is promoted facilitates both access and
success, based upon the development of high quality resource based learning. This
is in line with the concept of a National Open Learning Agency (NOLA), as pro-
posed in the White paper 1, and whose major focus will be the development of
teachers within the institutions where they are working.

This will be complemented by the work of a representative Ministerial Task Team
on Education Management Development (EMD), which is due to report by the end
of 1996. The Task Team has been directed to develop a national strategy, including
an institutional framework, for a sustainable programme of management develop-
ment. It is also charged with delivering immediate relief through capacity building
at provincial, local and institutional levels. In an initial brochure, there is a referen-
ce to "improvements to education management which are ... appropriate to South
Africa's transformed system of education. This should imply a form of democratic, collaborative management, guided by transparency and accountability.

7.4.3 New remuneration structure for educators

A new and potentially significant factor in regard to continuing development is the delinking of qualifications from salaries under the new salary dispensation. In terms of an agreement with unions, the principle of "equal pay for equal work" is applied, and classroom teachers' pay will be based on a single scale. Qualifications will remain a criterion for promotion (although not a barrier), but this move will limit the present tendencies for teachers to "chase paper" (often in obscure fields) without any positive impact upon classroom practice. This has been evidenced in the recent plethora of Further Diplomas (following an initial degree or diploma), which are being offered by various institutions. While some of these are relevant and appropriate, many of them appear to have more to do with institutional survival than the actual needs of the classroom.

This qualification related pay structure will be replaced by a system of performance related pay, with regular appraisal of teachers. An in principle agreement has been negotiated with teacher unions, and an appropriate mechanism, transparent and democratic, is being developed through pilot schemes in each province. This is a major professional contribution by the unions towards the enhancement of education quality and social reconstruction, which deserves recognition.

8. The Role of the school community in the promotion of human rights

8.1 School and community

Although schools have in many cases been fully funded by the State, the rural poor have historically been compelled to contribute heavily towards the construction and maintenance of "community schools". Although part-owners, communities have be-
come alienated from these schools by exclusionary governance structures, just as the policies and practices of education have created a distance between urban schools and their communities. Security fences dominate, and schools are seldom used after school hours. In many cases these measures appear justified: schools have been contested sites in many respects, and violence has permeated these contestations. In isolated cases, mostly due to external issues, students and teachers have been killed at school. Research has been done concerning the impact of violence on schooling, and it is clear that it has contributed towards a widespread breakdown in the culture of teaching and learning.

8.2 Culture of learning

In order to address the widespread absence of a teaching and learning culture, the Government has initiated a "Culture of Learning Programme", which seeks to rebuild the material and social conditions necessary for schooling. The aim is to develop attitudes and values among learners that are compatible with the ongoing transformation and development of society.

In minimum practical terms, this includes:

- creating physically safe teaching and learning environments;
- encouraging community ownership and participation in schools, and
- promoting a code of conduct for teachers, parents and pupils.

Working in parallel with this programme, the RDP Office has also made available to Provinces funds for school rehabilitation work (R1 billion), which aims to counter the physical degradation of schools through years of underfunding and neglect. R160 million has also been provided for Youth Colleges as "second chance" institutions. In conjunction with numerous state and NGO sponsored programmes towards "whole school improvement" programmes, these should effect a change in the perception of the school from being an oppressive institution into a community based centre for the development of human rights. This will be reinforced by the establishment of "Community Learning Centres" in areas of greatest need, which will serve a wide range of educational needs.
The involvement of community and parent representatives in school governing bodies, in terms of new legislation, will also assist in building a new relationship between schools and their communities. This is critical given the weight of research which identifies home and family attitudes as major determinants of academic achievement. In many cases the failure of apartheid education to bring about any concrete benefits has left the adult population deeply cynical and disillusioned about the potentially liberating role of education, and a new understanding needs to emerge.

8.3 Other role-players

Throughout the history of South African schooling, there have been powerful agencies which have influenced the policies and practices of education. These have included the churches, business, local and international NGO's, and the donor community broadly. Most of their effect has been positive, with support for progressive schooling initiatives. At times this has put them in opposition to the apartheid state, where they have taken highly principled stands in defence of human rights.

However it is important in this period of reconstruction to ensure that the collective capacity of these agencies is well co-ordinated, and focused on national priorities. The public school system, established under a democratic government, is the proper place for the support of and investment in progressive, non-discriminatory education. Private institutions, which cater for less than 2% of school students, and a minute fraction of total learners, should obtain their support from the clients they attract.

8.4 Media and education

Greater use is being made of the media to try and raise the profile of education, and to expand access. The public broadcaster has initiated Educational Television programmes, targeted primarily at foundation phase and adult learners. The Depart-
ment of Education has established a Directorate for Technology Enhanced Learning, and has allocated R40m (US$10m) for the production of materials. In addition, programmes aimed specifically at teachers are being prepared, in co-operation with the Committee on Teacher Education Policy (COTEP).

The print media has also been involved in various initiatives, including the promotion of newspapers as a medium for teaching. In addition, a new publication, The Teacher, is being published monthly, with information about educational and labour issues, as well as classroom oriented information. One union has subscribed to this on behalf of its membership, thus ensuring a circulation of more than 100 000 copies of The Teacher each month.

Radio and audiotapes have been recognised as the most accessible media for education, especially in rural areas, but have not yet been used effectively in this regard. The education community is keenly anticipating the distribution of a "clockwork radio", which will bring enormous social and educational advantages to the poor.

9. The role of the Teaching profession in the promotion of human rights

9.1 The organisation of teachers

There are approximately 360 000 teachers in South African schools, of whom approximately 200 000 are organised within professional unions or associations. Approximately half have been organised under the National Professional Teachers Organisation of South Africa (NAPTOSA), which is a federation of geographically and/or culturally defined bodies.

NAPTOSA is politically non-aligned, and believes that

- the child has the right to be educated in a contented school community where
there is no discrimination,
- the teacher, as role model, should be a committed educator with respect for the profession and human dignity, and an understanding of the different aptitudes, attitudes and aspirations of the pupils, and should allow for cultural, political and racial differences, and
- while promoting its own ideals and values, a school should be a place where peace and tolerance are encouraged.

Recent developments have seen the Afrikaner groupings dissociate from NAPTOSA and regroup as the South African Teachers Federation.

The majority of the organised profession, predominantly Black, are members of the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU). SADTU is a unitary organisation, allied to the ANC through its affiliation to COSATU. SADTU is also an affiliate of the Southern African Teachers Organisation, (SATO), the All Africa Teachers Organisation (AATO) and Education International. SADTU has declared its aim to be to unite all educators in the move towards a non-racial, non-sexist, just and democratic system of education.

9.2 Unionism and professionalism

Although organisational divides among teachers are related to this issue, there is also a general recognition that professional and labour interests are integrally linked. It is rightly said that the conditions under which teachers teach are the same as those under which learners learn. Working in democratic conditions will encourage democratic approaches to teaching, and a critical content. All organisations recognise this mutuality, and serve their members in both the labour and professional domains.

The mutual imperative is particularly strong in this phase of reconstruction, when teachers, like other more privileged sectors of the community, are expected to make their contribution towards educational reconstruction and development. Such efforts involve more work, not less, and in some instances teachers have sacrificed pure
labour interests in the broader interests of education. The teacher appraisal project is an example of this, as are numerous "catch-up" and additional tuition programmes offered in many schools.

It should be noted that the soon to be implemented Labour Relations Act (LRA) provides teachers with the right to strike, although it also establishes elaborate mechanisms to mediate disputes before this stage is reached.

9.3 Equity in the distribution of human resources

Apartheid has left a legacy of unequal human resource distribution, especially among teachers. Because of financial constraints, moves towards equity in respect of teacher:pupil ratios has required an agreement with unions which includes the compulsory redeployment of teachers. Although overtly prejudicial to teachers' labour interests, this move is a necessary one for the redress of apartheid privilege, and has been signed by all parties.

In terms of the agreement, schools which have a teacher pupil ratio below 1:35 (1:40 in the primary phase) will lose teachers to schools which are above this figure. Because of the historic differentials in funding, this exercise will largely involve white, coloured and Indian teachers (in advantaged schools) moving to African schools, and urban teachers moving to rural areas where teachers are in short supply.

9.4 Role of the organised teaching profession in promoting ideals

As shown above all teacher unions recognise the complementary rights and responsibilities of teachers. In respect of these professional responsibilities, teacher organisations, often in co-operation with NGO's, play a significant role in the development of subject knowledge and teaching methodology among their members, in line with their own ideals. SADTU has initiated a major capacity building programme, aimed at site steward and leadership training in all areas, which will deepen democracy at the school and local levels.
NAPTOSA places a high premium on the professional status of teachers and on their responsibility towards their pupils, community and country. Their members are committed by the aims and ideals of their associations to promote respect for human rights, dignity and values, as well as the promotion of tolerance and peace in South Africa.

In addition, all teachers organisations are involved in many areas of policy development which the democratic government has initiated. Consultative structures are in place in almost every field of education, and professional bodies are often hard pressed to participate as fully as they are allowed. In some cases, the organised teaching profession is able to speak with one voice on curricular issues, with significant influence on policy, but there are very often ideological differences which prevent consensus. The issue of alliances is therefore an important one, with the need to lobby in policy areas, and also because of a certain fluidity among teacher organisations.

A major development which has been initiated by the organised teaching profession is the piloting of a Teacher Appraisal instrument, which will enable teachers to collectively develop the quality of their teaching. This will be of particular benefit to the many undertrained or poorly trained teachers in South Africa.

**9.5 Teachers as role models**

**9.5.1 Location in community**

Different perceptions exist in view of the different histories experienced by South African communities. The majority of teachers, who are Black, historically formed part of the middle class, and were a missionary trained elite. The contradictions between the material class location of these teachers and their identification with the working class majority have been part of the struggle, with education as a key site of ideological contestation, and teachers as key players in the ideological battle to win “the hearts and minds” of the people (Hindle and Simpson, 1993).
Although in many cases individual teachers identified with (and often led) popular causes, during the latter stages of the struggle against apartheid the organised profession was discredited through their identification with the regime (Shalem, 1990). This was done under the cover of "professionalism", which has severely damaged the term and the concept in this country. Since 1985 a partial restoration of status has occurred through the formation of progressive teacher organisations, which have participated with students and parents in the education liberation movements, and identified with workers in broader campaigns. Coloured and Indian teachers have assumed different roles and statuses at different stages of the struggle against apartheid education. While significant sectors of these communities have played a part in bringing about progressive changes, others have remained outside, or even acted in defence of their limited historical privileges. Many white teachers have identified with conservative forces opposed to democratisation and equity.

It should also be noted that within the Southern African region as a whole, the Southern African Teachers Organisation (SATO) records a negative trend relating to the status of teachers in the region, and reports that "public regard for the teaching profession is perceived to be either partial or negligible". Gender, politics and nationality are the bases for discrimination, and few unions have the right to engage in education policy matters, or to collectively negotiate salaries and service conditions (SATO Report, 1995). This regional situation makes even more important South Africa’s attempts to link human rights and education.

9.5.2 As role models for pupils

Although apartheid is formally gone, its legacy ensures that wide disparities arise in the composition of the teaching profession. Most "ex-white" schools have white teachers (although the student population is predominantly mixed), most Black schools (in peri-urban "townships" and rural areas) have only Black teachers and students.
In addition, there are serious gender problems with regard to role modelling. Despite an overall numerical majority, inequalities in the representation of women in management are prevalent. Gender attitudes are generally poor, with some serious cases of harassment and exploitation of women teachers and students. Documents and language use are often gender insensitive, so there is little conscientisation on the matter.

Along with cultural differentiation, these factors suggest that at present there is inappropriate and often damaging role modelling that pupils receive, in respect of a human rights culture. The progressive, democratic traditions of some teachers have not impacted upon the system as a whole, nor changed the practices of the majority of teachers.

9.6 SACE

The most positive initiative to address this context is the establishment of the South African Council for Educators (SACE). Besides its statutory registration and discipline responsibilities, SACE will contribute to the development of the profession, and of education. The draft Code of Conduct prepared by SACE will, upon adoption, become binding upon all teachers, and includes in its preamble a commitment to uphold human rights, and an agreement to "respect the dignity, beliefs and constitutional rights of learners...", including the right to privacy and confidentiality.

10. Problems of implementation

10.1 Introduction

The above has painted a broad picture of the policy, laws, institutions and intentions of the government, and one is bound to analyse whether these measures are likely to produce a significant improvement in human rights in South Africa. This question can be addressed from a structural and a cultural perspective, in the
following ways:

- on a structural level, can schools and teachers contribute to development and the satisfaction of basic needs, and
- can schools and teachers contribute to democracy and a human rights culture?

Education and training, or human resource development, are seen as central to creating the participation, knowledge and skills which are necessary conditions for reconstruction and development and the building of a democratic society (ANC, 1994b: 59/85). ANC policy takes a broad view of education and training, seeing it not only as something that happens in schools or colleges, but in all areas of our society - homes, workplaces, public works programmes, youth programmes and in rural areas (ANC, 1994b: 8). Education and training are seen as necessary conditions for democracy and development because they are the most effective means for:

"... empowering individuals to actively participate in all aspects of society, as citizens in the democratic process, and in the economy. The latter requires that the education and training system addresses three issues: first, the need for equity and redress; second, the need to continually upgrade skill levels in line with the rapidly changing dynamic nature of the world economy and universal knowledge base; third, to recognise the validity and interdependence of all forms of knowledge and the value of prior learning and experience by integrating the education and training systems (or general and vocational systems) under a single national credit-based qualification framework... The system will be learner-centred and achievement-led (ANC, 1994b: 15)."

In terms of this perspective, differences, including inequalities of wealth and power, will be overcome by creating a national framework which enables people to cross the boundaries between rich and poor, urban and rural, educated and uneducated, trained and untrained. Most importantly, the division that has marked the boundary between education and training will be removed: mental and manual labour will be unified. The productive dimension of manual labour will be combined with the
problem-solving and decision-making dimensions of mental education. Traditionally, education (with its emphasis on cognitive disciplines) has been privileged over training (with its emphasis on productive skills). Under the NQF, people will be educated and trained, democratised and developed. South Africa's competitive core will depend on high quality human resources and redistribution and reconstruction will be viable only if rural people are able to become entrepreneurs and citizens - capable of governing themselves, providing their own services and generating wealth.

This benevolent and optimistic vision is potentially undermined by conceptual, political and economic tensions. The distinctions between education and training, mental and manual labour, are socially constructed and can be shifted or transgressed, but they are also deeply woven into the fabric of our society. The slow changing nature of the bureaucracy and the scarcity of economic resources have already been mentioned. Conceptual problems arise in pedagogy, curricula and examination. Teaching a person to engage in critical and rational self-reflection is different from teaching a person to make a brick. Can this difference be clearly identified and then transcended by some form of equivalence? What are the similarities and differences between a music curriculum and brick-making? Can all learning be reduced to outcome criteria? It is not that these questions are unanswerable - rather that to address them competently requires sustained research, experimentation and a highly efficient system that changes rapidly in response to problems and innovations. This requires time, financial and human resources, and a civil society not traumatised by violence. A further barrier lies in the almost complete lack of any infrastructure for lifelong learning - particularly in rural areas (Deacon and Parker, 1994).

### 10.2 Education and human rights in rural areas

One way of focusing on those problems most likely to undermine a human rights culture is to examine the situation of those who have suffered most from apartheid: the rural poor. The concept of development is closely associated with modernisati-
on and the growth of urbanised and industrialised nation states in the West (Esteva, 1992). Initially the idea of development was linked to a sense of progress observed in the history of a nation. Since about 1945, the idea of development has been given substance in comparisons between the economic indicators of income, education, health and welfare. Diverse theories of development (modernisation, under-development, community-based, and systems theory) attempt to explain what causes the relation of inequality and how it may be overcome. Increasingly development has become a form of planned progress aimed at improving the economic position of the poor within a growing national economy. The majority of South Africa's poor live in the rural areas, making them primary targets of development, democracy and human rights (Deacon and Parker, 1996; Deacon, 1994).

The rural areas of South Africa are therefore an appropriate place to ground discussions of human rights. The ANC's commitment to strong and substantive human rights which are understood structurally (quantitatively) and culturally (qualitatively) enables us to link human rights directly to democracy and development. This implies that our concern with human rights should illuminate how we go about satisfying basic needs and promoting the skills and values that are essential to participatory democracy (Galtung, 1994: 105). It is in the rural areas that these goals will be hardest to achieve.

About 25 percent of the population live in the rural areas of the "ex-homelands"; 35 per cent in the urban areas of these "ex-homelands"; 10 per cent in the commercial farming areas of white South Africa; and 30 per cent in the urban areas of white South Africa (Wilson and Ramphele, 1989: 17; Graaf, 1992). In economic terms, the urban/rural distinction corresponds to a enormous gap between the rich and the poor. The richest 20 per cent of the population own 75 per cent of the wealth and the bottom 40 per cent of the population only 8 per cent. In 1990, about 15 million people in South Africa were living in poverty of whom about 11 million lived in the rural areas. The number of destitute persons in the rural areas - defined as those living in households with no visible means of support - was approximately 1.5 million. It is estimated that by the year 2000, more than 50 per cent of the
African population will still be living in the homeland areas as defined by the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts and subsequent consolidations.

The particularity of the rural in South Africa arises from two main sources: its geographical location away from urban infrastructure; and, the constitutional, judicial, administrative and political hegemony of a tribal authority system shaped by colonialism and apartheid within which rural people are subjected to chiefs, in a form of political power that Mamdani describes as "indirect rule" (Mamdani, 1996).

Indirect rule in South Africa, particularly in the populous provinces of KwaZulu-Natal, North West, Mpumulanga, the Eastern Cape and the North, fuses political, administrative, judicial and executive powers together in the hand and gaze of the chief (Mamdani, 1987: 90). The most important power of the chief is control over the use of the land under the "customary" system of communal land tenure (DBSA, 1988: 24ff).

By 1994, a uniform system of tribal, district and homeland authorities was in place which gave recognition to the powers of chiefs and tribal authorities over their tribes. Each tribe was a political entity with its own population, land and central authority in the form of the chief and tribal authority (DBSA, 1988: 4). In most areas, only men over the age of eighteen were permitted involvement in the tribal authority (DBSA, 1988: 4/9). Chiefs were responsible for assisting in the maintenance of law and order and furthering the socio-economic development of their people. They were assisted by a tribal authority consisting of Indunas (a sub-chief for each area) and councillors, usually elderly males. The tribal authority was responsible for the collection and administration of tribal funds from a variety of sources including taxes, fines, and levies; administering salaries for tribal police, chiefs, Indunas and councillors; the building of schools, roads, dams, the provision of water services and agricultural improvement; and for the administration of customary law. Chiefs and tribal authorities worked closely with district magistrates who acted both as a higher judicial authority and as agents for government departments (DBSA, 1988: 24ff; Lawrence, 1992: 19/20; McIntosh, 1990: 30/1). In regard to schooling, the chief and tribal authority were responsible for the allocati-
on of land, the collection and control of funds, and the erection and maintenance of school buildings (Harding, 1992: 25/26).

Mamdani (1996) argues that this merging of the different forms of political power into a single locus, the chief, creates a form of non-civil society, where people are no longer citizens with rights, but are subjects of an authoritarian and patriarchal power controlling them through a panoply of coercive measures. Post-colonial African nations are dominated by this dichotomy between direct/civil rule and indirect/tribal rule. Since independence, most African nations have deracialised their societies - but they have failed to detribalise the power structures of the rural areas. Urban citizens have access to the economic and political opportunities and risks of a modern nation state while rural subjects inhabit a world in which the state is mediated and focused by the tribal authority into a single all-encompassing web of constraints and coercions (Mamdani, 1996).

By mid-1996, democratic local elections had taken place throughout South Africa and a new system of local government was in place with traditional authorities having only ex-officio representation. The exception was KwaZulu-Natal where traditional authorities have retained the powers and functions of local government. Despite this formal democratising of rural areas, traditional authorities still exert significant influence over their areas - primarily through their control over land and customary law. To transfer power prematurely (particularly over finances) courts the danger of strengthening undemocratic and inegalitarian power relations. The dominant organisational structures in rural areas are the chief and tribal authorities, state structures (education, health, pensions, magistrate, police and security forces), the churches and the sangomas. All of these are hierarchical and undemocratic. Their structures and institutions privilege older men and decision-making is often unaccountable. If economic power is transferred to a local level without a redistribution of political power to the previously excluded, then devolution will serve only the interests of existing elites.
It is a paradox that an equity promoting democratic devolution of power requires a strong state to build the capacity and to transform the structures and cultures of the past. It is a tragedy for South Africa that the GNU has begun its term of office within a "fragile state" (Chisholm and Motala, 1995). The capacity of the ANC to influence change has been severely constrained by diverse forces including business and unions; existing ineffective administrative structures, cultures and personnel; crime, violence, and unstable foreign investment. As a result, the GNU's first efforts at development have not been auspicious.

The first major examples have been the implementation of RDP presidential lead projects in primary school nutrition, road-building and water supply. The planning and implementation were confined, in the main, to experts, state officials and existing local elites. The rural poor have continued to be the passive recipients of state controlled delivery or where some responsibility and power has been transferred this has tended to empower existing elites. The school feeding scheme, which depended upon the skilled participation of school committees, have been undermined by a lack of capacity. Empowering the people and transforming apartheid structures and cultures will be a slow process, but if it takes too long to construct democratic local government and a developing economy then the GNU will lose its legitimacy and the possibility of violence will increase.

The RDP represents a comprehensive and holistic approach to restructuring South Africa's political and economic domains through a transfer of power to the local level, but its chances of early delivery are limited. A key strategy in this programme is therefore the construction of a lifelong learning system that is linked to the development of entrepreneurial economic activity and people's participation in democratic local government. Critics of the RDP claim that a lack of financial resources will be its major constraint, but even when money is available it is not always enough to achieve success. Institutional structures are unlikely to change fast, and the development of an effective lifelong learning system that empowers rural people politically and economically will probably take even longer.
However, as human resources develop and there is an increasing allocation of financial resources to rural areas, the non-civil can be civilised, power transferred away from national and provincial government, from traditional authorities, to social organisations and individuals. The government's commitment to empowering people through a human rights based process of democratisation and development has a pedagogic dimension best served by a lifelong learning system aimed at individuals and, perhaps even more importantly, at their organisations. If rural people were able to benefit from a lifelong learning system for further, basic and adult education and training, under the control of democratic local government structures, they might be able to develop and democratise their everyday lives in a way that is connected to their particular needs.

This could contribute to the realisation of a broader democratic society in which people participate directly in their own governance at the local level and through mandated and accountable representatives at district, provincial and national level. Lifelong learning could contribute to meeting basic needs, promoting entrepreneurial activities and a culture of achievement. Another beneficial aspect of this local control is that education can be localised. Not in a way that implies isolation and/or backwardness but which acknowledges the authenticity of local knowledge of rurality in Africa.

In the 1990s, a nuanced perspective would urge multiple and diverse strategies that collectively address power relations in all domains: political, economic, judicial, administrative, class, race, gender, and education. The creation of self-governing citizens oriented towards achievement and entrepreneurship combined with a transfer of power to a local level is obviously a difficult ideal to achieve. There are signs that it is possible for such an ideal to emerge in South Africa, and although South Africa has made substantial progress towards realising these values at a formal level, we still have a long way to go before these values are part of everyday life. The NQF and the Constitutional Court are attempts to establish forms of power and reason, in different ways, as grounds on which to build a civil society in which unequal power relations are balanced by a degree of equitable redistribution and constitutionally promoted human rights.
Given that schools are present in most rural areas of South Africa, and that teachers often fill leadership roles in these communities, they must also bear a major responsibility in the creation of a human rights culture. Teachers, working within a nationally co-ordinated and resourced system, could make creative and effective use of the school infrastructure and their expertise, to contribute significantly to the development and democratisation of rural areas and to the realisation of human rights. Research and development programmes that focus on linking human rights to basic needs (development) and empowerment (democracy) are urgently required to back up the work of teachers.

10.3 Conflicts over values

South Africa's recent trajectory has seen an emerging consensus on the importance of democratising and developing our society. This consensus has been underwritten by a tentative agreement on the key values which guide this attempt at constructing a new South Africa.

The RDP can be interpreted as offering an optimistic scenario in which a multi-faceted state establishes partial and temporary equilibriums between democracy and development by making human resource development its priority. Within this pedagogic orientation, the state's protective and development functions are subsumed by an imperative to create a peaceful self-governing entrepreneurial citizenry. Sovereign power rests with a Constitutional Court guided by a mutable constitution with a strong Bill of Rights and effective enforcement. Political power rests with democratically elected representatives. Administrative power is distributed across national, provincial and local level bureaucracies with strong centrifugal and minimising tendencies. All of these forms of power are constitutive: they encourage the development of a self-governing citizenry and a human rights culture. At the heart of this scenario lies a commitment to reason - an assumption that it is always possible to achieve agreement between conflicting forces, interests and subjects. This commitment addresses the tension between individual and community interests, and promotes a co-operative model in which differing interpretations of
human rights (liberal and socialist), and the social movements which espouse them, can be accommodated within a more general framework of nation-building.

This nation-building project has, so far, given cause for optimism. Seemingly insoluble conflicts have been mediated by dialogue, by the use of reason. The negotiations that have lead to the GNU and a new constitution were not only based on a delicate balance of power, but they have become an exemplar of how to reproduce that balance. For the activists of the 1980s, it is not that victory has been delayed, nor postponed, but, rather, victory has been displaced by a commitment to human rights - to peace and the use of reason, instead of force, as the primary instrument of social progress. In this optimistic scenario, inequalities and violence will disappear as democracy, development and education become a substantive part of the fabric of everyday life. Modernisation and human rights go hand in hand.

However this consensus could fracture if conflicts between different value commitments and their associated social movements should escalate. Before 1990, policy discourses were riven into two broad blocs. On the one hand there was a commitment to unity, identity and equality and, on the other hand, a commitment to diversity, difference and inequality. Corresponding to these two discursive formations there were two social movements - the "people" and the apartheid state.

If the pre-1990 period was a dialectical conflict, then the 1990 to 1994 period was one of synthesis as the two opposing movements reached agreements for partial and temporary solutions to the "problem-ridden" situation. The mutual enemies recognised their interdependence and moved from war to negotiation. There was a reinterpretation of values and a sinking of differences in order to reach agreement on the single set of values embodied in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Political and policy discourses were shaped by the looming prospect of a new government. In stark contrast to the 1980s when policy and planning for a new democratic state were daydreams, and the dominant objective was opposition to the state, the period from 1990 to 1994 was framed by the need to have plans to guide the actions of an ANC-led government. Since 1994, change has become more
ambivalent and uncertain: the two hegemonic blocs have been partially displaced by a flux of multiple alliances and oppositions both within and between the two blocs.

The emergence of education policy discourses in the 1980s, primarily in the people's education movement, which was embodied in the work of the NECC and progressive teacher, student and parent organisations, reflected the need for strategic struggles in schools for control of those schools. People's education was against the evils of the apartheid system and for the elimination of illiteracy, ignorance, exploitation, capitalist norms of competition, individualism and stunted intellectual development. The alternative vision of what education should be like was based on the principles of a unitary system, democratisation, non-sexism, free and compulsory education, redress for rural areas and squatter communities (Perry, 1991).

The path to this utopia was through the development of collective input, active participation, critical thinking and analysis. To ensure that this happened, people's education was committed to equipping and training the people to actively and creatively participate in appropriate organisational structures. People's power was not just political power. The need for practical and technical skills, and the creation of a critical consciousness to enable people to participate effectively in their own governance were recognised (Mashamba, 1991: 43/4).

Throughout the period of repression, under the State of Emergency from 1986 to 1990, the slogan "People's Education for People's Power" maintained an almost mythological allure that acted as a guiding light for debates about educational transformation. By the end of the 1980s, there were four value-based perspectives that dominated debates in education (Wolpe, 1991a and b). These perspectives offered definitions of the nature of education and of the link between education and society.
This discourse claimed to be a neutral, objective, value free science and provided a theoretical and moral justification for segregated education. A belief in education as a fundamental tool in the structuring of society gave it an enormous significance. For Fundamental Pedagogics, education was culturally specific and the process of education had to maintain a strong authoritarian relationship between teacher and learner. The necessity of cultural specificity was grounded in the relativism of world views arising from different languages and traditions.

A liberal position

This discourse focused primarily on the inequality of segregated education which it characterised as immoral, irrational and indoctrinatory (Kallaway, 1984): immoral because separate had not been equal; irrational because Bantu Education impeded the process of modernisation and shackled the economy; indoctrinatory because of the racial content of the curriculum. Liberals believed that education was the key to social transformation, and that equal access to education of the same quality would create social mobility and a growing economy which would enable the least well off to satisfy their aspirations. Liberals emphasise the role of education in the development of moral, rational and autonomous individuals and the creation of a tolerant and just society.

A broadly Marxist socialist position

Prior to 1985, a fairly simplistic version dominated in which education was viewed as an uncontested instrument of social reproduction. In class and racially structured societies the education system functions directly and without contradiction to reproduce the dominant class and racial structures of domination, subordination and exploitation. It was this discourse which had the most resonance with the activists who lead the resistance to Bantu Education. This position is unable to explain the types of resistance to African education that emerged in South Africa and it assu-
mes that social transformation must precede educational transformation. Such a view was embodied in slogans like "liberation now, education later" and was associated with the tactics of the boycott and stayaway. From this perspective, reform is unacceptable and change must be total. No remnant of apartheid education should persist.

A more sophisticated version of Marxism/socialism argues that the relationship between education and the social system is not a theoretical pre-given but is contingent upon the concrete conditions of the social formation including the education system itself. As such it may be simultaneously both functional for the system of domination and in contradiction to it. Furthermore, the education struggle may take on different forms and achieve a different significance according to the concrete conditions in which it occurs (Wolpe, 1991b).

*An Africanist position*

This perspective was very prevalent in the Black Consciousness movement of the 1960s and 1970s and has re-emerged in recent debates. It stresses differences in values between Euro-centric and Afro-centric cultures. The key value that lies at the heart of an Africanist perspective is often represented by the concept "Ubuntu".

"Ubuntu is a thread which runs through people's relationships with family members, neighbours and strangers. The African proverb, *Umuntu ungumuntu ngabantu* (A person is a person by means of other people), suggests that one's humanness depends upon recognising the humanity of others and their recognising yours. It is not enough to have a non-racial, non-sexist, and non-exploitative society if the importance of individual human beings within that society is not fully considered (Wilson and Ramphele, 1989: 267)."

For Biko, the "oneness of community" was expressed most explicitly by the easefulness of communication between African people and was a valuable part of South
Africa's indigenous heritage that needed to be rehabilitated. In the past, the lack of individual land ownership, and the sharing of resources that prevented individual poverty, were characteristics of a more humane society and should become a source of strength in the struggle against oppression (Biko, 1978: 57/60). This emphasis on the communal orientation of life as the source of human rights, is seen to stand as a negation of the individualism and privatisation that characterises Euro-centric perspectives (Ake 1993: 10).

Africanist perspectives are not homogeneous. The contested nature of "being African" can be seen in contestations over "Ubuntu". For conservative Africanists, Ubuntu has a strong emphasis on the importance of respect for one's elders and for those in authority (Mdluli, 1987: 66). This interpretation of traditional values has produced a resurgence of nationalism within an authoritarian patriarchy that centred on the sovereign, his prime minister and his local representatives, the chiefs and tribal authorities (Mdluli, 1987: 66/70). The narrow ethnicity, and patriarchal authoritarianism of this understanding can be contrasted with Biko's interpretation. Biko shifts the emphasis from a coerced respect for one's elders and traditional authorities to a reciprocal respect for everyone as social beings (Wilson and Ramphele, 1989: 267ff; Biko, 1978: 44 and 65).

A combination of the above four perspectives, wrought in negotiations, but dominated by the liberal perspective, have resulted in the prioritising of six key values in education by the ANC led Government:

- **EQUITY**: improved distribution of educational resources to disadvantaged communities.
- **EFFICIENCY/EFFECTIVENESS**: efficient delivery and utilisation of resources maximising rates of return on educational investment; achieving the most desired outcome as cost-effectively as possible, given the social and economic goals set by the system.
- **DEMOCRACY**: construction of democratic governance institutions and practices and people's participation in these institutions and practices. Governance institutions and practices should be representative, accountable, and transparent,
with substantial freedom of association and institutional autonomy.

- **DEVELOPMENT**: a strategy for economic growth and integration into the world market with quantitative and qualitative economic social and cultural changes.

- **REDRESS**: addressing the legacy of social and structural inequalities through fair and impartial measures of distributive justice with corrective actions being taken in the short term, particularly, with respect to funding.

- **UNITY/NATION-BUILDING**: a single national system of lifelong learning that overcomes discriminatory differences based on race, gender, location, language, ethnicity, religion, disability, and age and which nurtures a common national identity.

There are multiple relations of consistency and contradiction between these values depending on the particular interpretations being placed on them (Deacon and Parker, 1996). Equity and development could be interpreted as being in contradiction. For example, Wolpe (1992) argues that demands for equity will result in an allocation of resources to General Education away from Higher Education causing a decline in our technological competitiveness and economic development with the consequence of a downward spiral with ever fewer resources to allocate. Equity will bring legitimacy and poverty; development will bring an improved quality of life and a lack of legitimacy. On the other hand, the two values could be consistent and dependent: meeting basic needs will boost both demand and productivity, thus improving economic growth rates and thereby providing the resources for further development.

Conflicts over these values will continue to have their roots, primarily, in the four perspectives outlined above. These four value perspectives are advocated by specific social movements and political parties in South Africa and will continue to influence the specific interpretations that we give to human rights and to effect the way in which policy is implemented.
South Africa has come under enormous pressure to adopt a human rights culture that reflects the dominance of western values. In those countries where these values have dominated, however, state expenditure on social services has been curtailed, entitlements have been restricted, and a significant section of the population has become marginalised in ghettos of poverty. Increasingly left to govern themselves, these people are effectively excluded from civil participation in society, and are forced to either create alternative life styles, usually based in illegal activities, or, to become victims of structural violence, with education offering few bridges over sharply etched boundary lines of inequality. Under these circumstances, in South Africa, it is unlikely that human rights will become substantial aspects of everyday life in the rural areas.

Given the potency of internationalised financial markets, of global organisations like the World Trade Organisation, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, the likely medium term outcome for South Africa is an emphasis on development as growth. The needs of the market will outweigh those of the poor. In other words, human rights, particularly for the rural poor, are likely to remain merely formal and democracy and development will exclude a significant section of the population. The degree of human rights a person enjoys will be dependent on their socio-economic position, their gender, ethnicity and location. Is it possible to avoid excluding the poor from the emerging civil society and competitive economy?

To counter these persistent patterns of the past, lifelong learning becomes a crucial strategy in overcoming inequalities and exclusions. It becomes a key means to devolving power to newly empowered (educated, trained and resourced) local organisations in a way that privileges the poor and promotes human rights. Schools and teachers have a crucial role to play in ensuring that a modernising South Africa does not continue to deprive people of their basic human rights. We do not wish, in this report, to argue for a particular set of values, but we believe that it is important that recognition be given to different values that have played their part in South Africa's history. One consequence of this recognition should be continued research into the values that underlie our evolving human rights culture.
11. Conclusions

This paper has attempted an evaluation of the South African education system, with particular reference to its ability to contribute towards a culture of human rights.

From the report, it should be evident that a new model of co-existence and co-operative governance is being constructed in this country, which is colloquially known as the rainbow model. In this, the different colours remain intact, but together create a unity. Various institutions have been created to drive this model, including:

- A democratically elected Government of National Unity, as well as provincial and local government structures
- a Constitutional Assembly
- a Constitutional Court
- an Office of the Public Protector
- A Bill of Rights
- A Human Rights Commission and
- a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, to hear accounts of past abuses, and to grant amnesty where appropriate.

These institutions have already begun to impact upon all areas of society, and will continue to do so. However it would be naive to believe that an oppressive system can be turned around in a moment. A culture of state violence and resistance has been replaced with a culture of crime, as the millions of unemployed (some unemployable because of their lack of any formal education), take advantage of the liberalisation of society, and vent their frustration at the enormous distinctions between rich and poor.
Resistance structures have brought to the new system a strong tradition of democratic and participatory decision making, which is a logical development of the African ethos of "Ubuntu". By superimposing this people driven approach onto an education system which has the economic basis to succeed, there is a real chance of developing an education system which is efficient, cost effective, and which supports and promotes the rights of all men and women.

However many people (both oppressed and oppressor) were so brutalised during the past 40 years that their humanity has been eroded, and a pervasive culture of human rights has yet to be established in society. The leadership of State President Mandela is a significant catalyst in this regard, as has been the role of various other political and community leaders. But we cannot place our hopes on one person, or a few groupings: there is also a significant role for community based organisations, including trade unions and professional bodies. These structures extend beyond the reach of politicians, into the hearts and minds of people.

Nowhere is this more true of education. There is a school and a teacher in every part of this country. This places an enormous onus on teachers to use their influence and make their contribution, and the following recommendations are made in this light.

12. Recommendations

It is clear that SACE has an important role to play in the development of human rights in South Africa. As an autonomous statutory body, it can be a catalyst in the development of human rights education. We therefore recommend that SACE should establish strong links with the Human Rights Commission and develop an advocacy and monitoring role in regard to human rights education. Furthermore, SACE could facilitate research and development of new curricula and pedagogies that promote human rights education.
In addition, the modalities of Human rights Education must be fostered through a variety of means, including:

- initial teacher education
- continuing teacher development (formal and non-formal, including those offered by teacher unions)
- the programmes of independent agencies such as the Human Rights Institute, and
- the work of international agencies such as UNESCO.

SACE wishes to thank UNESCO for supporting this important investigation, and hopes that it will make some contribution to a better global understanding of the world of education.


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