THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF EDUCATIONAL PROVISION IN 'WHITE' COMMERCIAL FARMING AREAS: FINDINGS FROM A CASE STUDY CONDUCTED IN THE UGIE DISTRICT IN THE NORTH EASTERN CAPE

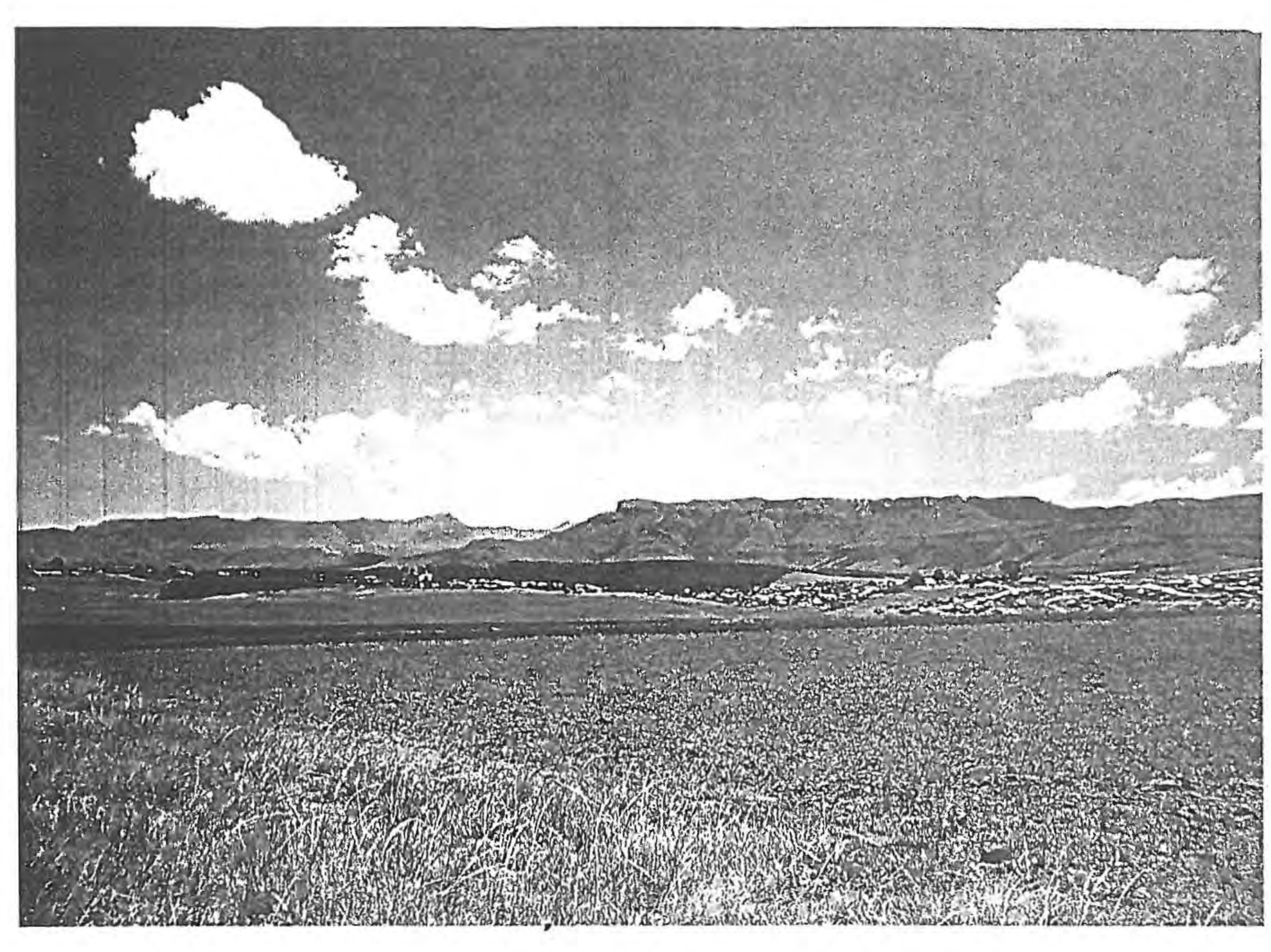
THESIS

Submitted in fulfilment of the
Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts
of
Rhodes University

by

Natasha Stretton

FEBRUARY 1993



UGIE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
ABSTRACT	vii
GLOSSARY	ix
ABBREVIATIONS	x
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL DEBATES REGARDING THE ROLE AND FUNCTION OF BLACK EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA	8
1. INTRODUCTION	8
2. CRITIQUE OF SOME OF THE THEORIES ON EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA	8
3. AN ALTERNATIVE THEORETICAL MODEL	20
CHAPTER THREE: ASPECTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF BLACK EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA	23
1. INTRODUCTION	23
2. THE PERIOD OF MISSIONARY EDUCATION, BLACK SCHOOLING UNTIL 1948	24
3. THE PERIOD OF BANTU EDUCATION, 1948 - 1976	33
4. THE PERIOD OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM, 1976 ONWARDS	40
5. CONCLUSION	45
CHAPTER FOUR: THE POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF BLACK FARM SCHOOLING IN SOUTH AFRICA	46
1. INTRODUCTION	46
2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE BLACK FARM SCHOOL SYSTEM	46
3. THE ROLE OF THE FARMER	50
4. THE POSITION OF FARM SCHOOL TEACHERS	55
5. PROBLEMS FACING BLACK FARM SCHOOLING	57
6. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS	61
7. CONCLUSION	64
CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN	66
1. INTRODUCTION	66
2. THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	66
3. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM	68
4. THE RESEARCH AIMS AND GOALS	68
5. THE RESEARCH METHODS	69

5.1. THE RESEARCH DESIGN 69
5.2. THE UNITS OF ANALYSIS 70
5.3. THE SELECTION OF THE RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS 71
5.4. THE RESEARCH TECHNIQUES 72
5.5. DATA COLLECTION 73
5.5.1. THE PILOT STUDY 74
5.5.2. THE MAIN STUDY 74

6. DATA ANALYSIS 77
7. EVALUATION OF THE RESEARCH METHODS 77

CHAPTER SIX: FINDINGS FROM THE CASE STUDIES CONDUCTED IN THE UGIE DISTRICT 80
1. INTRODUCTION 80
2. BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA 81
2.1. PROFILE OF FARM A 81
2.2. PROFILE OF FARM B 82
2.3. PROFILE OF FARM C 83
2.4. PROFILE OF FARM D 84

3. DISCUSSION 85
3.1. ATTITUDES CONCERNING THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PROVISION OF RURAL SCHOOLING 85
3.2. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION AND THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE AREA 88
3.3. THE VALUE OF EDUCATION 98
3.4. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONSTRAINTS AFFECTING EDUCATION 106

4. CONCLUSION 114

CHAPTER SEVEN: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUDING COMMENTS 116

POSTSCRIPT 121

APPENDIX A ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE AREA 123
APPENDIX B PHOTOGRAPHS OF FARM SCHOOLS 125
APPENDIX C **PART 1**: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH PUPILS IN SUB A, SUB B, AND STANDARD ONE 127
PART 2: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH PUPILS IN STANDARDS TWO, THREE,FOUR AND FIVE 129
PART 3: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH TEACHERS 131
PART 4: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH PARENTS 135
PART 5: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH GRANDPARENTS 139

PART 6: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH EMPLOYEES WITHOUT CHILDREN 143
PART 7: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH FARMERS (GROUP E) 145
PART 8: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH FARMERS (GROUP F) 149
PART 9: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH SCHOOL MANAGERS 151

BIBLIOGRAPHY 154

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Grateful acknowledgement is made to:

My supervisor Maxine Reitzes, not only for her support and valuable criticism regarding the content and style of the study, but also for giving me so generously of her time. My grateful thanks to her.

Pauline Mazwi who acted as my interpreter during the period of fieldwork. Without her valuable help I would not have been able to collect most of my information and I am indebted to her.

David Bell, Fay and Norman Bell and Robert and Susan Farrington for their warm hospitality during the period of fieldwork and also for their support and encouragement.

Stanley Bengthele and Leonie May for the long hours spent transcribing and translating the interviews.

Sandy Stretton for his valuable advice and support throughout the study. He has stimulated and encouraged my interest in politics and I am grateful to him.

Pierre de Villiers, Sandy Stretton, Angus Paterson, Sally Hunt and Rodney Smith for the many hours they have spent proof-reading.

Professor Southall for his advice and criticisms.

Non Stretton and Andy Andreka for their help with the illustrations and Bronwyn Webb for her help on the computer and printing.

Pierre for all his support and understanding over the past months.

Finally to my parents, without whom the study would not have been possible. I would like to thank them for their support not only during this period, but also over the past years. I really do appreciate it.

ABSTRACT

The under-provision of education for black South Africans has reached crisis proportions. While the education for black people in general is discriminatory and unequal, black rural people suffer further deprivations as there is a serious imbalance in the allocation of resources and the provision of education between urban and rural areas. Black education in the rural areas has been historically neglected for political and socio-economic reasons and, as a consequence, rural blacks have limited or no access to education.

The purpose of this study is to examine an aspect of rural education; viz: black farm schools in the 'white' commercial farming areas. It is argued that the provision of farm schools is intricately linked to the labour requirements of farmers and consequently farm schools cannot be understood independently from the social relations within commercial farming areas. The impact of local decision-making on the process of farm schooling is also significant and is an important aspect of this study. This thesis explores the political and socio-economic processes that have structured the provision of education within a small farming community, looking specifically at the effects of particular interest groups on the provision of black farm schools.

The study operates on three levels. The first level provides a theoretical framework within which rural education can be better understood. It is argued that the bias towards urban areas is reflected in the current theoretical debates on the role and function of education in South Africa. As these theories are generally incapable of explaining rural education, an alternative model is proposed.

As education cannot be understood in isolation from the rest of society, the second level of the study locates farm schooling within the broader political and socio-economic systems. This is done from two perspectives. The first perspective focuses on black education in general, tracing aspects of its development and highlighting the impact of economic interests, white political control and black resistances to this development. The neglect of rural education is also contextualised historically and politically. The second perspective looks at

rural education at a macro-level. The historical origins of the farm schools system and the effects of the relationship between agricultural capital and the state, and between farmers and farm workers on the process of farm schooling is examined.

The final level of the study focuses on the micro-situation and provides an in-depth analysis of the political and socio-economic dynamics which have impacted upon the provision and process of farm schools within a specific farming community. In an attempt to understand the types of issues effecting farm schooling in this area, the attitudes of farmers, farm workers, farm-children and farm school teachers towards education are investigated. Four main issues were identified and are discussed in depth, viz: 1) factors effecting the provision of black farm schools; 2) the relationship between education and the economic structure of the area; 3) the value of education; and 4) socio-economic factors effecting education in the area.

GLOSSARY

To avoid confusion concerning the terms that are applied to different population groups in South Africa, the following terms, unless otherwise stated, will be used in this manner:

black	-	refers to those population groups classified as 'African' under the Population Registration Act, 1951.
white	-	refers to those classified as 'white' under the same Act.
coloured	-	refers to those classified 'coloured' under the same Act.

ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	-	African National Congress
BCEA	-	Basic Conditions of Employment Act
Cosatu	-	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CP	-	Conservative Party
DET	-	Department of Education and Training
ERS	-	Education Renewal Strategy
HSRC	-	Human Sciences Research Council
LRA	-	Labour Relations Act
NECC	-	National Education Coordinating Committee
NECF	-	North East Cape Forests
NGO	-	Non-governmental organisation
NMC	-	National Manpower Commission
NP	-	National Party
PPWAWU	-	Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers Union
QELC	-	Queenstown Early Learning Centre
SAAU	-	South African Agricultural Union
SADTU	-	South African Democratic Teachers Union
SAIRR	-	South African Institute of Race Relations
SPCC	-	Soweto Parents Crisis Committee
TBVC	-	Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei
UP	-	United Party

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION:

It must be stressed that the under-provision of education for black people in the rural areas of South Africa has reached crisis proportions. It will be argued that the neglect of black rural education was part of a strategy to maintain the political control of the ruling bloc alliance[1] and, at the same time, a means of meeting the labour needs of factions within the capitalist sector. As a result, black people in rural areas have limited or no access to education. However, education is only one aspect in which rural people have been disadvantaged. These areas also suffer from extreme poverty and social deprivation. While there is no universally-accepted way of measuring poverty, it is widely agreed that poverty reflects low, levels of income, limited or no access to resources and income-earning opportunities and a low degree of community participation in decisions regarding the allocation of public resources (Urban Foundation, 1990:19). This is a fitting description of the circumstances effecting the majority of black rural people. There is at present a desperate need for the provision of education, housing, infrastructure and welfare service in these areas. According to Wilson and Ramphele (1989:25): "The really poor households (with annual incomes of below >R500) are concentrated on the rural plattelande and in the reserves rather than in the cities".

As a result of historical circumstances, it is important to distinguish between 'white' and 'black' rural areas. Due to the particular type of capitalist development in South Africa the rural areas are divided into two distinct parts, viz: a largely white owned, commercial agricultural sector falling within the so-called 'common' area of South Africa and a black controlled, subsistence

[1]This refers to the alliance between the state and the various factions of capital. While the nature of this alliance might change over time, the state ultimately represents the "overall interests of capital" (Shapiro, 1981:101).

sector largely constituting the 'independent and self-governing' homelands (Nattrass, 1982:2)[2].

As de Clercq (1986:1) argues, policy-makers and researchers have tended to concentrate on the problems and issues effecting urban areas. In contrast to the relative 'peace' in rural areas during the 1980's, the violence and unrest within urban areas has ensured that these areas have been prioritized on the agenda of policy-makers. However, as de Clercq also asserts, it is critical to realize that "the rural areas are not sealed off or immune from what is happening in the urban areas". That the grievances evident within the urban centres have reached and affected sectors of rural people is evidenced by the increasing number of consumer boycotts, protests and incidences of violence in small rural towns. The spiralling unrest in the north eastern Cape, Border and Orange Free State 'white' farming communities and in the Ciskei and Transkei is indicative of the underlying tensions within rural areas (Daily Dispatch, 24 September 1992:1; Daily Dispatch, 20 November 1992:1; Daily Dispatch, 29 November 1992:1; Eastern Province Herald, 4 December 1992:1; Die Volksblad, 11 December 1992:1).

Given the poverty, the lack of resources and the high levels of unemployment in rural areas, it is unlikely that the current violence and tensions within these areas will decrease. There is a desperate need for researchers and policy-makers to concentrate on problems affecting rural areas in an effort to resolve some of the grievances experienced by rural people. South Africa is a country in transition, and it is very important that the rural areas are not further disadvantaged in any future dispensation through continual neglect and underdevelopment. It is within this context that the study on the political and socio-economic processes impacting upon black farm school education in a 'white' farming district is conducted.

The current problems evident within rural education can largely be attributed to a basic neglect of rural schooling. Education in these areas is not part of the official education system. Instead the responsibility of providing education for black rural children, in both the commercial 'white'

[2] The 1913 and 1936 Land Acts have restricted black ownership of land to 13 percent of the surface area of South Africa (Claasens, 1991:43).

farming areas and in the 'self-governing homelands', has been left to the initiative of individuals (Ardington, 1991a:3). As a result, education in rural areas is sporadic and characterised by striking differences, not only in the provision of education, but also in the quality of education within the existing schools.

It is necessary at this stage to clarify exactly what is meant by 'rural' education. Black education in South Africa is administered by a number of authorities. The TBVC states[3] and the 'self-governing homelands' each have a separate education department, while the education of black people in 'white' South Africa falls under the control of the Department of Education and Training (DET)[4]. Graaff (1987:54) identifies two broad categories of 'rural' schools, viz: 1) black farm schools found in the 'white-designated' rural areas; and 2) black schools found in the 'self-governing homelands' outside the towns and falling under tribal authority[5]. Unless otherwise stated this study will focus on one aspect of rural education, namely, black farm schools found in the 'white' commercial farming sector[6]. It must be stressed that while this study

---

[3]This refers to the 'independent states' of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

[4]There are eighteen departments of education in South Africa (excluding the TBVC states) (Ardington, 1991a:3).

[5]It should be pointed out that these are very broad definitions. Significant differences exist between and within these rural areas regarding both the provision of education and the nature of that provision. For example, in the 'white' rural areas, peri-urban schools found on smallholdings near the urban centres have a different social dynamic from farm schools found in the rural heartland (see Gordon, 1987, 1988, 1991b).

[6]Coombs (1990) provides a useful distinction between formal, nonformal and informal education, viz: formal education is the formal system of education; nonformal education refers to structured learning processes outside of formal education; informal education refers to learning that takes place in the home or within the community on an informal basis. Unless otherwise stated this work refers specifically to formal education.

looks specifically at the political and socio-economic dynamics surrounding black farm schools[7], the provision of education in the rural areas of the 'self-governing homelands' and TBVC states is also in a critical condition and requires research (Graaff, 1988:20).

The purpose of the study is to examine the political and socio-economic processes that have structured the provision of education within a small 'white' farming community, looking specifically at the effects of particular interest groups on the process of black farm schooling[8]. The study, which takes the form of a micro-study, is conducted in the Ugie agricultural district in the north eastern Cape. There are two central themes in the study, viz: 1) that the provision of black farm schools is closely tied up with the labour demands of white farmers; and 2) that local decision-making has a significant impact on the process of schooling on the farms. In this connection it is argued that, firstly, there is a close link between the provision of farm school education and the economic structure of the 'white' farming areas. In order to understand the nature of farm schooling it is therefore important to locate the schools within the wider spectrum of the 'white' agricultural environment. According to Nasson (1984b:1):

> In order to get to grips with the structuring presence-and, indeed, structuring absence-of formal school education in white agricultural areas, it is important to adopt a broadened perspective on the nature of the rural social order. Farm schooling lies squarely within the wider institutional framework of social forces and relationships in rural areas.

It is argued that the provision of farm school education is intricately tied to the relationship of dependency and exploitation that exists between farmers and farm workers within these areas. Farm workers are dependent on farmers not only for employment, but also for accommodation, recreational facilities, access to services and also the education of their children. Thus the education of farm-children cannot be separated from the political control of the farmer over those

---

[7]It needs to be emphasised that the system of control for 'coloured' farm schools is different from black farm schools and will not be discussed in the study. For further information refer to Plaut (1976), Graaff, Louw and van der Merwe (1990) and Badroodien (1990).

[8]For the duration of this study the term 'schooling' refers to formal education.

who live and work on his property.

Secondly, it is felt that it is important to look at the attitudes of the farmer, the farm workers, the farm-children and the farm school teachers towards education, as it will be argued that local decisions have a significant affect on the education of farm-children. However, it is important to stress that the decisions made by the various actors are not made within a vacuum, but are either enforced or constrained by the wider socio-economic and political context in which the actors operate. As mentioned earlier, there are significant differences between farms and farm schools, both within and between agricultural areas, which indicates the importance of decision-making at a local level on the process of farm schooling.

The study operates at a number of levels. The first level provides a theoretical framework, the second level locates the study within the broader socio-economic and political processes and the final level focuses on the micro-situation where the educational issues specific to the selected study area are discussed.

Chapter two involves a theoretical discussion of some of the current debates on the role and function of education in South Africa. It is argued in this chapter that the imbalance between rural and urban areas is reflected in current theories on the nature of education in this country. The majority of these theories are incapable of providing a better understanding of rural education and the political and socio-economic processes that impact upon it. This chapter provides a critique of some of these theories, highlighting their inadequacy when applied within the context of rural education. This chapter concludes by looking at an alternative theoretical model which, it will be argued, is more appropriate in explaining the types of issues affecting rural schooling.

The second level of the study locates farm school education within the broader political and socio-economic processes. This is done from two perspectives, discussed in chapters three and four respectively. Chapter three traces aspects of the historical development of black education and highlights the impact of economic interests, white political dominance and black resistances

to this development. This chapter is divided into three historical periods which look at the changes that have occurred both within black education and the broader social order. The division between urban and rural areas and the neglect of rural education is contextualised historically. It is felt that an analysis of the development of black education in general provides a useful frame of reference when trying to understand the problems constraining education for black people in rural areas.

Chapter four focuses on problems impacting upon black farm schools from a macro-perspective. This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section contextualises farm schooling within the wider agricultural enterprise and the social relations of rural areas. The origins of the farm school system and the affects of the relationship between agricultural capital and the state on farm schooling is discussed. The role of farmers in providing farm schools and the impact of the feudal relationship between farmers and farm workers on education is also examined. The second section of this chapter explores the political and socio-economic factors which have structured the provision of farm school education. This chapter highlights the fundamental differences between the provision of education for black people in the urban areas and that provided in the rural areas, the conditions constraining rural education and the recent state initiatives to improve both the quantity and quality of farm school education.

The final level of the study provides a micro-perspective on the specific issues and problems determining farm schooling within a farming community. Chapter five discusses the research methodology, the aims and goals of the study, the research design and the techniques used to gather information, and the methods of data analysis. There is also a description of how the research participants were selected and the procedure followed when collecting data. The chapter concludes with an evaluation of the research methods.

Chapter six is the focus of the study and attempts to provide a better understanding of the political and socio-economic processes determining the provision of farm schools in a particular farming area. The first part of the chapter provides a brief profile of the four farms and farm schools investigated. The second part of the chapter attempts to understand the complexities

underlying farm school education by examining the attitudes of farmers, farm workers, farm-children and teachers towards farm schooling. Four main issues are highlighted, vis: 1) attitudes concerning the responsibility for the provision of rural schooling; 2) the relationship between education and the economic structure of the area; 3) the value of education; and 4) socio-economic constraints affecting education. The central themes of the study, namely; the relationship between farm schooling and farmers' economic considerations and the impact of local decision-making on the school, are intricately tied up with the issues outlined above.

Chapter eight, the final chapter of this study, provides a brief summary of the major problems affecting black farm schools. This chapter concludes with a number of recommendations which it is hoped will encourage further research and attract the attention of policy-makers in an attempt to address some of the issues determing rural education.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL DEBATES REGARDING THE ROLE AND FUNCTION OF BLACK EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA:

1. INTRODUCTION:

There is an imbalance between the urban areas and rural areas in terms of the allocation of resources, facilities and personpower. While this imbalance is rooted in historical patterns of economic development and political segregation, it is reinforced not only by the limited social research in rural areas, but also by the bias towards urban areas reflected in current theoretical debates. This is particularly evident in the theories on the role and function of black education in South Africa.

The intention of this chapter is to review aspects of the theoretical debate on black education and to highlight the limitations of these theories in explaining rural education. It is important to emphasise that this is a truncated version of that debate. After presenting a critique of these different theories, this chapter will conclude by looking at an alternative theoretical model, which it is felt provides a better understanding of rural education and related issues and problems. It is this approach which has informed the study on the provision of black farm schools in the north eastern Cape.

2. CRITIQUE OF SOME OF THE THEORIES ON EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA:

As educational issues cannot be separated from the broader political and socio-economic context, it is important to locate the educational debate within the wider theoretical debates regarding the nature of South African society. As Kallaway (1984:1) states: "The ideological balance within debates about education and the broader ideological struggles in society at large are inextricably linked".

Two main theoretical positions can be identified in South Africa, viz: the liberal and the revisionist interpretations. According to Wright (1977) the debate between the two schools revolves around the inter-related issues of: 1) the relationship between capitalist development and the apartheid system; 2) the analytical primacy of race or class as a tool to explain the conflict in South Africa.

The early liberals belonged to the modernisation school which stressed the importance of economic development and argued that economic growth would produce large-scale benefits for the society as a whole. The implementation of apartheid was seen by this group as both an aberration of human rights and detrimental to economic growth. They claimed that apartheid, by placing constraints on the free market, the movement of labour and restricting competition, ultimately undermined the development of the economy (de Clercq, 1986:6; Kallaway, 1987:10). As the early liberals tended to separate the political and economic processes, they saw the apartheid system as something specific to the consolidation of Afrikaner nationalism during the 1940-50's and therefore unrelated to the labour needs of the capitalist economy (Lipton, 1986:5)[1].

By the 1960's the liberal theory had lost much of its legitimacy because it could no longer adequately explain the obvious benefits that agricultural, mining and manufacturing capital were deriving from the apartheid system. During the 1950-60's the various factions of capital were utilising the products of Bantu education[2]. In reaction to the perceived inadequacy of the liberal theory in explaining the relationship between capitalism and the apartheid state, a new school of thought emerged and challenged the liberal thesis from a variety of positions (Davenport, 1977:372). James (1984:1) writes:

---

[1]There is a distinction between the early liberal position (which the revisionists originally challenged), and the modified position adopted by more recent liberal interpretations (Lipton, 1986:11; Welsh, 1987:8).

[2]Refer to chapter three for further discussion on the relationship between capitalist development, the apartheid system and black education policies.

> ...the central objective to the revisionist political sociology was to give an account of the emergence, persistence and transformation of racial policies ....Their argument was that racism has a substantively rational dimension and this is rooted in the prevailing forms of economic and class interests.

The degree to which the revisionist theories adhere to the Marxist doctrine and what perspectives they focus on may differ, but in general their work is marked by a common rejection of the capitalist system and the capitalist relations of production (Wright, 1977:61). Central to this interpretation is the argument that capitalist development has benefited from the apartheid system (Posel, 1983:51).

Consistent with their rejection of the liberal theories of the nature of society, the revisionist school challenged the liberal assumptions regarding education (Kallaway, 1984:6; Sharp, 1980:5). Revisionists argue that by analysing educational provision in isolation from the political and socio-economic context, the liberal analyses failed to understand the complexities underlying the education process in general, but particularly in South Africa where black pupils are the victims of both racial discrimination and capitalist exploitation. Three of the most important criticisms levelled against the liberal thesis have been isolated and will be discussed.

The first criticism of the liberal interpretation is the use of race as the primary analytical concept. Liberal historians like Horrell (1963, 1968) and Malherbe (1977) argue that Bantu Education saw the introduction of a new ideology in black education. This was in striking contrast to the systems of mass schooling found in western democracies which encouraged equality and individual advancement and contributed to a more just social order. Collins (1980:5) succinctly describes the early liberal approach as follows:

> ...the liberal history of African schooling sees the main event in such schools being the introduction of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. In that year, it is alleged, the Nationalist Government introduced this apartheid measure whereby Africans would be forced backwards into tribal entities and into the menial vocational education for the purposes of control and oppression, contradicting the integrationist and liberal/ academic tenure of the previous owners of African schools, namely the English speaking missionaries.

Revisionists like Kallaway (1984:8), Molteno (1984:88) and Christie and Collins (1984:160) challenging this interpretation, argue that the architects of Bantu Education built upon education

structures already developed by previous governments. As Molteno (1984:88) states, the early liberal approach was in fact misleading as it involved:

> ...a distorted notion of the nature of schooling for blacks in the period prior to the introduction of Bantu Education....It over-looked what the Nationalist Party carried into Bantu Education from the education system which it inherited from the previous regime.

Racially segregated schooling is in fact not unique to the Nationalist Government and, as it will be shown in chapter three, segregated schooling can be traced back to the 1700's and by 1948 racism was firmly entrenched in education. While there were significant differences between Bantu Education and the preceding mission schools system, Bantu Education was in fact a more sophisticated and efficient attempt to maintain social control and to provide the labour power required by sectors within the capitalist group.

In response to the liberal assertion that Bantu Education was a unique, deviant and irrational system of racial oppression, Nasson (1984a:3) argues that the logic of Bantu Education was not that different from education in other Western capitalist democracies. Kallaway (1987:25) maintains that the mass education policies in the Western capitalist countries have the same type of "consequences for working class youth as Bantu Education had for black South Africans". Althusser, one of the first theorists to propose an alternative interpretation on the role of education in capitalist societies, argues that far from reducing social inequalities, education in capitalist countries actually reinforces and perpetuates the divisions within the society (de Clercq, 1986:12). He is one of the main proponents of what has become known as the 'education reproduction theory'. Bowles and Gintis (1976) have expanded Althusser's argument and claim that education reinforces inequalities through the production of different levels of labour power. They argue that working-class children remain disadvantaged despite 'equal educational opportunities', because the roots of their exploitation lie outside the education system and in the unequal distribution of economic and political power. They claim that schooling in Western democracies is geared towards the perceived political and socio-economic needs of the policy-

makers[3].

Kallaway and Nasson both argue that in South Africa racial discrimination has further distorted and fragmented this inequality. They stress the point that apartheid policies and racism should not be allowed to obscure the fact that economic exploitation and class oppression have also influenced, and are reflected in, the political and socio-economic structures in South Africa. By laying exclusive emphasis on racial discrimination the early liberal theorists did not adequately explain the nature of South African society or the role of education.

The second criticism of the liberal thesis is related to the preceding argument. As a result of using race as the primary analytical concept in their theories, liberals overlooked the economic functionality of Bantu Education. Liberal theorists maintained that the apartheid system and Bantu Education were dysfunctional to economic growth and ultimately the prosperity of the society. This interpretation has been strongly criticised by revisionist theorists, who argue that black education has been structured by the inter-related issues of the ruling bloc's need to maintain political control and the demands of the capitalist economy[4]. Briefly, revisionist theorists argue that education in capitalist societies is an important mechanism in the: 1) reproduction of the dominant social and political order through the inculcation of the appropriate values and attitudes necessary to maintain control; 2) transfer of skills and knowledge required by the capitalist economy (this ranges from functional literacy needed for unskilled labour to technical expertise necessary for skilled work); and 3) distribution of people amongst various levels of occupation (and the accompanying degrees of wealth, power and privilege) to meet the changing labour needs of the economy (Graaff & Lawrence, 1986:14; Shapiro, 1981:99-100; Kallaway, 1987:15-16). Education thus reflects and reproduces the existing social relations of production.

---

[3]Bourdieu (1976), Young (1976) and Apple (1976) have also contributed to the theory that education in capitalist societies accentuates social inequalities. For further discussion refer to Dale, Esland and MacDonald (1976) and Karabel and Halsey (1977).

[4]This argument is central to the discussion in chapter three.

The third criticism of the early liberal theories is that they viewed 'school knowledge' as objective and unbiased in its content, devised by "scientific or technical educators and specialists" who are impartial and neutral in their selection (Kallaway, 1984:6). In other words they believed that educational curricula are formulated in isolation from socio-economic and political influences, and the content of education therefore has no relation to particular political or ideological positions.

Kallaway (1984:5) argues that as a consequence this approach was theoretically incapable of providing tools for understanding education as a site of struggle and conflict. Because it viewed education as a neutral process, the early liberal approach precluded a critical appraisal of the content of education, the aims and intentions behind educational provision and education policy-makers, and the particular political and socio-economic constraints which have influenced educational policy-making (Kallaway, 1984:4; Maree, 1984:149). Such an approach could not answer fundamental questions about the education process, such as: Education for whom? What type of education? Whose interests does education serve? What relationship exists between the schooling process and the economic and political systems? As Kallaway (1984:7) and Nasson (1984a:9) argue, the school curriculum is an important mechanism in defining ideas and shaping attitudes. In this way the 'knowledge' taught at schools, which usually reflects the interests of the dominant group, confers a legitimacy on and encourages the acceptance of the status quo. Education and the school curriculum in South Africa need to be understood in the context of the apartheid state and the capitalist accumulation process, as education is:

> ...a product of, and conditioned by the capitalist political economy....As such, the form, content, and distribution of education, mirror's the distribution of power and authority in an unequal and hierarchical class society[5].

Enslin (1986) has responded to the revisionist critique on liberal theories on education with an interesting argument. Central to her argument is a rejection of the revisionist definition of liberalism. She argues that revisionists like Kallaway (1984), Christie et al (1980, 1984) and Molteno (1984) have based their critiques of liberal theories on education on incorrect premises

[5]Quoted from Nasson (1984a:9).

and assumptions. Enslin's argument revolves around three main points: 1) the dominant paradigm of enquiry into educational provision was not a liberal one; 2) many of those theorists cited as liberal were not in fact liberal; and 3) a liberal theory of education is not automatically associated with the legitimation of the capitalist system.

While not rejecting the revisionist critique itself, Enslin (1986:2) claims that the original paradigm of enquiry was conservative and not liberal. Her definition of conservatism is precisely what the revisionists attribute to early liberalism, viz: an uncritical approach; the assumption that education is neutral and value-free; an acceptance of the status quo and the failure to contextualise education within the political and socio-economic systems. Hofmeyr (1987:307) also argues against the revisionist definition of liberalism and claims that it misrepresents the various liberal principles. The point is that whatever labels Enslin and Hofmeyr would like to attach to the early theories on education, the revisionist critique of these theories still holds true.

Both Enslin (1986:116) and Hofmeyr (1987:307) state that the most central and fundamental feature of liberalism is the defence of the principle of individual freedom. They maintain that this principle has not informed either the education policies or their application in South Africa. Enslin (1986:2) maintains that a liberal philosophy of education, with its stress on individual autonomy, can only be developed in a society where there is full democratic participation and a more equitable distribution of resources and wealth. She qualifies her statement by adding that while liberalism is about equality, freedom, self respect and the dignity of the individual, the realization of these is not dependent on the capitalist state. A defence of capitalism is therefore not necessary to liberal theories on education.

Enslin argues that when liberal theories on education are viewed within this perspective there is in fact a lot of common ground with the revisionist approach. She claims that (1986:3): "The Marxist analyses of schooling in capitalist society are not necessarily incompatible with a liberal notion of education". Enslin (1986:3) concludes her argument by stating that it would therefore be misguided to abandon liberal theory in favour of revisionist theory or to offer an 'either/or' choice between the two positions, as they are not irreconcilable.

Enslin's argument is problematic for a number of reasons. While it is acknowledged that there is a greater degree of convergence between the two approaches since the original 'race/class' debate in the 1960's and that the 'either/or' positions that did characterise the theoretical debate has given way to a more pragmatic approach on both sides (Posel, 1983:61), there are still fundamental differences between the liberal and revisionist theories on the role of education in South Africa.

The most important distinction between the two approaches is the fact that liberal theories are based within an individualistic methodology while the revisionists operate within a historically materialist conception of class. In other words, liberal theories focus on the actions and interests of individuals, either singularly or in groups, and revisionist theories view class as an objective structural phenomenon which "analytically precedes an account of the interests and the intentions of particular individual members" (Posel, 1983:60). By focusing on the individual, liberal theories on education cannot explain how class and structural inequalities can constrain or enable individual action and intentions. As Posel argues, no matter how sophisticated the presentation of the liberal position, it does not explain the role of class as an objective force which has a profound effect on individual behaviour. Contrary to Enslin's claims, this irreconcilable difference between the two approaches has influenced their view of the nature of South African society, their definition of concepts like equality, freedom and justice, and, ultimately their prescriptions for change.

Despite being fundamentally different, both the revisionist and the liberal interpretations share a common failing. Both interpretations neglect the question of black rural education. It is felt that this is a serious shortcoming. As outlined above, the conventional debate between the two schools of thought revolves around the reasons behind the severe inadequacies of black education. However, the frame of reference within both interpretations is black urban based schooling and their respective explanations focus on issues which are often not applicable to rural schools. While there are similarities between urban and rural schools (for example; both types of schools suffer from inadequate facilities and resources, overcrowded classrooms, lack of equipment and technical aids, high failure rates and a shortage of qualified teaching staff), there are also striking

differences and it is of these differences both liberal and revisionist theorists have failed to take cognisance of.

While the revisionist interpretation provides a more critical analysis on the role and function of black education, it is felt that the neglect of the rural context of education seriously curtails the explanatory powers of this approach. As a result of this neglect, the revisionist analyses are inappropriate when applied to rural schooling and need to be reinterpreted and extended in order to provide a more comprehensive analysis of black education. As stated earlier, the conventional revisionist theory on education can be summarised as follows: 1) schools are a means of reproducing the dominant social order; 2) transferring skills; and 3) meeting the requirements of the economy.

Firstly, it is questionable whether rural schools are a means of reproducing the dominant social order. Unlike schooling within an urban context where black children have access to both primary and secondary education, black children in the rural areas have limited access to education, in particular secondary schooling. Firstly, there are rural children who have no access to schooling whatsoever[6] and, secondly, those who do have access to schooling do not, on average, stay in school for more than five to six years. Due to a combination of factors such as: limited numbers of higher primary and secondary schools; the financial costs (both direct and indirect) of education; the poor quality of education and socio-economic constraints, rural children often leave school during their lower primary education.

Secondly, central to the revisionist approach is the analytical category of class. While black people living on the platteland may objectively be seen as a class in itself, they at present do not operate as a class constituting itself. Due to a number of reasons such as: distance; lack of communication; illiteracy and the control exerted by the landowner over those who live on his property, it is difficult for black rural people to organise and develop a class consciousness. This

[6]According to the Synthesis Report (1986:10) released by the DET, as many as 36,7 percent of the children between the ages 4-16 in rural areas do not attend school.

has implications for schooling as a site of struggle. Given the limited number of years rural children come into contact with formal education, and combined with the above-mentioned factors, it can be argued that the liberating potential of rural schools is as effective as that of urban schools. This is illustrated by the lack of student protest in black rural schools, in contrast to the urban schools which have been disrupted by student action since the 1980's.

A third point is that the state is not responsible for rural education. Unlike the urban areas where the state does assume responsibility for education of black children, the provision of education in rural areas is left to the initiative of individuals. This is important, as revisionists argue that the alliance between state and capital[7] is aimed at oppressing the working class, which in South Africa coincides with racial oppression, in order to maintain political control and meet the requirements of the capitalist economy. While the relationship between the state and capital is clear when analysing black urban education, it is more complex within the context of rural education because the state does not provide education in these areas. While not challenging the revisionist argument that black education is a means of transferring skills and meeting the needs of the economy, it is felt that the conventional revisionist analyses needs to be reinterpreted when examining the function of rural education. It can be argued that it is precisely because there is no formal provision of education for black rural people, that the state's intentions for black education are realised. Firstly, the low level of education in these areas keep rural people largely semi-literate and ill-educated. This is a form of political control as limited education restricts the socio-economic mobility of people. Secondly, the type of skills transferred by rural schools do meet the labour demands of sectors of capital, namely unskilled labour required by agricultural capital.

The above-mentioned points illustrate the inadequacies of aspects of the revisionist analyses when applied within the context of rural education. In order to have a broader understanding of black education in South Africa, the educational debate must be extended to include rural education and

[7]While the nature of this alliance might change over time, revisionists argue that the state represents the general interests of capital. See Shapiro (1981), Hyslop (1986) and Kallaway (1987).

the particular political and socio-economic conditions effecting it. An important point is that if one of the goals of the revisionist analysis is to inform the process of change in South Africa, their continual neglect of rural education and rural issues has serious implications for future changes in rural areas.

In contrast to the preceding discussion, the following section offers some general criticisms of the revisionist interpretation of black education. There is a tendency towards structural functionalism within certain revisionist interpretations, particularly those influenced by the education reproduction model. Although revisionists like Shapiro (1981), Christie et al (1984) and Kallaway (1984, 1987) correctly contextualise education within the broader socio-economic and political processes, it is felt that their arguments are too mechanistic and cannot account for the internal contradictions, ambiguities and uncertainties that have occurred within and around the black education system itself. As Molteno (1983:54) states:

> ...if the theory is that schooling, *inter alia*, reproduces the status quo *en bloc*, contradictions and all, are we not left with a vague functionalist-like conception of a self-perpetuating, static social system?

If schooling completely reproduces the social order as it is asserted by these theorists, then it is not possible to explain the present crisis within the black education system, which is being challenged by both students and community members and in certain areas schooling has virtually come to a standstill. There are irresolvable tensions between the social control mechanisms of education, and its ever-present potential for liberation. As Hyslop (1986:1) warns, education reproduction theorists need to take into account the fact that should an education system lose its legitimacy for whatever reasons, then the role of education as a means of social reproduction can collapse[8]. The structuralism within the education reproduction approach renders the theory incapable of explaining differences within the education system. Clearly then, such an approach is meaningless when applied to schooling in the rural areas where a striking characteristic is the

[8]Examples of this are the 1976 Soweto riots, the 1980 crisis in black schools in the western Cape and the national crisis in black urban school during the mid-1980's.

fragmentary and disparate nature of educational provision.

In a deliberate attempt to move away from the structural functionalist tendency within the revisionist approach, various scholars adopted a more dialectical approach which "conceives of conflicts and contradictions in and around the education system" (de Clercq, 1986:14). These scholars argue that education is both a means of reproducing the dominant social order and a site of struggle with different groups constantly challenging the education process. While these scholars do examine the conflict in and around the education system and have a more sophisticated understanding of the social processes affecting education, these analyses focus on the education system from a broad and general perspective. According to Graaff et al (1986:12):

> There is no attempt to formulate a rigorous theory of the subject and to locate the agent within contrasting situations. By extending one's conception of the agent so as to include this contingent nature of their perceptions, one is in a better position to move beyond homogeneous categories of 'subject' and 'structures', and to explore differential responses and perceptions of schooling by specific agents in varying historical, political, economic and social circumstances.

It is felt that the exclusive focus on the macro-level limits the revisionist interpretation, as one cannot develop an explanation of the actions taken and decisions made at a local level. An approach which includes an analysis of the local context would be able to contribute towards a better understanding of the differences evident in black education, both between and within areas. While black urban schools are also affected by differences, it is particularly evident in rural education given the unevenness in the provision of formal education in these areas. Questions such as: What relationship exists between schooling in the rural areas and the political and socio-economic process? Why does education vary from region to region? How do these differences occur? How does this impact upon the schooling process? need to be answered in order to obtain a clearer understanding of the types of constraints affecting rural education. The following section proposes an alternative model which it is felt is capable of providing such an understanding of rural education.

3. AN ALTERNATIVE THEORETICAL MODEL:

The theoretical model discussed in this section is an adaptation of the model developed by Graaff et al (1986) in their study of rural schools in Bophuthatswana. The model outlined by Graaff et al integrates social phenomenology within a functionalist perspective, which allows for an analysis of the micro-situation within a wider political context. Graaff et al (1986:7) argue that a central failing in functionalist theory is that: "...analysts have been tempted to allocate such force to the needs of the system, that social institutions and, *a fortiori*, individuals have been emptied of any independent action". In other words, the perceptions and actions of actors are rendered insignificant in the overall functioning of the system. In contrast, Graaff et al argue that the consciousness of actors is important as, within a given context, actors construct their own reality which determines their subsequent actions, and interacts with and impacts upon the broader social system. They conclude that: "social structures are both the medium and the outcome of these constructions". It is therefore important to consider social activity not only in terms of the overall functioning of the system, but also in terms of individuals acting out their daily lives. Thus they argue that what is required is a theory which is capable of examining the perceptions and actions of actors, but at the same time can situate them within the broader context of objective social, political and economic processes.

Social phenomenology looks at the subjective world of the actors and the meanings that they construct. By focusing on the actors' interpretation of situations, it endeavours to understand how they perceive their reality (Cohen & Manion, 1980:24). By using this approach Graaff et al (1986:10) are able to focus on the micro-level and can obtain a clearer understanding of the perceptions and actions of actors. However, they argue that in order to give this approach explanatory powers, it is necessary to complement this "micro, intra-schools perspective" with a broader political perspective and they locate their analysis within the political economy framework. They state that by integrating a phenomenological perspective within a functionalist approach, the limitations of both conventional functionalism and phenomenological theory can be transcended.

This model was felt to be the most appropriate for understanding rural education for a number of reasons. In contrast to the conventional revisionist theories on black education which focus on education within a macro-perspective, this approach combines a macro-perspective with a micro-analysis of the local context. It is felt that by focusing on the micro-perspective, this approach allows for an analysis of the types of issues that constrain or enable education within a particular area and is capable of providing in-depth information of the local context. This approach is therefore able to explain the differences within education, both within a rural and an urban context. However, at the same time, individual actions within the local context are not treated as though they occur within a vacuum, but as part of the broader political and socio-economic processes. By locating the micro-analysis within a broader political context, analyses of rural education are not disembodied from the broader societal context and do not remain at the descriptive level. It is felt that such a combination can make a significant contribution to the revisionist analyses on the role and function of education, and can broaden the perspective of the current educational debate.

A further point is that as the nature of a post-apartheid society is negotiated, a sensitivity to the process of change at a local level is essential. By adopting this approach, it is possible to have a better understanding of local perceptions, needs and interests which must also inform the process of change. As Stavrou (1991:71) states, unless the socio-economic dynamics underlying rural communities are understood, the policy-decisions made could be "wholly inappropriate".

This model has informed the study of the provision of farm schools in the north eastern Cape. It is felt that the provision of farm schools is complex and intricately linked to the economic considerations of farmers and, therefore, the social relationships within rural areas. Once education is provided, the impact of local decision-making cannot be underestimated. For these reasons it was felt that the best approach to this study is the combination of a micro-study within a macro-perspective. While a micro-study allows for an in-depth analysis of the attitudes of farmers, farm workers, farm-children and farm school teachers towards education, the macro-perspective provides the context within which the micro-analysis can be understood. The empirical research, which is discussed in chapters five and six, was located within the broader

political and socio-economic context of chapters three and four. In this way it is possible to identify broad trends regarding the process of farm schooling, which contribute towards a better understanding of the complexities underlying education in the 'white' commercial farming areas.

CHAPTER THREE

ASPECTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF BLACK EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA:

1. INTRODUCTION:

As it is argued in chapter two, education plays a crucial role in modern capitalist societies in helping to determine the norms and values and the power structures that exist within a particular society. Far from being a neutral and value-free process it is a powerful political tool that serves the interests of a dominant group or groups (Kallaway, 1984; Nasson, 1984a, 1990; Sharp, 1980; Bowles et al, 1976). For this reason the education system has to be understood within the context of the broader political and socio-economic processes that exist in society. To understand how education can effect and influence people in a society it is necessary to examine the nature of that society and to identify the interplay of social forces and contradictions that exist between and within different interest groups.

It will be argued in this chapter that the development of black education has been influenced by three interrelated issues, viz: 1) the ruling white group's need to maintain political control; 2) the demands of the capitalist economy; and 3) black resistance to this oppression. However, it would be erroneous to view either the white or black groups as homogenous and conflict-free, as different factions with specific political and economic interests exist within these groups. In addition none of these factions have remained static, but have undergone changes at various stages in the history of South Africa. Hyslop (1986:2) points out that the formation of policies is not only the outcome of political struggle and social conflict between different interest groups, but is also dependent upon the power and influence of particular groups in either enforcing or resisting the implementation of these policies. At the same time what might have been intended by policy-makers is not necessarily what happens in practice. The formation of educational policies must therefore be understood within this context. As such, any analysis of the development of black education must look at the contradictions and conflicts that have occurred in and around the education system.

This chapter will look at how some of the contradictions between different interest groups, and subsequent changes that have occurred, have determined the development and direction of black education. Three historical periods are identified in this chapter, viz: 1) missionary education (pre-1948); 2) Bantu Education (1848-1976); and 3) nationalist reform (1976-).

2.THE PERIOD OF MISSIONARY EDUCATION, BLACK SCHOOLING UNTIL 1948:

The origins of segregated schooling can be traced back as far as 1658 when the first separate school in the Cape Colony was established[1]. Formal black education in Southern Africa was initiated by the missionaries, who established black schools in the Cape towards the end of the 18th century (Hirsch, 1979:19). At this stage mission education did not have a mass impact on the indigenous people. To begin with the missionaries met with a lot of resistance from many tribal communities who saw mission education as an attempt to undermine their culture and traditional way of life. According to Molteno (1984:52) resistance to mission education came in the form of either avoidance or outright rejection of schooling and was evident throughout the 19th century. Molteno (1984:52) and Bundy (1988:38) argue that while the pre-capitalist mode of production remained intact, the black tribal communities were largely able to resist the influence of colonialism. It was only once the indigenous political and socio-economic systems began to disintegrate that education become more popular.

By the mid-1850's the colonial government began to take an active interest in the development and direction of black education. de Clercq (1986:20) attributes this change in attitude to two interrelated issues: the colonial government realised that formal black schooling could assist in: 1) attempts to control and pacify the indigenous people; and 2) the subordination of the indigenous people into the colonial order. She maintains that at this stage labour interests did not have such a profound effect on the development of black education, although this did change with the emergence of the capitalist economy in the late 1800's. Molteno (1984:84) and Kallaway (1984:9) have a similar interpretation to de Clercq's. They assert that black education, whether controlled by the missionaries or colonial authorities, was part of a deliberate process to control and co-opt the indigenous people into the colonial

[1]This was for the children of the slaves imported for the use of the Dutch East India Company (Molteno, 1984:19).

structures. Those who did acquire an education assimilated ideas and practices essentially at odds with the traditional lifestyles (Davenport, 1977:86; Odendaal, 1986:1). As Bundy (1988:38) contends, the origins of black schooling must be understood in the context of British imperialist expansion and capitalist development where blacks were denied their political independence, dispossessed of their land and drawn into a new system of cultural and economic interaction where they were subordinate to the ruling white group.

This view is in direct contrast to the liberal interpretation which tends to see the role of the missionaries as philanthropic. They argue that the missionaries did not work with the colonial authorities and that their actions were motivated by the belief that the assimilation of the indigenous people into the Western social order was to their advantage. That this assimilation did not happen on an equal basis was more the fault of the colonial authorities and policy-makers than any action on the part of the missionaries (de Clercq, 1986:19). The revisionists reject this interpretation and argue that the missionaries played an active role in undermining tribal cohesion and facilitating the subordination of blacks to the colonial order. In fact, Bundy (1988:38) claims that the missionaries actively set out to promote economic differentiation and class formation by attempting to restructure black societies in a "rough likeness of their own European society". While it can be argued that the missionaries might not have been aware of the effect of their actions on the broader social formation, de Clercq (1986:20) correctly points out that their actions ended up facilitating the colonization process. By providing education that was unequal, inferior and for the most part limited to primary education, the mission schools ensured that not only would the appropriate values and attitudes be instilled, but also that blacks would be integrated into the colonial system as subordinates. As Molteno (1984: 51) writes:

> The schools helped to make 'useful servants' of them by teaching them the basics of their new master's language and providing them with a limited vocabulary that would be relevant in their role in the new colonial order.

The incorporation of the indigenous people into the colonial order must also be seen in the context of the crumbling of the pre-capitalist mode of production and the forced entry of many black people into the wage labour system. During the 1800's conflict between

colonialists and indigenous societies along the Cape frontier[2] over land and resources escalated. The expanding import-export market economy of the Cape required increased agricultural production, and, in order to meet this demand, additional land and labour was necessary. The colonial administration consequently encouraged further expansion along the frontier and the destabilisation of indigenous societies. As a result of military conquest, the expropriation of tribal territory and the penetration of white traders within tribal communities, the political and socio-economic systems of the indigenous societies was slowly undermined. Many members of these societies found themselves embroiled in new economic and social relations where access to land was denied and they were forced to enter the labour sector of the colonial economy (Bundy, 1988:29-32). As it is argued, missionary education played a part in this process of conquest by reinforcing the control of the conqueror over the conquered.

It is argued that there was an indirect link between black education and the economic processes during the latter half of the 19th century and early 20th century. Looking at black education policies during this period it is clear that a formal academic education for blacks was spurned in favour of vocational and technical training. The link between education and industrial training can be traced back to 1847 when Earl Grey drew up a document on education which strongly advocated the introduction of industrial training in black schools (du Toit, 1954:232). This link can again be seen in the Education Act passed in the Cape Colony in 1865, and in the Reports submitted by the Commission on Education in 1890 and the South African Native Affairs Commission in 1905 (Rose & Tumner, 1975:212; Houghton, 1908:334-340). However, the emphasis was on manual labour rather than on any form of skilled training.

Black education was a contentious issue amongst the colonialists. Many of the colonialists feared that the provision of education, particularly higher education, for blacks would encourage them to challenge the status quo (de Clercq, 1986:21). Consequently the debate regarding black schooling towards the end of the 19th century revolved around whether eduction should in fact be provided for blacks. Sir Langham Dale, Superintendent General of

[2]This area covered the present eastern Cape, Transkei and Ciskei.

the Cape Colony 1859-1892, articulated the reservations many colonialists had regarding black schooling when he wrote in 1892:

> ...if some obligatory school attendance were introduced and thousands of kaffirs were leaving school year by year with sufficient school-instruction to set them loose from tribal customs....what would you do with them?...will the educated Native leave his home and take service? If not, the crowding together of educated natives, living without a trade or a regular habit of employment, must tend to mischief and social disturbances[3].

Another reaction against black education came from the white farmers who feared that this would accentuate the labour shortages in the rural areas[4]. The white farmers' struggle for black labour and the subsequent use of repressive measures to tie labour to the farms was as pronounced during the 19th century as it has been during the 20th century (Ross, 1986:76-86)[5]. Farmers were afraid that education would drive farm workers off the land into towns seeking higher wages and better employment conditions (Lipton, 1986:76). The scarcity of educational opportunities in the 'white' rural areas at present is, at least in part, due to this fear. According to Wilson (1971:125) at the turn of the century there was little opportunity for education for black farm-children. Most farmers were not interested in the schooling of their workers' children and were "against their labour being 'spoilt' and 'made cheeky' by book learning"[6].

Historically, missionary education was located in the rural areas. Mission schools were mainly set up on the fringes of settler penetration and, as it is mentioned, education was one method of pacifying blacks and incorporating them into colonial structures. It is therefore not surprising that the majority of the mission schools were located in the Cape with its tradition of black uprisings. According to Molteno (1984:50), Sir George Grey, governor of the Cape

---

[3]Quoted from Rose et al (1975:212).

[4]This will be discussed in greater detail in chapter four.

[5]For example, the Masters and Servants Act, passed in 1856, increased the power of farmers over their workers by making it a criminal liability for employees to breach aspects of their work contracts (Ross, 1986:84).

[6]Quoted from Wilson (1971:125).

during the 1850's, held education to be a "prime weapon in the subjugation of the indigenous population" along the frontier and in Natal. It was only towards the end of the 19th century that missions started setting up more schools in the urban areas. In fact, it was the inadequacy of schooling in the urban areas that accentuated the urban crisis during the 1940's and contributed to the collapse of the mission school system[7]. While the provision of black education was concentrated in the rural areas until the middle of the 20th century, it should not be assumed that this provision was ever sufficient.

Firstly, due to its decentralised nature, missionary education was not available to all sectors of the black population, and as de Clercq (1986:23) argues, different people had different access to education. It was usually the children of the higher strata within the indigenous communities who had greater access to the mission schools, as the poorer strata were often unable to afford both the direct and indirect costs of educating their children. Thus within many communities missionary education became the privilege of the traditional elite and it helped to heighten the existing social divisions within the black communities. According to Horrell (1968:23) by 1945 only 7,7 percent of the black population had access to education. Of this figure, 76 percent of the pupils were in lower primary standards and only 3,4 percent in post-primary standards.

Secondly, during the first half of the 20th century an increased demand for schooling within the black population was evident. With the gradual breakdown of tribal cohesion, missionary education became popular amongst some of the black communities, who believed that it was only through education that black children would be able to compete effectively in Western capitalist society. As Shingler (1973:54) states, there were those black people who saw education as:

> ...a means to modernity....a means of participating in the structures which had been imposed on them and of obtaining familiarity with ....ideas, skills and techniques which were the source of power and wealth.

However, the resources available to the mission schools were completely inadequate in meeting this increased demand for education. While the state assumed responsibility for the overall funding of black education, mission schools were required to pay for building and

[7]This will be discussed further on in the chapter.

maintenance costs, the salaries of non-teaching employees and medical expenses (Hyslop, 1987:11). As the amount allocated by the state to black education was insufficient[8], mission schools suffered from severe financial constraints, which eventually lead to the breakdown of the mission's infrastructure. In an effort to deal with the demand for schooling, mission schools began to increase the intake of pupils beyond the capacity of the existing resources. As a result, mission schools suffered from over-crowded classrooms, shortages of qualified teaching staff, inadequate facilities and equipment, an increasingly inferior quality of education and deteriorating relations between staff and pupils.

The development of black education must also be understood against the background of capitalist development and the demands of different interest groups. The discovery of minerals in the latter half of the 1800's had a profound effect on the economic and political processes in South Africa. Opportunities for commodity production and trade were introduced into the interior encouraging its rapid development. Morris (1976:313) argues that because of the sudden introduction of mining capital into an environment that was largely feudal, the development of capitalism has been uneven with inherent structural contradictions[9]. This uneven development highlighted and exacerbated divisions within the white oligarchy and set the conditions of the class struggle which has played a crucial role in determining political and economic policies and ultimately the development of black education. However, it is argued that at this stage the interest of the new mining industry and the white farmers in the development of black education was minimal, as the labour requirements of both factions were for unskilled cheap black labour. As Molteno (1984:61) argues, the importance of black education during this period was not so much the reproduction of specific labour skills, as the

[8]For example, in 1930, 221 210 pounds was spent on white education while only 20 208 pounds was spent on black education. By 1934 as much as one quarter of the annual state expenditure went to white education (Shingler, 1972:60).

[9]It is not the intention of this chapter to trace the development of capitalism beyond its impact on black education. For further details in this regard refer to Legassick (1975), Marks and Atmore (1980) and Marks and Rothbone (1982).

effect it had on the emerging capitalist relations. The ideological and psychological dimensions of black education, as well as the inferior content, were aimed at instilling the appropriate attitudes and skills necessary to the capitalist social relations of the period. Extracts from the Report released by the Committee on Native Education in 1936 support this argument:

> We must give the native an education which will keep him in his place....The education of the white child prepares him for a life in a dominant society and the education of the black child for life in a subordinate society[10].

However, while education is an important mechanism in determining social relations and the distribution of power in any society, it is not the only mechanism through which the dominant group reinforces its control (Bowles et al, 1976). Black schooling as a means of social control must be seen in conjunction with the other repressive measures that have been used to regulate the movement of black labour. The most important of these were the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts. By providing the statutory basis for territorial segregation, the Land Acts restricted black ownership of land to the reserves and also laid the foundations for the division of labour markets and political representation. According to Bundy (1992:6) the unequal access to land has underpinned the domination of the majority of South Africans. Other repressive measures were: the Mines and Works Act of 1911 which excluded blacks from skilled occupation; the Native Labour Regulation Act also of 1911 made the breach of contract by black workers on the mines a criminal offense; the disenfranchisement of the black voters in the Cape Province in 1936; the black reserves and the migrant labour system; the pass laws; the discriminatory labour laws and the extra-economic coercion of the black labour force (de Villiers, 1971:438). These measures were all essential to the particular form of capitalist development in South Africa which has depended upon large supplies of cheap, exploitable black labour (Lacey, 1981:234).

While education is a method of reproducing the dominant social relations within a society, it can at the same time be an agent of change. As argued in chapter two, schools can both reflect and transform society. The success of an education system as a means of social control is dependent on the degree of acquiescence and the level of political consciousness of the

---

[10]Quoted in UG 29-1936:87, para. 453.

oppressed. As Molteno (1984:74) succinctly argues:

> Schooling under the capitalist system is never just a machine processing the children of the exploited to take their parents' place in the interests of the exploiters....there are limits to which they [the dominant class] can manipulate. The limits are set by the level reached in the struggle of the politically and otherwise dispossessed, and by the fact that the implementation of policy demands depends on the collaboration of the students and teachers.

It is important to point out that missionary education was never unproblematically accepted within the black communities. There were many black people who queried the unequal and racist structures upon which missionary education was built. According to Molteno (1984:78-84) parents, teachers, pupils and the black community at large were, at various stages, involved in resistance against the segregated education system. By the end of the 1930's parents had formed associations in Natal and Transkei which opposed the system of black education, protesting against both the structure and content of schooling. Significantly, many leaders of the African National Congress (ANC) and other black political organisations, who were products of the mission school system, were mobilising sectors of the black population against white rule. By the end of the 1940's it was clear that the mission school system was no longer a successful mechanism of social control and was not only challenged externally but also internally.

Although black student protest can be traced back to the beginning of the 20th century, there was an unprecedented upsurge of student militancy during the 1940's which took the form of protests, stayaways, walkouts, and in some cases, rioting and the destruction of school property. Although student protest did occur in other parts of the country, it tended to be concentrated in the rural boarding schools in the eastern Cape, Transkei and Ciskei. It is significant that much of the protest was found in the above-mentioned areas which have a long history of protest and resistance. Hyslop (1987:10) argues that the student action during this period must be understood in the context of the internal failure of the mission school system. This was as a result of the severe financial constraints and deteriorating relations between the white staff members and black pupils (and in some cases black teachers). As discussed earlier, the mission schools suffered from a lack of funding, inadequate facilities and poor living conditions which became the focus of the protest during the 1940's. However, as Hyslop (1987:6) argues, while conditions within these schools, in particular issues like

food, discipline and the use of manual labour, appeared to be the cause of student action, they were symptomatic of underlying political and social grievances. He states that: "These discontents centred on the way in which the authoritarian power relations of the mission summoned up and reflected those of wider society". Although there appeared to be no direct involvement between students and black political organisations, it is argued that student militancy was influenced by the growing black nationalism and the radicalisation of political organisations during the 1940's.

The failure of the mission school system must also be seen in the context of the changes taking place in the broader society during the 1940's. Between 1939 and 1952 the black urban population nearly doubled. This was due to three inter-related processes, viz: 1) the impoverishment of the reserves; 2) the deteriorating conditions on the farms; and 3) the rapid expansion of the manufacturing sector (Hartwig & Sharp, 1984:309; Lodge, 1983:11). Firstly, the underdevelopment of the reserves led to the extreme impoverishment of the black population living there. As a result of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, blacks were forced into the reserves which by the 1940's could no longer sustain the vast numbers of people living in them. The net result was an increase of unrest which spread to the urban areas, as people, avoiding the threat of starvation, migrated there. Secondly, many farm workers were moving off the white farms to the urban areas as a result of low wages and poor living conditions on the farms[11]. Thirdly, after the second world war South Africa experienced an economic boom which lead to the rapid expansion of the manufacturing sector which further attracted black labour to the urban areas. In contrast to both mining and agricultural capital, manufacturing capital required a stable, semi-skilled urban workforce and pressurised the state into suspending the influx control laws regulating the movement of blacks to the urban areas between 1942-1943.

All three of these processes led to the establishment of a large black working class within the urban areas which had a profound effect on the socio-economic relations in the country. As a result of inadequate housing and sanitation facilities and increasing poverty, the urban areas

[11]The labour crisis experienced by the white farmers during the 1940-50's will be discussed in further detail in chapter four.

became uncontrollable slum areas with escalating crime rates. These bad living and working conditions led to the mobilisation of community, worker and political movements amongst the black urban working class. Amongst the demands articulated by the black movements was the restructuring of the education system. As discussed earlier, black schooling was concentrated mainly in the rural areas and the mission school system was thus unable to accommodate the influx of urban black youth within its structures. There were increasing fears within the ruling bloc that the lack of urban schools would lead to juvenile delinquency and social unrest, which could undermine white political control. According to Atkinson:

> With shortages of housing, lessening of family control and other social problems arising from a large and rapid movement of population, it became evident that many more schools were needed in the urban areas to combat the neglect of children and a growth of juvenile delinquency[12].

According to Hyslop (1985:10) both the United Party (UP) and the Nationalist party (NP) realised that there was a critical need to establish a new system of black education that would reaffirm the authority of the ruling class and meet the changing needs of the economy. It was clear by the end of the 1940's that the entire social order was in crisis and in order for the ruling classes to maintain control, a total restructuring of the social systems was necessary. However, there were differences within the ruling group over the type of change that should be implemented[13].

3. THE PERIOD OF BANTU EDUCATION, 1948-1976:

In 1948 the NP won the general election and began to systematically introduce their apartheid policies. In response to the urban crisis mentioned above they embarked on the scheme of separate development. According to Molteno (1984:91) NP policy-makers realized that the

[12]Quoted from Cameron (1986:11).

[13]The UP's Fagan Commission advocated controlled black urbanisation which would establish a stable black middle class. In contrast, the NP's Sauer Report was in favour of expanding the existing migration system and tightening controls over the influx of blacks to the cities. See Hyslop (1985), Lodge (1983), Hartwig et al (1984), Lacey (1981) and Adam and Giliomee (1979) for further debate.

smallest concession to black political demands would lead to their full political integration within a common framework. He argues that the Bantustan strategy (or separate development) was an attempt to diffuse black nationalism and the potential threat this posed to white dominance. By creating semi-autonomous ethnic homelands for different black groups, the NP justified the exclusion of blacks from the central decision-making structures of the country. A further advantage of this system to capital and the state was that by perpetuating the myth that the rural areas could sustain the black population with subsistence agriculture, the low wages paid to migrant and contract workers could be justified (Wolpe, 1972:299). The success of the Bantustan system was dependant upon the acquiescence and conditioning of blacks to life in the reserves. Clearly what was needed was a system of black education that would give legitimacy to the Bantustan system. However, as Hyslop (1986:11) argues, before the NP could implement the Bantustan system they had to deal with the *de facto* existence of the black urban working class. The state realized that the black urban dwellers were not going to leave the cities and could therefore not be ignored. The response of the NP to the urban crisis and political resurgence was to provide minimum facilities like housing and sanitation in the cities and to increase controls preventing further black urbanisation. The Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the pass laws, the labour bureaux, influx control and a web of restrictive legislation ensured that the lives of black people were controlled in almost every aspect.

It is argued that the policies of Bantu Education must therefore be seen as part of the response by the dominant classes to the social crisis of the 1940-50's. Based on the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission in 1951 the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was passed. For the first time black education policies were integrated into an overall state strategy. Black education was placed under the central control of the Department of Native Affairs (to be transferred again to the separate Department of Bantu Education in 1958) (Harvey, 1980:16). Unlike the decentralised system of missionary education, this gave the state a more direct control over the direction of black education. It is argued that Bantu Education operated on a number of levels. Firstly, like the previous black education system, it was a mechanism to maintain social control. Secondly, Bantu Education was a means of responding to the labour needs of the capitalist sector. Finally, it was aimed at legitimating the Bantustan system.

As revisionists argue, Bantu Education did not signify the introduction of a new ideology in black education (in contrast to the liberal position), but was in fact a continuation of the segregationist approach adopted towards education by the previous governments. However, as Hyslop (1985) warns, the importance to South African society of the implementation of Bantu Education must not be underrated. One of the striking features of Bantu Education was the implementation of mass education similar to the mass schooling systems found in Western Democracies[14]. An important point of clarification is necessary here. Many revisionists fail to mention that the implementation of mass education in South Africa was only a phenomenon in the urban areas. Education in the 'homelands' and 'white' commercial farming areas was not part of this policy. While the NP blueprint for education projected a rural based future for black education, this was not rigorously implemented (Hyslop, 1986:11). It is felt that there are a number of explanations for this.

Firstly, the urban crisis demanded an immediate resolution and, as part of the problem was that there were insufficient black schooling facilities, more urban schools had to be established. Secondly, manufacturing capital required a stable semi-skilled urban-based labour force. The promotion of a black rural based education system was clearly a source of potential conflict between the state and manufacturing capital, which the state sought to avoid. The final reason is possibly the most important one, and that is that the promotion of the urban areas at the cost of rural areas was part of an overall strategy of divide and rule. According to Hindson (1985, 1987) the restructuring of influx control, the creation of labour bureaux, the tightening of the system of registration (the pass-laws) and the 'Section 10' amendments to the Urban Areas Act[15] were all mechanisms which deepened the distinctions between urban and rural workers, between those with permanent rights to live in urban areas and migrant or contract labourers. By limiting access to employment opportunities and residence in urban areas, the privileged urban 'insider' was divided from the under-privileged rural 'outsider'. Hindson (1987:62) argues that a process of labour differentiation between urban

---

[14] The impact of mass schooling on society is discussed in chapter two.

[15] Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act allowed urban dwellers, under certain conditions, permanent rights to live in urban areas (Hindson, 1987:62).

and rural workers was taking place which was another means of control over the black work force. While those with rights to stay permanently in the urban areas enjoyed a relative amount of job security, migrant or contract workers had no such security. As a result, those aspiring to Section 10 rights would be less likely to be involved in industrial action or political activity for fear of losing their jobs and being sent back to the homelands where unemployment was high (Graaff et al, 1986:20). Thus it is argued that the underdevelopment of the homelands was in fact a crucial aspect of the process of labour differentiation. The poverty stricken conditions allowed the state and capital to exploit the insecurity of rural workers who would accept poor working conditions and low wages in order to be employed and meet the Section 10 requirements.

The main thrust of the Bantu Education policies during the 1950-60's was towards building schools and facilities for the majority of black urban youth, but only to a lower primary level. The following figures illustrate this trend: the number of black primary school pupils increased from 970 000 in 1955 to 5 744 000 in 1975 (DET, 1977:63). The provision of secondary schools in urban areas was not encouraged by the state. For example, of the 200 000 black children in Sub A in 1950 only 894 reached matriculation in 1962 (Samuel, 1990:18). According to Verwoerd (1954:23) there was no need to provide black people with secondary education as: "There is no place for [them] in the European community above certain forms of labour".

The attempt by the state to expose the majority of the black urban youth to at least four years of schooling must be seen on the one hand as a means to control and diffuse black political agitation, while on the other hand it was a response to capital's labour demands. By providing mass schooling in the urban areas, the state sought to influence the outlook of as many black children as possible by instilling the appropriate value system. At the same time black pupils acquired basic skills that enabled them to do semi-skilled work needed by manufacturing capital at that stage (Molteno, 1984:91). However, Hyslop (1986:5) raises an important point when he argues that Bantu education was used to reproduce different types of labour. Briefly, he argues that if education is viewed as reproducing labour and if one accepts Hindson's argument that a process of labour differentiation was taking place during the 1950's, then it follows that the "<u>educational process was also differentiated in urban and rural area</u>, and

probably between types of rural areas" (my emphasis). This point is in fact critical to this study, as it is asserted from the outset that the provision of black education is differentiated.

Despite the fact that the NP's educational blueprint was for a rural based black education system, no formal provision of education for rural black people exists. Schooling in rural areas, both in the homelands and on the white farms, was left to the initiative of individuals. Thus it was only once a decision to establish a school had been made by either community members in the homelands or individual farmers in the 'white' farming areas, that the state would in any way provide education for the black population in these areas[16]. While the provision of education in rural areas under the mission school system was never adequate, it was almost completely neglected under Bantu Education[17]. The schools that were established in both the homelands and 'white' rural areas were of such a low standard that children passing through these schools were restricted to the lowest levels of unskilled labour. It is argued that the neglect of schooling in these areas was in fact functional to both the needs of sectors of capital and the state at that stage. Firstly, as both mining and agricultural capital required unskilled labour, the basic thrust of Bantu Education was in line with their interests[18]. Secondly, Graaff et al (1986:21) point out that if the provision of rural education had been more systematic and the level of education within the existing schools higher, the potential that schooling could raise aspirations and political consciousness amongst rural people was very real. This could have led to social unrest and the challenge of the control of the ruling bloc similar to the 1940's.

There were, however, problems and contradictions involved in the implementation of the Bantu Education policies, as there are often disparities between policy-decisions and their implementation. One of the downfalls of Bantu Education was the lack of finance. Again

---

[16]This method of providing education is currently still in effect in the 'white' farming areas and 'self-governing' homelands.

[17]The problems effecting rural education will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

[18]The socio-economic and political processes behind the implementation of the farm school system will be discussed in detail in chapter four.

there were distinctions between urban and rural education. As discussed earlier, rural schools fell under a different system of control and funding was shared between the individual(s) who built the school and the state on a fifty-fifty basis. However, in practice the individuals responsible for the schools were often left to carry the costs (Graaff, 1989:12). In contrast, the state assumed full financial responsibility for the provision of primary schools in the urban areas[19]. The Audit Amendment Act of 1955 set a fixed amount of R13 million with an additional amount taken from 80 percent of the taxes imposed on the black communities, but as black wages were so low this represented an insignificant amount (Author unknown, Africa Perspective, No 24, 1984:54). The funding made available to urban education was so inadequate that by the 1970's the viability of the institution in providing skilled labour and maintaining social stability was seriously undermined. Per capita expenditure on black education dropped from R17 in 1953 to R12 in 1960 (Horrell, 1968:31). The expansion of the urban primary schools and the shortage of qualified teaching staff only exacerbated the problem[20]. Black urban schools where suffering from inadequate facilities and equipment, over-crowded classrooms, poor teaching and high dropout and failure rates. Although the conditions within rural schools were worse, this was not in conflict with the interests of the state and sectors of capital. As mentioned earlier, the limited education opportunities in rural areas was part of the strategy adopted by the ruling class to maintain political control and to meet the needs of the sectors of capital.

By the end of the 1960's Bantu Education was no longer capable of responding to all the needs of capital and there was increasing conflict between the state and manufacturing capital regarding black education. Firstly, the state's plan to eventually uproot the black urban population to the Bantustans and to rely on migrant labour, had serious implications for manufacturing capital. Secondly, the expansion of the industrial sector and the transition to

---

[19]This did not apply to secondary education in the urban areas. The system of financial provision for secondary schooling was similar to that in rural areas (Hyslop, 1986:11). In this manner the state sought to restrict the growth of secondary education in urban areas.

[20]In 1960 the teacher-pupil ratio was as high as 1:57. While this had marginally decreased to 1:51 by 1978, it was still 2,5 times higher than the white teacher-pupil ratio (Pillay, 1984:14).

monopoly capitalism highlighted the shortage of skilled personpower. The state was pressed into restructuring aspects of its labour and education policies and a definite shift in its attitude towards black education became apparent in the 1970's (Samuel, 1990:19). Secondary schools were now being built in urban areas[21]. However, the expansion of secondary schools only added to the problems within Bantu Education and weakened an already over-burdened system. According to Hyslop (1987:36) it was the state's policy of expanding secondary schooling under such inadequate conditions that contributed directly to the emergence of a mass student movement.

Although black education has a history of student action, the protest in the 1970's was different to student protest in the past. For the first time pupils in urban day schools were becoming politically active, student protest was more coherent, and educational demands were linked to broader political issues (Hyslop, 1987:34; Blignaut, 1986:2). Escalating student action must also be seen in the light of the revival of black political activity, the reorganisation of black trade unionism and the liberation of Angola and Mozambique in the 1970's. These conditions all heightened the political awareness of black pupils and stimulated political activity which finally erupted into the 1976 Soweto riots. The resistance against the state was fierce and violence escalated and continued for the following eighteen months (Davies, 1984:346)[22]. Kallaway (1984:20) argues that not only did the 1976 crisis highlight the injustices of the Apartheid system to the international community, but it also demonstrated the depth of the resentment within the black population. In the light of increasing international censure and internal turmoil the state was forced to react. Kallaway (1984:20) states that: "...the South African government had to find a formula to defuse internal and external threats without destroying its own economic and political foundations".

---

[21]The number of black secondary schools in urban areas increased from 415 in 1970 to 844 in 1976 (Samuel, 1990:19).

[22]By the end of 1977 as many as 196 000 black pupils were boycotting schools and many teachers had resigned in sympathy (Samuel, 1990:22).

4. THE PERIOD OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM, 1976 ONWARDS:

The response by the NP to the escalating unrest was the policy of Total Strategy. Buckland (1983:7) claims that concerns over the deteriorating labour relations and social security led to two new power factors within the white oligarchy, viz: big business and the military. He argues that the policy of Total Strategy was a tentative alliance between these two groups and the state, aimed at co-opting and controlling the black population. By initiating a series of reformist programmes the state hoped to legitimise its control[23]. Marcus (1991:27) provides a definition of reform which describes the intentions behind the state's reform policies:

> Reform is a mechanism used by those in power to adjust to changes in the social system (structural reform) and to relieve pressures (ameliorative reforms) in order to continue to rule.

As an interim response to the education crisis, the 1979 Education and Training Act replaced the Bantu Education Act of 1953[24]. These reform measures were merely an attempt to change the image of black education. The reaction to the new education system was continued violence and protest by students and community organisations. Clearly, the political reforms in black education had failed and the state, pressurized by big business, realised that a restructuring of the black education system was necessary if the reform programs were to have any success. In response, the state appointed a commission of enquiry (subsequently referred to as the de Lange Commission) to investigate the education crisis and to make recommendations for a new education policy which was to be in line with the state's reform measures. In October 1981 the final report from the Main Committee was released to

---

[23]A discussion on the reform strategy employed by the state beyond its impact on black education is outside the scope of this chapter. For further information refer to Kallaway (1984) and Buckland (1981, 1983).

[24]The Department of Bantu Education was replaced by the Department of Education and Training. Amongst other issues the act pledged itself to free and compulsory education for all black pupils (Samuel, 1990:23).

Parliament[25].

In response to the de Lange Commission, the *White Paper on the Provision of Education in the RSA* was released in November 1983. While there are some discrepancies between the recommendations made by the Commission and those adopted in the White Paper, the de Lange recommendations were on the whole accepted by the state in its bid to reform and thus legitimise the black education system (Samuel, 1990:26). Gardiner (1984:9) argues that in the light of the 1984 Constitution, which deliberately excluded black people from any political participation, the reform of the black education system was no more than a re-definition of the old system of exploitation and manipulation and showed no more concern with educational justice than any preceding educational system.

The most important response of the state to the de Lange Commission was the rejection of the establishment of one National Department of Education. Instead the state created five ministries for education. Kallaway (1984:15) points out that even before the de Lange Commission reported, the state had made the general intent of its education policies clear and the continuation of separate education for the separate 'national groups' was a non-negotiable policy. This very clearly indicates that the fundamental principles of apartheid in education would remain and would not be challenged in any way by the reforms. According to Hartshorne (1984a:1):

> The central statement of the White Paper is that segregated, vertically segmented forms and systems of education are to continue, reinforced and further institutionalised by being placed in the context of the new constitutional arrangements. Education is to be maintained firmly within the apartheid model: there is to be little, if any, structural reform.

The link between the black education system and the needs of the capitalist factions, in particular manufacturing capital, is again clear. The economic function of education is illustrated by the emphasis placed on vocational education as an option for black pupils in higher primary and secondary school. In contrast to 'academic' education where parents had to carry the costs, vocational education was heavily subsidised by the state and big business

[25]For different perspectives on the role of the de Lange Commission see Hartshorne (1992), Nasson (1990) and Buckland (1981, 1983, 1984).

(Chisholm, 1984:5). Given the financial background of the majority of black pupils, this was a blatant attempt by the state to ensure that pupils would choose an education related to the occupational demands of the economy. As Gardiner (1984:9) states: "It would seem that education as construed in the White Paper is to serve the requirements perceived by the state in conjunction with the demands of industry and capital". Kallaway (1990:150) argues that the economic function of education was obscured by the rhetoric of 'equal educational opportunities' employed by the state. He maintains that key themes in the education reform debate are the emphasis on vocational education, technical and industrial training and the privatisation of education.

A further critical point regarding the reform measures recommended by the 1981 de Lange Commission and those implemented by the state in 1983, is the neglect of black rural education (HSRC Report, 1981:14-16). Beyond commenting on the lack of schools and the poor quality of education in the rural areas, the focus of the de Lange Report was almost exclusively on the educational provision for black people in an urban industrial environment (Hartshorne, 1984b:4). The perpetuation of the urban bias in education has deepened the distinctions in wealth, income levels and skills between the advantaged urban working class and disadvantaged rural poor and unemployed. It is argued that, in a similar manner to the 1950's, rural education was neglected because the ruling elite did not want to risk losing further control by raising the expectations and political consciousness of rural people, and thus increasing the potential for social unrest in these areas. A further point is that by neglecting rural education the state hoped to discourage the movement of rural people to urban areas, as either the lack of education or the low levels evident in the existing schools, left the majority of rural people with limited access to jobs other than those requiring unskilled labour. In this way the state could exert political control over rural people. This type of political control is particularly prevalent within the farm school system and will be discussed in chapter six.

The attempt by the state to reform the education system never had any legitimacy amongst the majority of black urban pupils and by the mid-1980's the conflict around black education reached crisis proportions. According to Samuel (1990:27) over 500 000 black pupils were involved in protests against the education system during 1984. As mentioned earlier, these

protests were linked with wider community issues, as pupils also called for the withdrawal of police and military presence from the townships and reductions in rent and bus rates. The state responded with increased repression and under the Emergency Regulations and the Internal Security Act, the banning and detention without trial of students, trade unionists and community workers and the restriction of organisations increased (National Consultative Conference on the Crisis in Education, 1985:1-4). All this served to do was to intensify the struggle by students. According to the DET 674 275 black pupils and 907 black schools were affected by the boycotts during 1985 (Education in South Africa, Facts and Figures, 1988:25).

In response to the escalating conflict in the urban schools, a national conference was organised by the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC) in December 1985. In March 1986 this became the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC)[26]. Hyslop (1990:86) argues that the NECC had a significant impact on black education. Firstly, it succeeded in unifying the different black communities around the educational issues. Secondly, its strategy of People's Education provided an alternative system to the DET. Thirdly, the NECC entered into negotiations with the DET, creating a mechanism through which educational demands could be addressed.

In a bid to try and bolster the system, F W De Klerk, then Minister of National Education, tabled a Bill in Parliament in 1986 regarding the financial provision of education. The Bill, known as De Klerk's rationalisation plan, was a ten year plan to upgrade the provision of education in an attempt to achieve equal education opportunities amongst the different racial groups (Hansard, 16/4/1986, col. 3423-3425)[27]. The attempt at reforming the system again lacked credibility, as De Klerk's plan failed to address the fundamental issue of providing a single integrated schooling system in South Africa.

[26]The NECC is now the National Education Coordinating Committee.

[27]The annual expenditure on education was to increase from R6 800 million in 1986 to R10 000 million by 1996, with funds allocated in order of priority to the departments that most needed financial provision (Hansard, 16/4/1986, col. 3423-3425).

The violence within black schools and school boycotts continued intermittently in the urban centres for the remainder of the 1980's and the early 1990's. The disruption caused by the school boycotts, the detention of children and teachers and the township violence ensured that black education in the urban areas was in complete disarray and in some areas schooling had effectively collapsed (Weekly Mail, 31 January - 6 February 1992:2). The early 1990's saw the dismantling of various apartheid legislation like the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts. Attempts by the state to effect change within the education system continued. In 1991 the Educational Renewal Strategy (ERS) Discussion Document was released.

It is argued that the ERS is very similar to the de Lange Commission in its content. It also emphasises equality of education, the need for further technical training, and it also ignores the problems effecting black rural education. The approach of education policies has shifted slightly in that white government schools can, under certain conditions, admit black, 'coloured' and Indian children (Segal, 1992:12-13). The co-option of middle class black children into what are still fundamentally white schools is merely cosmetic change. What such education policies succeed in doing, is replacing colour with class in defining social power. It is felt that the ERS, like previous educational reforms, fails to address the structural inequalities within the education system. Judging by the policy pronouncements of educationalists, it appears that future changes to the education system will not differ significantly. According to Dr Garbers (Daily Dispatch, 21 November 1991:4.) director-general of National Education, the proposed education model, to be introduced by 1996, is aimed towards making "the whole school curriculum more relevant, particularly in relation to South Africa's labour needs"[28].

[28]On 26 January 1993 a revised version of the ERS was released by the National Education Minister Piet Marais. In contrast to the earlier version of the ERS, the government proposes to implement a single, non-racial education department. However, once again the provision of education for black children on white farms has been ignored (Weekly Mail, 29 January - 4 February 1993:5).

5. CONCLUSION:

Despite the state's attempt to reform black education through incremental measures like increased state and private sector expenditure, the construction of new schools, improved facilities and increased pupil enrollment and teaching staff, the reform strategy has essentially failed. To implement cosmetic changes within the present education system and to abolish various apartheid legislation is insufficient to redress structural inequalities, as these measures do not take into account the *de facto* issues of white political control and economic ownership of the land and means of production.

A prerequisite for a future education system in a post-apartheid society will be a single racially integrated education system. Further more, future policy-makers need to ask questions such as: What type of education is required and by whom? Education for what purpose? To fulfil what needs? Policy-makers will also have to address the rural-urban bias inherent not only in education policies, but in policy-decisions in general. The issues effecting rural education and the effects of the bias of policy-decisions against rural education will be the focus of the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF BLACK FARM SCHOOLING IN SOUTH AFRICA:

1. INTRODUCTION:

It is argued in chapter three that the black education crisis has its roots in the legacy of white political control and cheap labour economy. Despite the eradication (on paper) of certain discriminatory legislation by the present government since the beginning of 1990, inequality within the education system remains, and is particularly evident in the provision of education for black people in rural areas. The rural areas have been historically disadvantaged, and as argued in the previous chapter, the neglect of black rural education has been a deliberate strategy adopted by the state. As a consequence, there are serious constraints affecting the education of black children in these areas.

From the outset it is asserted that education cannot be seen in isolation from the broader socio-economic and political processes. As outlined in chapter two, the theoretical position of this study is an adaptation of the model outlined by Graaff et al (1986) which locates an analysis of the micro-situation within a broader political perspective. The intention of this chapter is to locate black farm schools within a broader socio-economic and political framework. By highlighting the problems affecting black farm schooling in the 'white' areas it is hoped to create, firstly, an awareness of the magnitude of the problem, and secondly, a context within which the research conducted on black farm schools in the Ugie district can be understood. It needs to be stressed that problems addressed in this chapter are essentially political and economic in nature. Apart from mentioning the types of constraints facing rural teachers, an investigation of the quality of teaching in rural schools and the adequacy of the syllabus is beyond the parameters of this study.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE BLACK FARM SCHOOL SYSTEM:

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 is very significant in the history of the black farm school system. It is argued that the origins of the present system can be traced to this Act. When the

NP came into power in 1948 black schools, including farm schools, were largely controlled and administered by the church. In 1953 the Bantu Education Act was passed which transferred control of black education from the church to the central control of the state. However, the system of control for black farm schools was different. These schools fell under the joint control of the state and the individual farmers on whose land the schools were located. The farmer, as land owner, had ultimate authority (Plaut, 1976:3). Two types of education were provided for black children, viz: urban primary schools fully controlled by the state and rural schools controlled by the individuals who provided schools. By placing the control of farm schools in the hands of the farmers and leaving the provision of education to the discretion of individuals, the state avoided the responsibility of having to provide education for black children in 'white' farming areas. In other words, education could be provided in those areas at minimum cost and inconvenience to the state.

According to Harvey (1980:16), Christie and Gaganakis (1989:83) and Graaff and Gordon (1992:209) there were solid economic reasons behind the establishment of the farm school system. It was in fact a crucial part of the NP's apartheid policies of that time. As is mentioned in chapter three, the 1940-50's were characterised by increasing social turmoil. An aspect of this crisis not discussed was the severe labour shortages experienced by white farmers. Due to a combination of low wages, poor working and living conditions on the farms and increasing employment opportunities in the urban areas, black farm workers began to leave the farming areas in significant numbers (Morris, 1977:15; Hartwig et al, 1984:306). As previously mentioned, the demand for labour has always been a critical issue for farmers and the labour shortages created by the migration of farm workers to the urban areas led to their political mobilisation. The South African Agricultural Union (SAAU) demanded greater state intervention so that: 1) tighter controls over the movement of black labour could be implemented; and 2) black labour in the rural areas could be tied for the exclusive use of farmers (Lacey, 1981:141). Farmers' concern to secure sufficient black labour without competing in the open labour market is a reoccurring theme in South African history (Wilson, 1975:115).

The coming to power of the NP in 1948 ensured that most of the demands of organised agriculture were met during the next decade. It is within this context that black farm schools

must be understood. It is argued that the farm school system was mutually beneficial to the state and white farmers. Firstly, the provision of farm schooling should be seen as part of a strategy to secure labour in the 'white' farming areas. The establishment of farm schools by farmers was an attempt to attract and maintain labour in these areas. By providing farm labourers with something they valued, namely, education for the children, farmers hoped to secure a stable labour force. However, the stability of farm labour was also achieved by the establishment of repressive mechanisms like the labour bureaux and the application of pass laws which restricted the movement of black labour and tied black people to a particular employment category[1]. By satisfying farmers' labour demands and ensuring a contented white rural constituency, the state could in turn rely on the agricultural vote. White farmers were an important pressure group within the NP alliance during the 1950-60's, hence the legislation passed that protected farmers' labour interests. Instead of upgrading the facilities on the farms and improving the conditions of work in a bid to attract labour, farmers relied on these repressive measures to restrict the mobility of farm workers. The 1953 Bantu Education Act, by entrenching the control of farmers over the schooling of farm-children living on their farms, effectively increased the dependence of farm workers on farmers (Harvey, 1980; Nasson, 1984b; Christie et al, 1989).

Secondly, the farm school system helped to curb the increasing migration of black people to the urban areas in search of education and, in this respect, corresponded with the state's policies of preventing further black urbanisation. That this was a reason behind the farm school system is clearly illustrated in Verwoerd's (1954:18) infamous speech to the Senate in 1954:

> The establishment of farm schools has in the past been somewhat neglected, resulting in the sending of children to town schools and the moving of parents into the towns. If 'fundamental' education can also be obtained on the farms the trek from the farms will be combated, more especially if the training contributes towards more remunerative employment in farm work, owing to the greater skill and usefulness of labourers.

According to Harvey (1980:17), farm schools could be accommodated within the policy of separate development as long as "their impermanence remained a feature". A crucial aspect

---

[1]Once categorised as a farm worker there was little chance of securing a job elsewhere (Stavrou, 1988:4).

of this strategy was the removal of all 'surplus' black people from 'white' South Africa to the bantustans. According to the Department of Bantu Administration's definition; 'surplus' people were those who were: "aged, unfit, widows and women with dependent children" (Bundy, 1992:7). Black people were therefore not allowed to remain in the 'white' farming areas beyond the capacity of labourers (Stavrou, 1987:4; Nattrass, 1985:40; Surplus Peoples Project, 1983:67). Because they were regarded as 'temporary sojourners' in 'white' areas there was no need for the state to provide permanent facilities for blacks on the platteland. Thus, by allowing farmers to provide farm schools, which are controlled by individuals and can be opened or closed at whim, the state could address the farmers' labour crisis without compromising its policy of separate development.

The influence of white agriculture on state policy-making has decreased steadily since the 1970's. According to Stadler (1976) the Marais-Du Plessis Commission of Enquiry into Agriculture in 1970 and 1972 indicated a shift in the state's approach towards agriculture. The main recommendations of the Commission were to: 1) cut down on state support of 'uneconomic' farming practices; and 2) increase state support of 'economic' farming practices. This represented a change from past policies where whites were unconditionally encouraged to become firmly established on the platteland. By the 1980's this shift had become more pronounced and changes in state policy regarding the subsidy system and interest rates were evident. The gradual withdrawal of state subsidies and increasing state criticism of white farming labour practices led to a definite conflict of interests between the state and certain farming organisations, in particular the Transvaal Agricultural Union (Lipton, 1986:94-97). The repeal of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts and the proposed amendments to the Labour Relations Act (LRA) and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) have added to this conflict.

Since 1990, the labour federation and the SAAU have been involved in an investigation by the National Manpower Commission (NMC) on extending labour legislation to farm workers. However, opposition from the SAAU to the extension of these laws steadily increased. According to the SAAU (1991\92:15) the main arguments against this were that the proposed extensions would inconvenience farmers, particularly those involved in intensive farming practice, and would "disrupt the traditionally good relationship between employer and

employee". In an unprecedented move, the SAAU was bypassed in the final decision regarding the amendments to the LRA and BCEA. The NMC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) reached an agreement to extend the basic labour rights of farm workers and domestic servants in November 1992. Legislation amending the LRA and BCEA will be enacted in February 1993 (Segal, 1992:20). This clearly illustrates the weakened position of organised agriculture within the ruling bloc. The implications of this act for farmers and farm workers alike will be discussed further on in this chapter.

While the farm school system may have been a method for individual farmers to attract and maintain labour, it is felt that the attitude of organised agriculture towards farm schools was, and still is, one of ambivalence. The SAAU has in the past taken the stance that relations between the farmer and his employees are a personal matter between the respective parties. However, with the advent of trade unionism in the mid-1980's and its consequent influence over the agricultural sector, the SAAU became pro-active in encouraging its members to improve living and working conditions for farm workers. One of the aspects emphasised by the SAAU was training farm workers. While they have adopted a vigorous policy towards training and upgrading the skills of farm workers, there has been no attempt to address the problem of educating farm-children. For example, in both the 1990\91 and 1991\92 SAAU Annual Reports no mention is made of farm schools or the education of farm-children. Instead, the Reports of the Education Committees focus on the implementation of training programmes and the evaluation of the success of these programmes (SAAU, 1990\91:43; SAAU, 1991\92:51).

3. THE ROLE OF THE FARMER:

Because the state has placed the responsibility of black education in the 'white' farming areas in the hands of the farmers (who are generally the school managers), it is important to examine the role of the farmer both as a school manager and as an employer. As Marcus (1991:25) states: "Whoever owns the land controls access to it". The farmer therefore plays a pivotal role in the functioning of the farm school. According to Nasson (1984b:1):

> Schooling [on the white farms] cannot be understood independently of the workings of paternalism, charity, and philanthropy, of social practices and relations between landowners and labouring families.

Any research into farm schools should therefore also include information on the relationship between the farmer and his labourers, the living and working conditions and socio-economic background of the farm workers, and the type of farming activity carried out on the farm. All these environmental influences have a profound impact upon on the structure of the farm school.

The farmer, as land owner and employer, exerts considerable power over the average farm worker (Nasson, 1984b, 1988; Christie et al, 1989). Farm workers have in the past been specifically excluded from South Africa's industrial relations machinery. In contrast, workers in the urban areas have been protected since the 1980's by various industrial legislation such as the LRA, the Wage Act, the Unemployment Insurance Act and the BCEA. These set out minimum conditions of work, wages, and health and safety regulations (Farm Labour Project, 1982). The absence of any legal protection for farm workers in the past has resulted in their large-scale exploitation by farmers. This has contributed to a feeling of powerlessness evident amongst farm workers and to a continued dependence on farmers. While the decision has been taken to extend the LRA and BCEA to farm workers, this will only come into effect in 1993 (Daily Dispatch, 13 November 1992:1)[2]. According to Innes, editor of the *Innes Labour Brief*, as the agreements still have to be converted into legislation, organised agriculture is capable of derailing the process through protest and lobbying (Editorial Comment, Finance Week, 12-18 November 1992:9). A further point is that farm workers are at present disorganised and collectively weak. Many farm workers are either illiterate or only functionally literate and this limits their practical ability to use this law. Bosch (1992:14) states that the five percent membership claimed by unions is far in excess of the numbers of

[2]The amendments to the BCEA include:
- Number of working hours per week
- Overtime pay
- Conditions of work on Sundays and public holidays
- Annual leave
- Sick leave
- Victimisation
- Termination of employment contract
- Prohibition of certain employment (ie. children below 15 years of age)

However, a minimum wage is not included in the BCEA and the only commitment to this is to consider extending the Wage Act through negotiations (Jenkins, 1992:409).

farm workers organised and points out that:

> Distance, lack of transport, isolation, low wages and the reactionary attitudes of many farmers remain major stumbling blocks. Major labour unions and political groupings have priorities in the cities. All these will have to be overcome on the road to first class citizenship for farm workers.

Until farm workers are able to mobilise themselves it is felt that exploitation on farms will continue. According to Graaff et al (1992:233) farm workers in Zimbabwe have not benefitted from the favourable legislation passed and still remain disadvantaged.

Until the amendments to the LRA and BCEA are enacted, no formal contract is necessary between the farmer and his employees[3]. At present, farmers set the working conditions from which farm workers can be summarily dismissed. If workers are fired they not only have to find a new job, but they also lose their homes as they are dependent on the farmer for accommodation. Eviction is often used by farmers to threaten workers into submission (Land Update, 1991:8-9). Farm workers are often over-worked and there are no compulsory vacations or unemployment benefits, sick pay and over-time pay from which they can claim. They have limited access to medical treatment, proper food and education[4]. It is not uncommon for farm workers to be severely punished by farmers for often trivial offenses. According to Ball (1990:53) and Schoeman and Plater (1992:10) there is at present a lack of effective legal protection for farm workers against physical violence by farmers or farm managers. Another problem is the low wage most farm workers receive. These wages tend to be markedly lower than urban wages (Kooy, 1977:104-110; Keenen & Sarakinsky, 1987:583)[5]. According to the SAAU (1991\92:29-30) comparisons between wages paid in the urban areas and those paid in rural areas are unfair, as wages paid to farm workers are

---

[3] There are at present farmers, in certain areas, who are in the process of drawing up labour contracts which do allow for the legal protection of the rights of farm workers on these particular farms (de Vaal, pers. comm. 1992).

[4] Details of these conditions have been documented by Levy (1976), Plaut (1976), Wilson, Kooy and Hendrie (1977), Nasson (1984b, 1988) and the Farm Labour Project (1982).

[5] The institutionalised alcohol dependence caused by the 'tot system', which forms part of wages paid to workers in areas of the Western Cape, is another form of the control of farmers (van Ryneveld, 1986:73).

generally augmented by payments in kind (accommodation, meat, milk, rations) which are not taken into consideration. Ardington (1985:101) argues that what distinguishes the situation of farm workers from other black rural people is not:

> the degree of poverty or their limited access to basic amenities but their encapsulation in that poverty and their limited ability to influence that situation.

The farmer, as a land-owner, is legally entitled to open or close a farm school, he has the right to decide which children should attend school, he can appoint and dismiss teachers and can evict parents, children and teachers on charges of trespassing because the land is privately owned (Gordon, 1987: 4-5; Gaganakis & Crewe, 1987:3-4; Plaut, 1976:3-8). The power of farmers over the fate of farm schools is well illustrated by a statement made by Barend du Plessis (then minister of Education and Training) in 1984:

> The owner or manager is entitled to close the [farm] school and terminate the services of any teacher in his employment. Once the farmer has decided to close it, the department cannot enforce the continued functioning of a farm school, as this would be tantamount to an infringement of his common-law rights[6].

In areas where farmers choose not to build farm schools, or where schools have been closed down, the DET cannot take any steps to provide education for those black children (Ardington, 1985:70).

Levy (1976:25) argues that a farmer's decision to build a farm school is better understood if the costs and benefits of education are considered. There is a definite link between farm school education and the economic structure of rural areas. However, the nature of this link is contradictory. A concern for most farmers is the availability of labour. This seems to be the central issue around which the decision to erect a farm school revolves. The provision of education is seen by some farmers as a means of securing and maintaining farm labour. The rationale behind this is that by providing something parents value for their children, farm workers will be more inclined to remain on a particular farm.

In contrast to this, there are farmers who see the provision of education as threatening. They fear that their workers, once educated, will move to the cities to find better work opportunities. Farmers argue that by providing schools, they in fact help to deplete their own

---

[6]Quoted from Gaganakis et al (1987:5).

labour force (Levy, 1976:26; Nasson, 1984b:7; Gaganakis et al, 1987:8). This is not an ungrounded fear as many farm workers see education as a means whereby their children can escape from the farms (Gilbert, Nkwinti & van Vlaenderen, 1990:7, 1991:12). According to Gordon (1987:38) the loss of potential child labour is another reason why farmers are reluctant to provide schools. Despite this being prohibited[7], there are still farmers who take children out of school to help on the farms during busy times. The inconvenience of having children from neighbouring farms trampling veld and leaving gates open also tends to reinforce the negative attitude many farmers have towards farm schools (Levy, 1976:26; Harvey, 1980:17; Ardington, 1991a:16-17).

A further reason why farmers are reluctant to build schools is because of the cost involved and the inconvenience of being responsible for the school's management and maintenance. When a farmer decides to build a farm school he also accepts a number of obligations and duties regarding the school. He has to provide and maintain the school buildings, as well as accept the loss of potential income from the plot provided. Although the state will subsidise up to 75 percent of the building costs of farm schools, which is approximately R 18 000 per classroom at current building prices (DET official, pers. comm. 1992), farmers need the initial capital to build the school before they can claim for costs. In order to qualify for state subsidies, farm schools have to comply with departmental regulations concerning classroom size and the number of pupils attending school, and they also need to register with the DET (the Education and Training Act, 1979) (Gordon, 1987:4). Schools must belong to *bona fide* farmers (church schools are not subsidised by the state), and can only serve the children of farm workers on that farm or neighbouring farms, provided the neighbouring farmer gives his consent. The farmer (or his wife) is usually appointed as the farm school manager and is required to oversee the administrative functions of the school, its maintenance and finances (Plaut, 1976:6-7).

---

[7] It was only in 1988 (Amendment of section 37 of Act 90 of 1979: Education and Training Act) that the use of child labour, paid or unpaid, during school hours was forbidden (Gordon, 1990:21).

4. THE POSITION OF FARM SCHOOL TEACHERS:

The position of farm school teachers is a particularly difficult one. While the teacher may have authority in the classroom, the farmer, as it is mentioned, has ultimate control over the school.

Teachers are almost completely dependent on the farmer/school manager, as he provides the facilities, controls the finance and administration of the school and ultimately decides on the appointment or dismissal of a teacher (Ardington, 1991a:17). The helplessness and uncertainty of teachers is increased by their dependence on the farmer for accommodation (Gaganakis et al, 1987:17). A further point is that often teachers do not live with their families as there are limited employment opportunities in the farming communities for their spouses and adult children. In most cases teachers only see their families during school holidays or weekends. There are also instances where farmers do not allow the teacher's family to live with her and the teacher is powerless to prevent this (Ardington, 1991a:18).

Very few teachers come from the areas they teach in and may also have the problem of being 'outsiders' and trying to fit into a farm community. In most cases the surrounding community has little experience of formal schooling and there is often a communication gap between the farm workers and the teachers. However, as Gilbert et al (1990:11) point out, the teachers themselves often contribute to a lack of communication by not becoming involved with the farm community. A further problem is the isolation of the farm schools. As a result of distance and the lack of transport, there is little interaction between the schools. Again the dependence of teachers on farmers is highlighted, as they often have to rely on the farmer for transport.

Another problem is the lack of prestige associated with teaching in the farm schools. In general these schools do not have the facilities, the resources and the status that schools in urban centres have. In addition to teachers having to live in isolated circumstances, they have little professional autonomy and are dependent on the farmer/school manager. All these conditions are not likely to attract well qualified teachers to the farm schools. As a result, many of the better qualified teachers tend to remain in urban areas (Ardington, 1989:19; Gale,

1989:5). The Synthesis Report (1986:32)[8] released in 1986 by the DET revealed that at least 28,90 percent of the rural teachers were unqualified (only a standard eight certificate or lower), compared with 3,46 percent of the urban teachers. It is felt that any attempts to counter the shortage of qualified teachers in rural areas will have to involve major changes within these areas. In order to attract qualified teachers, questions of their professional autonomy, independence from the farmer (both professionally and personally) and employment opportunities for their families need to be addressed.

Farm school teachers have to teach under very difficult circumstances. Despite recent attempts by the DET to upgrade farm schools by increasing state subsidies and school equipment, and providing teacher training programmes, conditions in farm schools are still poor (Gaganakis et al, 1987:14; Ardington, 1991a: 12-15). Most of the farm schools are overcrowded and in 1986 the Synthesis Report (1986:32) estimated that the average teacher:pupil ratio for farm schools was higher than 1:40. The pressing shortage of classroom space has necessitated multi-standard teaching, and in some cases one teacher is expected to teach up to five standards simultaneously in the same classroom. Most of the teachers have not been trained to cope with such overcrowded classrooms. The physical conditions of many schools are inadequate and in a state of disrepair. In general, farm schools lack the administrative infrastructure that their urban counterparts have. The limited financial provision has ensured that there are not enough books, stationary, and necessary school equipment (Nasson, 1984b:22-23; Ardington, 1991a:12-16).

The net result of these factors is the low level of education in rural areas. However, the solution to the problems facing rural education does not only lie in improving the quantitative aspects of educational provision, but also needs to address the environment from which the children come.

---

[8] Department of Education and Training, The Provision of Education for Black Pupils in Rural Areas, A Synthesis Report, 1986.

5. PROBLEMS FACING BLACK FARM SCHOOLING:

Despite the fact that the state has accepted the principle of educational parity for all races[9], there are significant differences in terms of the provision of education and the allocation of resources between the different population groups. The difference in state provision of black education[10] is highlighted by the existence of *state schools* and *state-aided schools* (Ardington, 1989:36). According to Ardington state schools are generally found in formal black townships (usually in or near urban centres) and are fully controlled by the DET. The DET is responsible for the administration, financing and maintenance of these schools. In contrast state-aided schools are established at the initiative of individuals or organisations (be they farmers, churches, hospitals, welfare organisations or community members). This is the predominant type of schooling found in rural areas. As previously stated, it is only once schools have been established in these areas that the state will supply education in terms of teachers, books and equipment. While the vast majority of state-aided schools are farm schools, they may also be private, scheduled, hospital or mine schools[11].

A major constraint affecting the provision of education in farming areas is the fact that land is privately owned. Under the present system, unless land is state owned, the state is unable to provide education in these areas[12]. As mentioned above, the initiative to build schools in these areas therefore rests with land owners, who, in most cases, are farmers. This implies

[9]For further information refer to the White Paper on the Provision of Education in South Africa, 1983 and the Education Renewal Strategy: Discussion Document, 1991.

[10]This does not include schooling in the 'self-governing homelands' and TBVC states.

[11]Ardington (1991a:23) states that there were 105 state schools and 654 state-aided schools in 1985. Of the 654 state-aided schools, 619 were farm schools. According to the SAIRR Survey (1991:202) 72 percent of all schools controlled by the DET are farm schools.

[12] The issues of land ownership and control are intricately linked with the provision of black farm schools. While the question of land redistribution is high on the agenda of most political parties, it remains to be seen what effects this will have on the provision of education in rural areas.

that education for black children in farming areas is not a right, but rather the prerogative of the land owner. The reasons why farmers establish schools are complex and are intricately tied up with their labour needs. It appears that the costs of providing schooling far outweigh the benefits for the individual farmer, which has resulted in a severe shortage of schools in the 'white' rural areas. The Synthesis Report (1986:10) revealed that 36,4 percent of the children between the ages 4-16 years in rural areas did not attend school[13]. This represents a very high percentage of children who have received no education at all.

The exclusion of the rural areas from the formal system of educational provision has led to a situation where there is no overall planning and cohesion. Firstly, because the provision of education has been left to individuals there are significant differences in the level of that provision within different rural areas[14]. Secondly, there is little correspondence between the need for schooling and the actual placing of schools (Ardington, Jordaan, Stewart & Gilfillan, 1989). This is particularly evident in the lack of secondary schools in rural areas. Until as recently as 1984, farm schools were not legally allowed to go beyond standard five. However, if permission is obtained from the DET, farm schools can now provide standard six and standard seven, and a few even offer school until matriculation level (Ardington, 1991b:81). The decision to allow farm schools to provide secondary education corresponds with a shift in the attitude of the state towards farm schooling and agriculture in general. The reasons for this change will be discussed further on in the chapter. Despite farm schools being allowed to offer secondary education, the number of secondary farm schools that exist can hardly be called adequate. According to Ardington (1986:71) in 1986 there was only one secondary school in rural Natal to cater for black children from the farms. Gordon (1990:3) states that in 1990 there were only 14 farm schools in the whole of South Africa that offered school until matriculation level. At present in the eastern Cape there is only one secondary school that offers classes up to standard ten for children from the farms. As most of the parents of farm-children cannot afford the high costs of this school, there are more children from the neighbouring cities and towns enrolled there than children from the farms (DET official, pers.

[13]The Synthesis Report refers to the 'white' farming areas.

[14] Levy (1976), Plaut (1976), Nasson (1984b, 1988), Gordon (1987, 1988, 1991b) and Graaff (1989, 1990) detail differences in educational provision in rural areas.

comm. 1991).

The lack of secondary schools does not leave many options open to farm-children when they reach this level. They can board in urban centres and attend the secondary schools there. Taking into account the background of most of the children, this is a financial strain for many of their families. If farm-children live near a homeland it is possible for them to attend secondary schools there. However, these areas also suffer from a severe shortage of schools. Failing these options, children have to leave school early. This is what the majority do. Statistics on secondary school attendance of farm-children illustrate the seriousness of the problem. According to the Synthesis Report (1986:35) 47,94 percent of the total number of black primary pupils registered with the DET in 1986 were rural children, while only 20,5 percent of the total number of secondary school pupils were rural children. This indicates a substantial decrease of rural children attending secondary school. Gordon (1991b:98-99) places the percentage of rural secondary school children much lower. According to her there were only 8 871 rural pupils at secondary schools in 1989, a mere two percent of the total. Of this figure over 80 percent were only in standard six and standard seven. These figures give a clear indication of the inadequacy of the present provision of schools in rural areas.

Ardington (1990:12) stresses an important point when she argues that under the present system of rural education, no provision whatsoever is made for rural dwellers who do not live on white farms, in formal black townships, the TBVC states or the 'self-governing' homelands. There are a number of black informal settlements that have developed without formal declaration in rural areas and are not associated with the above. As the provision of services in rural areas is generally dependent on the initiative of employers, services are usually non-existent in these informal settlements. This means that there is either limited or no access to education for these children. According to Baker (Weekly Mail, 4-10 October 1991:22) there are more than seven million homeless South Africans. The majority of these people are black and their children have little chance of receiving schooling[15].

[15]In the absence of assistance from the DET, members in several informal settlements have taken the initiative to try to provide some form of education for their children. Due to the temporary nature of squatter camps these schools are under constant threat of closure (Weekly Mail, 14-20 June 1991:11). The

The fact that the state is unwilling to assume responsibility for the provision of education in rural areas has meant a serious shortage of formal state funding. Unlike urban areas where the state assumes financial responsibility for education, the costs of education in rural areas are once again borne by the individuals who provide the schools (Graaff et al, 1990:23). As mentioned earlier, while the state will subsidise up to 75 percent of building costs (DET, 1988:1), the financial assistance is only available once the schools have been erected, and even then, can be delayed by bureaucratic inefficiency. As a result, many farmers are reluctant to build farm schools. Because of the limited finance available, many of the buildings and facilities of the existing schools are also inadequate. In the light of recent financial cutbacks within the education budget, it is doubtful whether rural education will receive any increased financial aid from the state (Daily Dispatch, 18 February 1992:4).

The severe financial constraints have led to a shortage of available classroom space. The higher a child climbs up the educational ladder, the greater the competition for classroom space. Combined with socio-economic factors children are often forced to leave school early. According to Gaganakis et al (1987:14) the lack of classroom space is so pressing that many farm schools have to turn children away because they are over-enrolled. The lack of classroom space is one of the main reasons behind the high dropout rate characteristic of farm schools. Graaff et al (1990:24) also stress this point and argue that many farm-children drop out of school simply because they cannot be accommodated within the present farm schools system. As they correctly point out, a distinction must be made between dropout and failure rate. Dropout rates refer to pupils who are forced to leave school for reasons other than academic failure, while failure rates refer to children who fail their exams.

Another contributing factor to the high dropout rate within farm schools is the socio-economic

---

problems facing these schools are overwhelming. For example, a squatter community on the outskirts of the Mangaung Township, Bloemfontein, have converted an old farmhouse into a primary school where over 500 children attend school. There are only five teachers, none of whom have any qualifications, but who have volunteered to teach with no pay. There is no furniture in the school, a shortage of teaching aids, text books and resources and the school is not recognised by the DET. This school is an example of schools in squatter communities throughout the country (pers. obs. 1993).

background of the pupils. Factors like the financial costs (both direct and indirect) of education, parental attitudes and the use of child labour by families, have also forced many children in rural areas to leave school for reasons other than academic failure (Graaff et al, 1990:28-31). In fact Graaff (1987:61) goes as far as to state that the main reason why rural children are out of school is not because of academic failure but because:

> ...(a) they cannot gain entry to the school,....and (b) because their parents cannot or will not carry the costs, both direct and indirect, involved in schooling.

As stated earlier, the solution to rural education does not lie in merely improving the quantitative aspects of educational provision. While it is crucial that the state assume financial responsibility, it is important to go beyond educational solutions like improving teacher-pupil ratios, teacher qualifications, the provision of facilities and resources and in-service training. It is also necessary to look at the impact of socio-economic factors on the cognitive achievement of the pupil. This will be discussed in greater detail in chapter six.

6. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS:

After the implementation of the farm school system in the 1950's the state's attitude towards farm schools themselves was one of indifference. The purpose behind the establishment of this system was political in nature, and the problems experienced in and around farm schools were, until recently, largely ignored by the state. However, by the mid-1980's a change in the attitude of the state towards farm schools was evident. This can be attributed to a number of factors. Firstly, as it is mentioned, by the 1980's it was clear that the agricultural sector no longer enjoyed its favoured position within in the ruling bloc alliance. According to Buckland (1983:7) the interests of big business and industrialists had superseded those of agriculture and the state began to gradually withdraw its economic protection of farmers. Secondly, increasing international pressure and sanctions against South Africa led to the reform initiatives implemented by the state during the 1980's. The poor labour relations that existed on many farms became a focus of attention and the state became more critical of farmers' labour practices. The position of farm schools and the exploitation of child labour also became an area of concern. As a result, the state appointed a special task group to investigate the provision of education for black people in the 'white' rural areas in 1984.

The findings of this group were published in 1986 by the DET in the Synthesis Report. The report acknowledged the crisis within rural education and recommended measures to improve the quality and quantity of education in the 'white' rural areas. The main recommendations of the Report were that: 1) the level of teaching and the facilities available to farm schools should be upgraded; and 2) the state should assume full responsibility for the establishment, maintenance and management of farm schools (Synthesis Report, 1986:29).

The outcome of the 1986 Report was the Education Laws (Education and Training) Amendment Act in 1988 where steps were taken to improve the conditions of farm schools. The Act made provision to:

- allow the state to buy schools, or to lease the land on which they stand;
- extend the level of education to allow primary schools to become combined schools, offering classes up to the tenth grade;
- prevent children from being withdrawn from school to work on the farms;
- establish governing bodies comprising the farmer and parents, if the farmer so wished[16].

While this is the first attempt by the state to address some of the problems effecting the provision of rural education, not much has actually changed in the farm schools. Firstly, despite provisions having been made which allow for the transfer of the control of farm schools from the land owner to the state, to date only six schools have been bought by the DET (Weekly Mail, 4-10 October 1991:19). Secondly, although farm schools are able to extend the educational level beyond the primary level, there is still a critical shortage of secondary schools for farm children. Thirdly, the use of child labour during school hours by farmers, parents and teachers still continues, despite legislation prohibiting this. According to a DET official the Department is powerless to prevent farmers from using children to work during school hours as the farmer can threaten to close the school (DET official, pers. comm. 1991). Finally, while it is important for parents to become involved in structures governing the education of their children, these structures will lack credibility as long as control is vested in the farmer. According to a DET official for the north eastern Cape, not many such structures have been set up. The 1988 Amendment Act also neglects the position of the parents of farm-school children. No mention is made of establishing something like farm

[16]Quoted from Gordon (1991a:3).

villages, which would provide independence from the farmer and the control he exerts over the lives of the parents and the education of their children (Bot, 1988:60). The fact that farm school education has largely gone by unaltered clearly illustrates the discontinuity between policies and there concrete results.

It is argued here that while this Act represents a significant change in the attitude of the state towards farm schools, these changes have occurred within the present system of unequal political power and structures of land ownership which has rendered them ineffectual. These recommendations are not aimed at changing the actual system of educational provision in rural areas (Christie et al, 1989; Ardington, 1989). Rather, like the de Lange Commission in 1981 and the subsequent 1983 White Paper on Education, the changes are aimed at improving the current system of education through quantitative and qualitative changes. In the face of social pressure and increasing black resistance, the state, in order to continue to rule, has been forced to reform aspects of its policies. As argued in chapter three, the changes to the black education system must be seen in this light. The ERS released in June 1991 makes no mention of black farm schools and as long as rural education remains outside an official system of education, recommendations for equal educational opportunities will be meaningless.

Graaff et al (1992:223) highlight a change in the attitude of the DET subsequent to the release of the Synthesis Report. As it is mentioned, the state was critical of the present farm school system and recommended a number of changes. However, in contradiction to this, the 1990 Annual Report released by the DET commented on the high quality of education received in farm schools (DET Annual Report, 1990:50). There was no mention of any impending changes both to the structure of control and the quality of educational provision, clearly indicating a shift in their approach since 1986. Querying this anomaly, officials from the DET were contacted at a local level and the matter was referred to officials at national level who have failed to respond. It is felt that the change in attitude can be explained by the continued violence and unrest in black urban schooling, which has resulted in the virtual collapse of education in some of these areas. This has necessitated the DET to focus their attention on the crisis in the urban schools, at the expense of implementing the recommendations of the Synthesis Report with respect to farm schools, which have remained relatively untouched by

student action.

A further point picked up by Gordon (1990:1) is that the 1986 Report and the subsequent 1988 Education Act do not take into account the conflicts that exist in rural areas regarding the issues of land and labour. Farm school education is closely linked with the system of white land ownership and the subsequent relationship of control and dependence that exists between the farmer and his farm workers. Land and labour are contentious issues amongst farmers. This is illustrated by the widespread reaction to the 1988 Education Act amongst Conservative Party (CP) supporters, who are mainly from the platteland. The attempt by the state to assume greater control over farm schools is seen by the CP as threatening to the power structure in the 'white' rural areas and the position of farmers (Gordon, 1990:8). While the repeal of the Land Acts and the Group Areas Act opens up the possibility for the negotiation of a new system of education provision, the extreme reaction of right wing white farmers to such a system should not be underestimated.

7. CONCLUSION:

The unwillingness of the state to assume responsibility for the administrative and financial provision of rural education has led to a serious shortage of schools, facilities and resources. These factors have adversely affected both the chances of black rural children for receiving any education and the level of education in the existing rural schools.

The problems affecting farm schools are complex. To merely concentrate on incremental educational solutions such as improving teacher:pupil ratios, teacher qualifications, building conditions and facilities and increasing the supply of technical aids and teaching equipment, ignores the underlying structural constraints determining the provision and process of education in farm schools. As it is argued, farm schools cannot be understood in isolation from the wider socio-economic and political context, as this has a significant impact on the perceptions and actions of farmers, parents, pupils, teachers and DET officials regarding education. While it is essential for the state to assume responsibility for education in the rural areas in order to ensure that education is available to all rural children, this will not address the environmental factors which undermine the education of many farm-children.

Any transformation of rural education will be impossible unless it occurs within the context of fundamental changes which are aimed at bringing about a more equitable social order where both the racial and class inequalities that exist in South Africa are addressed. As long as changes occur within the present *de facto* structures of land ownership and political control, the feudal relations that exist within commercial agriculture will continue to impact upon rural education.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN:

1. INTRODUCTION:

This chapter is divided into a number of sections. The first three sections discuss the research methodology, the research problem and research aims and goals. The fourth section looks at the research methods used in the study. This section describes the research design, the research techniques used, the selection of the research participants and the process of data collection. The fifth section discusses the methods of data analysis and the chapter concludes with an evaluation of the research methods used.

2. THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:

The intention of the study is to try to explain and understand the interaction of the participants (both as individuals and as specific interest groups) within the context of the farm, their particular attitudes towards education and the underlying interests that have affected the provision and process of black farm schooling. All of these issues necessitate an in-depth qualitative investigation within the participants' natural setting. It is felt that the research objective is therefore best achieved within an interpretive methodological approach, which enables the researcher to investigate the participants' subjective interpretation of their experiences within a particular context. In this way one can obtain the qualitative information necessary for the research (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Smith & Manning, 1982). As de Clercq (1986:5) states: "The idea is not so much to provide hard statistical evidence than to try and explain the various social processes that lie behind social phenomena".

Research conducted within the interpretive paradigm looks at the everyday world people occupy, the meanings that they construct and the kinds of goals and interests that inform their actions. In order to understand the manner in which actors construe and perceive their reality, it is necessary for the researcher to take "the individual's subjectivity and life-world at the micro-level as a crucial beginning" (Graaff et al, 1986:10). Both the researcher and the

research participants are actively involved in the research process. This type of research investigates the participants in their natural setting and is known as qualitative research (Bogdan et al, 1975; Bogdan & Biklen, 1982; Smith et al, 1982). Bogdan et al (1975:4) provide a succinct description of qualitative research:

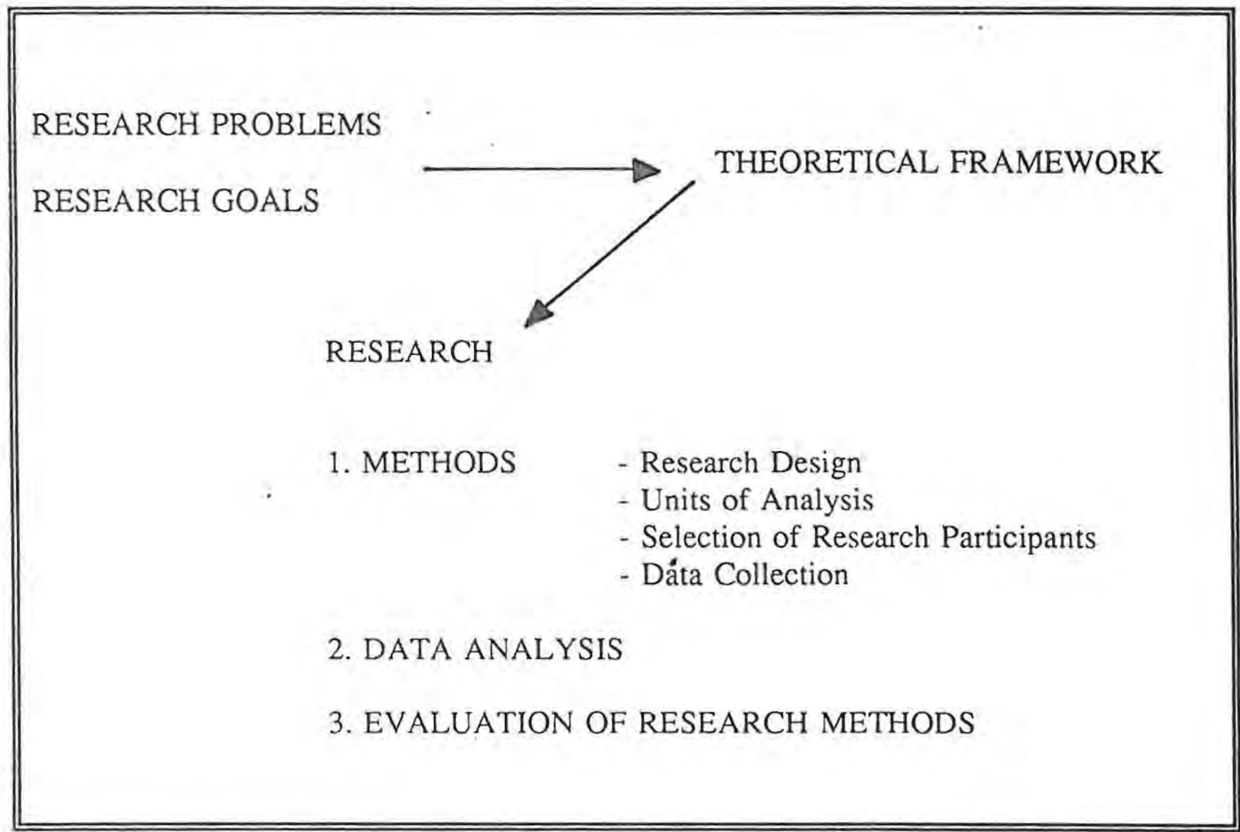
> Qualitative methodologies refer to the research procedures which produce descriptive data: people's own written or spoken words and observations. This approach directs itself at settings and the individuals within those settings holistically....the subject of the study....is not reduced to an isolated variable or to an hypothesis, but is viewed instead as part of a whole.

However, there is a danger that research conducted within the interpretive paradigm remains at the level of description. It is therefore crucial that this type of analysis be located within a broader theoretical framework. As Graaff et al (1986:10) argue: "This would avoid treating the actor's consciousness in isolation, and adopting a variant of philosophical idealism which tends to disembody mind from social context".

A model (figure 5.1) has been developed to explain the particular research methodology undertaken in the study. The first step of the study is to define the research problem. Once this has been defined, the goals of the study have to be identified. The second step involves developing a theoretical frame of reference[1] which will inform the choice of research methods. The following step, the research methods, is dependent upon the two preceding steps, as it is only once the research problems and goals of the study have been formulated and a theoretical perspective developed that the research methods can be defined. The research methods consists of a number of stages. Firstly, it is necessary to define the research design as this marks the parameters of the research. Secondly, the units of analysis and the research community need to be identified. The third stage is to define the appropriate research techniques which must then be tested in a pilot study. Once this is completed, the fourth stage, the process of data collection, can take place. The final two steps of the study involve the analysis of the results and the evaluation of the research methods used.

[1]This is discussed in chapter two.

FIGURE 5.1: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY



Reitzes (1991)

3. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM:

As a result of the inadequate provision of educational opportunities for black children in 'white' farming areas, it was decided to conduct an investigation into the political and socio-economic processes that impact upon farm schooling.

4. THE RESEARCH AIMS AND GOALS:

As outlined in chapter one, the aim of the research is to investigate the possible impact that the interests of farmers, farm workers, farm-children and farm school teachers may have on the provision and process of education in 'white' commercial farming areas. It is argued that the supply and demand for farm labour is closely linked with the farmer's decision to provide a black farm school (Nasson, 1984b, 1988; Graaff et al, 1990). As a result, it is felt that any

investigation regarding black farm schools must be conducted within the context of the whole farming enterprise.

Within this framework, the goals of this study are to investigate: 1) the labour requirements of the farmers; 2) the attitudes of farmers towards providing education for their work force; 3) the attitudes of the farm workers and children to acquiring an education; and 4) how the interests of these groups inform the process of black farm school education.

5. THE RESEARCH METHODS:

5.1. The Research Design:

The purpose of the research is exploratory because there is at present a limited body of knowledge on the perceptions of rural people regarding educational provision. As the intention of the research is to obtain a better understanding of the attitudes and interests of the participants regarding the provision of farm schools within a specific research context, an exploratory case study is the most suitable research strategy (Mouton & Marais, 1990:43; Edwards, 1990:18; Guy, Edgley, Arafat & Allen, 1987:103; Tripodi, Fellin & Meyer, 1969:45). A case study allows the researcher to investigate the attitudes of participants within their natural environment. According to Yin (1984:23) a case study is an empirical inquiry that:

- investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when
- the boundaries between phenomenon and the context are not clearly evident; and
- multiple sources of evidence are used.

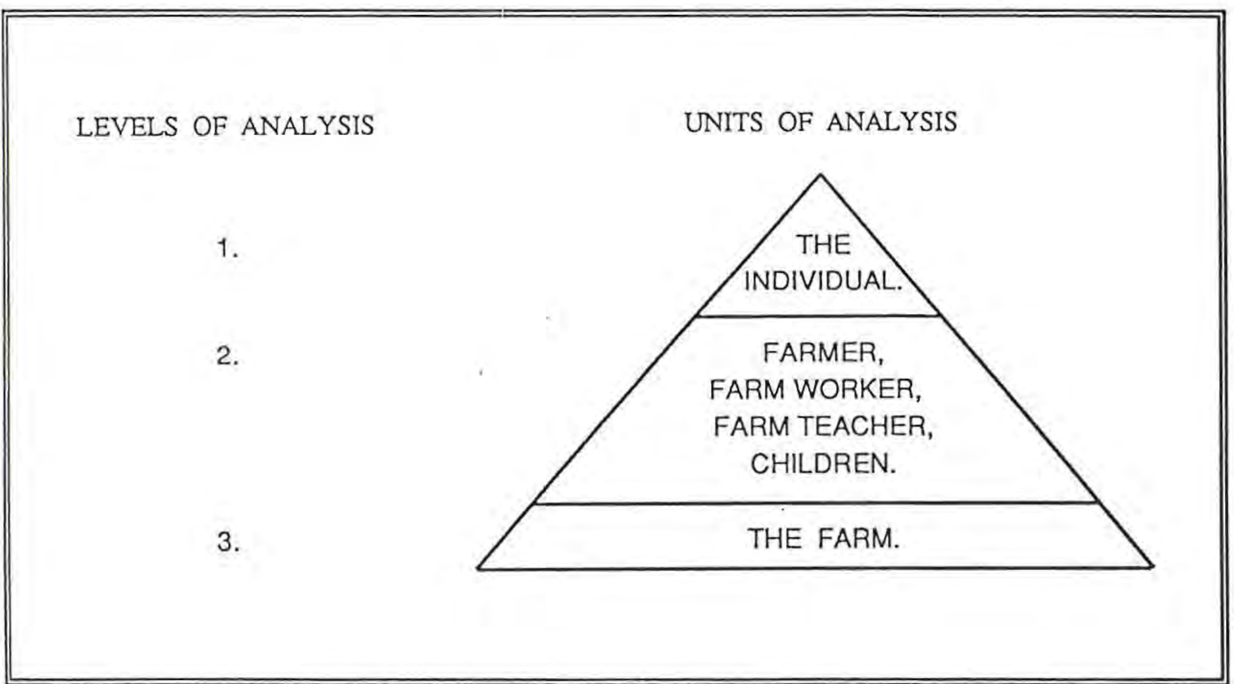
Following Yin's (1984:41-53) definitions of types of case study designs, the final design decided upon is a multiple, embedded case study. A multiple design is used when the same study contains more than a single case study, and an embedded design is used when the same case study may involve more than one unit of analysis. It was decided to investigate the four farms as separate case studies, with each farm having a number of units of analysis. It was felt that: 1) a multiple approach would allow the researcher to make comparisons between the case studies; and 2) the division of power and authority created by the socio-economic

structures of the farming enterprise encouraged the use of several units of analysis in each case study.

5.2. The Units of Analysis:

As the focus of this study is on understanding the attitudes and underlying interests of the individual within a specific research context, it is felt that the individual should be the primary unit of analysis. However, it would be meaningless to investigate individual participants in isolation from the socio-economic environment of the farming enterprise. The research therefore identifies several levels of analysis (see figure 5.2).

FIGURE 5.2: UNITS OF ANALYSIS



Reitzes (1991)

While the first level of analysis focuses on the attitudes and actions of individuals, the second level of analysis focuses on specific groups. The researcher identified four specific interest groups within the research context and grouped participants accordingly. The four interest groups are: 1) the farmer and school manager; 2) the farm workers; 3) the farm-children currently attending school; and 4) the teacher(s) at the farm school. As there is a definite link

between black farm school education and the economic requirements of the farming enterprise (Nasson, 1984b, 1988; Graaff et al, 1990), the final level of analysis looks at the interaction of the individual participants, both on an individual and a group basis, within the context of the whole farm environment.

5.3. The Selection of the Research Participants:

The fieldwork for this study was conducted in the Ugie district in the north eastern Cape from November 1991 to May 1992. The Ugie district is situated at the base of the Drakensberg Mountain Range and borders the Transkei. The topography is a combination of mountainous grassveld and undulating slopes[2]. This is primarily a 'white' commercial farming area where a combination of crop and stock farming is practised. In 1989 Mondi Forests bought out approximately 120 farms (80 000h of land) in the districts of Ugie, Maclear and Elliot for the purposes of forestry. There are now 32 registered farmers and 70 farms in the Ugie district.

The size of the farms in this district average between 1000-1500h. Most farmers have between six/seven permanent labouring families living on their farms. These farm workers are mainly Xhosa-speaking. The type of labour required on the farms is generally unskilled.

There are ten black farm schools in this area. According to a spokesperson from the DET, the number of farm schools in operation in the Ugie district at present are sufficiently dispersed to ensure that all farm-children in this area have access to lower-primary education. However, not all of the farm schools fall under the control of farmers, four of these schools are on farms that were bought out by Mondi in 1989 and are now controlled by North East Cape Forests (NECF)[3].

As the aim of the study is to investigate the farm school within the context of the farm, the decision was taken to select research participants from farms which have established farm

[2]Refer to appendix A for a map of the area.

[3]NECF are in charge of two other farm schools which are not in this area. It appears that the management of these farm schools has not changed significantly since NECF assumed control.

schools and which fall under the control of *bona fide* farmers. As a result of this restriction, it was felt that the position of NECF and the attitudes of farmers who have not provided any form of education would not be reflected in the research findings. In order to have some idea of the attitudes of the above-mentioned groups, a further six farmers (who do not have farm schools) and a representative from NECF were interviewed. The snowball sampling technique (Cohen et al, 1980:77) was used to select the additional farmers for interviews. This technique allows the researcher to identify individuals with the characteristics he/she requires. These individuals identify others who qualify for inclusion, who in turn, identify yet others.

It was decided to select four of the six farm schools controlled by farmers for investigation. The criteria for the selection of the schools was based on size. The two largest and two smallest schools were selected. An in-depth investigation was then conducted into the attitudes of participants from the four farms on which the selected schools are built. The participants on each farm were divided into four interest groups, viz: the farmer and school manager; the farm workers; the farm-children attending school and the teachers. It was felt that this would allow for a more than superficial investigation of the participants' interests and expectations regarding educational needs and labour requirements.

5.4. The Research Techniques:

The interpretive approach is flexible and eclectic because it focuses on developing meaning within a specific context. As a result, the research techniques chosen by an interpretive paradigm researcher are defined by the particular research case and are not determined by the research doctrine (Alderson, 1986:14). However, the techniques used by a researcher must be used in such a way that they can be replicated by another researcher so as to verify the research findings (Nachmias & Nachmias, 1981:17).

In order to increase the reliability of the research findings it is felt that the use of different techniques of data collection is important. This is known as the triangulation of techniques (Mouton et al, 1990). Both Denzin (Simon, 1979:190) and Burgess (1985:3) argue that the researcher should try to use at least two different techniques to serve as mutual checks on the research findings. Denzin states that:

> No single method is....superior. Each has its own special strengths and weaknesses. It is time for sociologists to recognise this fact and to move on to a position that permits them to approach their problems with all relevant and appropriate methods, to the strategy of methodological triangulation[4].

The following techniques were used to gather information:

1) Semi-structured interviews aimed at investigating:

- the labour requirements of the white farmers;
- the participants: farmers; farm workers; farm-children and teachers, attitudes towards the provision of black farm schools;
- the living and working conditions on the farms;

2) Observational notes on conditions on the farms and in the farm schools;

3) Informal dialogue with community members to provide supplementary information;

4) A review of the relevant literature.

5.5. Data Collection:

Burroughs (1975) distinguishes between three types of interview structures: 1) structured interview; 2) semi-structured interview; and 3) unstructured interview. It is felt that the semi-structured interview is more appropriate for this study for a number of reasons. Firstly, verbal communication is the best method of obtaining information as a number of the respondents are unable to read and write, and the use of a questionnaire or the structured interview is therefore inappropriate. Secondly, because the semi-structured interview is more informal it lends itself to establishing a rapport with the respondent. This is necessary when attempting to obtain in-depth information (Powney & Watts, 1987; Nachmias et al, 1981). Thirdly, in contrast to the unstructured interview, the semi-structured interview provides a series of guidelines which can be replicated for each interview.

The interview questions were compiled after an in-depth review of the relevant literature in this field (Cohen et al, 1980; Powney et al, 1987). Themes raised by the historical material were incorporated into the interview structure. The interview questions used by Graaff et al

[4] Quoted from Simon (1979:190).

(1986) and Gordon (1987) in their research on rural education have also influenced the types of questions asked in the study. In order to make the analysis of the data as uncomplicated as possible, the interviews were divided accordingly: 1) the farmer and school manager; 2) the school manager[5]; 3) farm workers with children; 4) farm workers with grand children; 5) farm workers without children; 6) children from Sub A to standard two; 7) children in standard three and above; and 8) the teachers.

To supplement the information collected observational notes were made immediately after each interview. This included impressions of the conditions of the farms and schools and the reactions and responses of the participants. Information was further supplemented by informal dialogue with various community members.

5.5.1. The pilot study:

The aim of a pilot study is to try out the interviewing schedule to see if there are any methodological or logistic problems.

A pilot study was undertaken during September and October 1991 in the Wodehouse agricultural district. This area was chosen for the pilot study because it is approximately 160 kms away from the Ugie district. This was judged to be a sufficient distance from the research area so as not to interfere with or effect the main study. Furthermore, as this area is known to the researcher, it was easier to gain access. The pilot study clarified a number of details such as the length of the interviews, the clarity and the relevance of questions, as well as the appropriate ordering of questions. It also gave the researcher invaluable experience in the techniques of interviewing. The pilot study increased the researcher's understanding of the complexity of the social relationships within rural areas.

5.5.2. The main study:

The main study was conducted in the Ugie agricultural district from November 1991 to May

[5] In two of the case studies the school manager was not the farmer.

1992. The researcher lived in Ugie for the duration of the fieldwork.

Permission had to be obtained from the individual farmers before any investigation on the selected farms could take place. Once this had been granted the approach to each case study was similar. The researcher decided to conduct the interviews for each case study in the following order: 1) the teachers; 2) the farm workers; 3) the farm-children; and 4) the farmer and school manager.

Appointments were made with each farmer to meet on his farm. The reasons for and the details of the study were outlined. In each case the farmer was responsive and interested. Decisions were made regarding the times that the interviewing of the farm workers and their children could be conducted. The researcher then asked the farmer to suggest a representative of the workers whom she could approach. The researcher then made contact with the principals of the farm schools. Again the researcher followed the same procedure of introducing herself, explaining the aims of her study and requesting permission to conduct interviews and to look around the schools.

The teachers were all interviewed after school hours in their classrooms. They were assured of confidentiality and permission was asked to record the interview. There was no objection. Ten teachers were interviewed and each interview lasted about 30 minutes after which each teacher was thanked for her co-operation. The interviews were conducted in English as all the respondents could speak the language.

As the farm workers are Xhosa speaking, it was necessary to have an interpreter. The interpreter is a Xhosa speaking woman from the Dyoki Township, situated on the outskirts of Ugie. Prior to the interviews with the farm workers the researcher and interpreter spent a number of days familiarising themselves with the interview techniques. At the suggestion of the interpreter, the researcher met a number of people in the township to discuss the study and to obtain further information on the topic.

The procedure for interviewing the farm workers was slightly different. The researcher and interpreter made contact with a representative of the farm workers on each farm and requested

permission to introduce themselves and explain the study to the farm community. A time was then set for a group discussion. This was always after working hours in the evenings. At this gathering introductions were made, the aims and objectives of the study explained and permission requested to conduct individual interviews. The response was generally favourable although there were five adults and one teenage boy in all who would not be interviewed. Interviews were conducted in the homes of the farm workers. These took place either in the early mornings before work or in the evenings after work. Only two interviews were conducted per session as it was felt that the process is intensive and valuable information could be lost if more interviews were conducted within a session. Again respondents were assured of confidentiality and permission asked to use the tape recorder. Each interview was taped and lasted approximately 25 minutes. Notes were also taken during the interviews. Once the interviews were over the respondents were all thanked for their assistance. The researcher and interpreter had a number of general conversations with the farm workers on related issues.

The children were either interviewed over the weekends or during the school holidays. Unlike the adults, the children were interviewed in a group situation where individuals were asked various questions. These sessions were not recorded as many of the children were afraid to answer questions which would be recorded. However, extensive notes were taken.

Once all the farm workers and children had been interviewed the researcher approached the farmer again to make an appointment for an interview. Again confidentiality was assured and permission asked to record the interview. The interview lasted between 40 and 50 minutes and was conducted in English. The interviews were all followed by informal conversation. As two of the farmers were not the school managers of the respective schools, two additional interviews were conducted with the school managers. On completion of the data collection for each case study the respondents were thanked for their co-operation and assistance.

In addition to the above-mentioned farmers, a further six farmers who do not have farm schools on their farms and a representative of NECF were interviewed. The researcher felt it was necessary to get their perspective as well. The same procedure as outlined above was followed. However, three of these interviews were conducted in Afrikaans which the researcher can speak. The researcher also spoke to officials from the DET, the principal of

the Idyoki Public school and a number of community members on an informal basis.

6. DATA ANALYSIS:

On completion of the data collection, the recorded interviews were transcribed and those that were in Xhosa and Afrikaans were translated into English. The transcribed notes were analysed by means of content analysis (Cohen et al, 1980; Sanders & Pinhey, 1984; Powney et al, 1987).

The data was analysed on three levels. The first level looked at the responses of the participants as individuals. The second level looked at their responses within a group context viz: farmers; workers; children and teachers. The final level of analysis looked at the responses of respondents within the farm unit and comparisons were made between the individual case studies. At each level the information was related to the research questions.

The interview transcripts were read through and the main issues were identified, viz:
1) attitudes concerning the responsibility for the provision of rural schooling; 2) the relationship between education and the economic structure of the area; 3) the value of education; and 4) socio-economic constraints affecting education. The transcripts were then analysed in the context of these select themes.

An important point is that a study on the attitudes of participants from four farms does not allow generalization of the results to other areas with differing socio-economic dynamics. Instead the results may be used as a guideline for future research and policy-decisions (Gordon, 1987:20). This study must be seen as part of the broader research being conducted on the provision of black rural education.

7. EVALUATION OF THE RESEARCH METHODS:

The decision to use semi-structured interviews as one of the techniques to select information proved to be a good one. Firstly, the use of set open-ended questions provided a flexibility which was necessary as the responses of the participants differed, but at the same time

questions could be replicated for each interview. Secondly, the use of the interview made observation possible, not only of the participants during the interview interaction, but also of conditions on the farms and in the schools. This provided valuable information that would not have been available. Thirdly, the interview allowed for personal interaction between the researcher and participants, again during the interview and afterwards where informal dialogue took place and additional information was obtained.

Despite the interview being a good technique in obtaining in-depth information, there are a number of problems associated with this technique, viz: the problems of validity and reliability (Cohen et al; 1980:251). Firstly, the researcher had to try to avoid influencing the answers given by the participants. Secondly, the researcher also had to consider the extent to which participants might be influenced in giving the answers they thought the researcher wanted to hear. The 'lie' factor was evident in two interviews where the participants contradicted information given. The researcher had to probe carefully around these issues in an effort to discover what the participants really meant.

A further problem with the interview technique in this study is the language barrier between certain participants and the researcher. In these instances the researcher worked through an interpreter who was familiar with the research objectives. In an attempt to try to counter the possibility of personal bias in the translations by the interpreter, each session was recorded and later transcribed and translated by individuals not involved in the study. A related problem is the fact that the teachers are second language English speakers and had difficulty with some of the concepts used by the researcher. She had to ask the questions carefully to ensure that the teachers understood the questions asked.

Despite the problems outlined above the researcher feels that on the whole the information obtained is reliable. She feels that she was perceived to be non-threatening enough for the most of the participants to be fairly honest and open about their attitudes towards black farm schools, educational issues and the nature of farm life. The researcher is a farmer's daughter and has family farming in the area who are well liked and respected. It is felt that this gave the researcher credibility amongst the farmers she interviewed and also gave her access to

information she would otherwise not have obtained[6]. It is also felt that the interpreter played a crucial role in obtaining information from the farm workers and children and also providing the researcher with opportunities to meet members of the black community to discuss aspects of the study.

[6]See postscript for further details.

CHAPTER SIX

FINDINGS FROM THE CASE STUDIES CONDUCTED IN THE UGIE DISTRICT:

1. INTRODUCTION:

The aim of this chapter is to explore the political and socio-economic dynamics determining the provision of farm schools in the Ugie district. It examines the relationship between particular interest groups within this area, and the effects, if any, this has had on the provision of education on the farms. It is argued from the outset that the labour demand of white farmers is the central issue around which the decision to provide schooling revolves. This chapter therefore undertakes to ascertain the relationship between farmers' labour needs and the provision of farm schools in the Ugie district. However, once education is provided on the farms there are a number of factors which influence the functioning of the farm school. As Graaff et al (1990:28) argue, the socio-economic environment of farm-children has a critical impact on their education. It will be argued that black farm school education is complex and there are a number of factors which impact upon and influence the nature of schooling on the farms.

While it is felt that the attitude of the farmer has a significant impact on the social relations on his farm, farm workers can and do shape their own socio-economic environments as well. The influence of local decision-making on the education of farm-children is critical. Some of the issues which need to be addressed in order to understand the complexities of farm schooling are the following: Why do some farmers provide schools and other farmers do not? Why do some families make greater sacrifices to send their children to school? What is the relevance of education to rural families? Why do parents choose to withdraw their children from school after a certain time? Why do children drop out? It is stressed, however, that decisions made within a local context must be understood within a broader socio-political and economic framework. According to Graaff et al (1986:11): "The actor's understanding is a necessary, but not a sufficient prerequisite for a more complete sociological understanding". This study must therefore be understood within the context of the historical development of the farm school system and the political and socio-economic processes that have influenced its development.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part provides a brief description of the conditions on the farms and within the farm schools investigated. The second part of the chapter attempts to understand the complexities underlying farm school education by examining the attitudes of the above-mentioned groups towards farm schooling.

2. A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA:

This section entails a brief description of the four farms investigated and of the farm schools located on these farms.

2.1. Profile of Farm A:

The 16 people interviewed on this farm include the farmer, five farm workers, one youth, seven school children and two teachers.

Farm A is the smallest of the farms investigated. This farm differs from the other three farms in a number of respects. Firstly, unlike the other three farms where a combination of crop and stock farming is practised, this is primarily a stock farm (cattle and sheep). Secondly, the owner of this farm is not permanently resident there, as his home farm is in another district. However he visits the farm on a regular basis.

There are two black families living on the farm. The farmer employs two men and a youth to look after the stock and one woman to work in the house when he stays there. Because the farmer is not resident much of the responsibility of running the farm is left to the 'headman'. The living conditions of the workers are typical of this area, viz: the houses are wattle and daub rondavals with thatched roofs, there is no electricity or ablution facilities in the houses and water is obtained from a communal tap. The workers' wages are supplemented by meat and milk rations, and the use of land to run cattle and to grow vegetables for their own consumption.

When the farmer bought the farm there was no farm school in the vicinity. He subsequently built a two-roomed school with adjoining accommodation for the teachers and provided

ablution facilities. The farmer is the manager of the school, which offers classes up to standard three. This is the second smallest school in the area, with 69 pupils registered for the year 1992, of whom seven come from farm A. The school building, constructed of brick and corrugated iron, is in good condition. There is a limited amount of school equipment and no electricity is provided.

2.2. Profile of Farm B:

The 40 people interviewed on this farm comprise the farmer and his wife (joint interview), the school manager, 14 farm workers, one youth[1], 19 children and four teachers.

A combination of cash cropping (potatoes and maize) and stock farming is practised on farm B, which has been in the farmer's family for over two generations. There are five black families living on the farm. The farmer employs five men and three women to work on the farm and in the house. Most of the families living on the farm have also lived there for generations, although it appears that some of the young adults have left the farm to work in Johannesburg or Cape Town.

The workers' living conditions on this farm are similar to those mentioned on farm A. The workers' wages are supplemented by meat and milk rations and the use of land to run cattle and to plant maize and potatoes.

The school, which was built in 1963, is both the largest and oldest farm school in the area. It is situated on a separate piece of land and consists of four classrooms, ablution facilities, the teachers' accommodation and a sports field. There are four teachers, including a head-mistress, who live on the property and teach at the school which goes up to standard five. There are 187 pupils registered for the year 1992, of whom 20 live on farm B. The school has no electricity, there is a shortage of furniture (desks, chairs and storage cupboards) and teaching aids are inadequate.

---

[1]For the purposes of this study 'youth' is defined as someone between the ages of 13 and 18 who has left school and is currently employed.

The school manager is not the farmer from farm B, but a neighbouring farmer. This is an unusual phenomenon, as farm school managers are usually the farmer or wife of the farmer on whose property the school is located. In this particular situation the neighbouring farmer, as school manager, is more involved with the farm school than the farmer from farm B.

2.3. Profile of Farm C:

The 20 people interviewed on this farm include the farmer and his wife (joint interview), nine farm workers, one youth, eight children and one teacher (a visitor of one of the farm workers was also interviewed).

A mixture of crop (maize, cabbages and potatoes) and stock farming is practised on farm C. While this farm has been in the farmer's family for two generations, the farm workers have not lived on the farm for long. The majority of the workers appear to have been hired in the last six years, although one worker and his family have been living on the farm for 11 years. There are seven black families living on this farm, with six men and three women employed by the farmer.

The workers' houses are in a state of disrepair. There is no electricity or ablution facilities and water is available from a communal tap. The worker's wages are supplemented by milk, maize-meal and surplus vegetables produced on the farm. Medical expenses are paid by the farmer.

The school on this farm is the smallest school in the area and was built in the late 1960's. There is only one teacher at this school, which offers classes up to standard two. Of the 55 pupils registered at the school, eight children come from farm C. The farmer is the school manager. The school is a single classroom which is in a bad state of disrepair and could collapse at any stage. The school has no electricity, ablution facilities or a tap for running water. This has to be fetched each day by bucket. There is also a shortage of desks, cupboard storage and equipment.

2.4. Profile of Farm D:

The 34 people interviewed on this farm comprise the farmer, the school manager (who is the farmer's wife), 15 farm workers, 14 children, and three teachers.

A combination of crop (potatoes, maize and beans) and stock (dairy and sheep) farming is practised on farm D. While the farmer has recently bought the farm, the majority of the farm workers have been living on the farm for over two generations. There are eight black families living on the farm and seven men and three women are employed by the farmer.

The workers' houses are bigger than those on the other three farms and are in good condition. There is no electricity, but the farmer is planning to supply this in the near future. There are no ablution facilities, but water tanks supply water to each household. The workers' wages are supplemented by meat, milk and medical expenses. They are allowed to run cattle on the farm and can grow crops for their own use.

The farm school is the second largest school in the area and was built by the previous owner of the farm in the mid-1960's. Of the 125 pupils presently registered there, fourteen pupils come from farm D. There are three teachers (including a headmistress) who teach in the school. The school has three classrooms and a storage room. An old house has been converted into two of the classrooms, but there is inadequate lighting and windows are broken. The third classroom is a new building in fairly good condition.

FIGURE 6.1: PROFILE OF THE FARMS

FARM	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	FARMER	SCHOOL MANAGER	WORKERS	YOUTHS	CHILDREN	TEACHERS
A	16	1		5	1	7	2
B	40	1	1	14	1	19	4
C	20	1		9	1	8	1
D	34	1	1	15		14	3
TOTAL	110	4	2	43	3	48	10

FIGURE 6.2: PROFILE OF THE FARM SCHOOLS

SCHOOL	STANDARDS	NO. OF TEACHERS	NO. OF PUPILS	NO. OF CLASSROOMS	TEACHER:PUPIL RATIO
A	SUB A-3	2	69	2	1:34,5
B	SUB A-5	4	187	4	1:46,8
C	SUB A-2	1	55	1	1:55
D	SUB A-4	3	125	3	1:41
TOTAL		10	436	10	1:43,6

A point of clarification is necessary at this stage. An additional six farmers and a representative of NECF were interviewed. To avoid confusion, group E comprises the farmers interviewed who provide farm schools, while group F refers to those farmers who do not provide education.

3. DISCUSSION:

A significant finding of this study is that not only are there differences between the social structures and labour relations of the four farms investigated, but there are also differences between the perceptions of individuals interviewed on a particular farm. Broad trends in the perceptions of the farmers, farm workers, farm-children and teachers towards the issues of education, economics and social relationships on the farms have been identified and will be discussed for the remainder of this chapter.

3.1. Attitudes Concerning the Responsibility for the Provision of Rural Schooling.

There were mixed responses amongst the 10 farmers (groups E and F) interviewed regarding the importance of farm schools. While most of the farmers agreed that some form of education was necessary for the children of farm workers, they differed on where the ultimate responsibility for the provision of this education lay. Five of the farmers felt that education was the joint responsibility of the farmer and the present government and argued that, as land owners, they had a responsibility to the people who live on their farms to provide the land for the school. However, they maintained that the DET should be responsible for the management and control of the school as, in the words of one farmer: "farmers do not have

the time to worry about what is going on in the school". The limited communication between the farmers in group E and the teachers regarding the farm school bears this out. Three of these farmers did feel that within the present economic environment it would be unrealistic to expect the state to assume greater responsibility, as it did not have the financial resources. Two of the farmers felt that it was unnecessary to build a school on their farms as the farm-children on these farms had access to education.

In contrast, two of the farmers felt that the provision of education should not be the responsibility of the farmer. They stated that urban employees did not have to provide education or accommodation for their employees and that this was an added burden on farmers. One farmer was indifferent to the question of educational provision in rural areas.

While nearly all the farm workers felt that farm schools were essential, they were not in agreement over who should be responsible for the provision of rural education. At least 50 percent of workers interviewed thought that education was the responsibility of the government, while about six percent said that both the farmer and the government should provide schools. Approximately three percent of the farm workers felt that education was the farmer's responsibility. A further 16 percent of the workers were unsure about where the responsibility lies and the remaining 25 percent did not appear to understand the question. None of the farm workers felt that they should have direct involvement with their children's education as they themselves were not educated. They tended to view education as the responsibility of the government, the farmer and the teachers.

It became apparent during the course of the research that the questions relating to broader social issues were not understood by many of the farm workers. This was particularly evident on farm A and amongst the older generation on the other three farms. It is felt that issues that are not related to their immediate lives are beyond the frame of reference of many farm workers. For example, this group of workers could not answer the more abstract questions such as: Who do you think should be in charge of schools in rural areas? Should boys and girls get the same amount of education? Which subjects do you think are the most important ones for children at school? They could not conceptualise the problems affecting the present farm school system, as they are only familiar with the one or possibly two schools that their

children/grandchildren attend. However, they did have decided opinions on issues relating to their living and working conditions. Many of these opinions are very critical of the respective farmers and their labour practices. In small ways farm workers are able to resist and react against the farmer's authority, and to make decisions which have nothing to do with the farmer and which affect social relations on the farms[2]. According to Keegan (1986:165): "....in a number of ways, big and small, Africans [are] able actively to shape productive relationships on the land, both materially and ideologically".

At least 85 percent of the children interviewed thought that schooling was very important. Most of the children wanted to learn to read and write as they would like jobs that require an education. None of these children felt that schooling was necessary for farm work. The remaining 15 percent of the children interviewed did not enjoy school and did not see it as important. All of these children were boys. Their reasons why education is not important ranged from a simple dislike of school to it being irrelevant to farm work. At least 10 percent of these boys wanted to live and work on farms.

While all of the teachers interviewed felt that farm schools should be the responsibility of the DET, six of the teachers thought that the farmer had an important role to play in managing and looking after the school. It is interesting to note that with the exception of one teacher, none of the teachers felt that the parents should be involved in the control of their children's education. They said that the parents lacked the required education and 'knowledge' for such a task. They did, however, think that it was important for parents to liaise with the teachers on a continual basis about their children's education.

According to a spokesperson from NECF, the farm schools currently under their control will continue to function. The schools are the responsibility of the respective estate managers who are the school managers. Although the company does not intend to build more schools in the immediate future, the facilities in the existing schools have been upgraded and additional classrooms built. It is argued that beyond satisfying some of the workers within the company

---

[2]For example, farm workers can work unproductively, initiate 'go slows' and sabotage farm property, thus affecting the productivity of a farm and undermining a farmer's authority.

by providing education for their children, the schools are not important to NECF. The type of labour required by NECF is mainly unskilled labour and education is therefore not an essential requirement. NECF employ around 1200 people, the majority of whom are unskilled (pers. comm. 1992).

3.2. The Relationship Between Education and the Economic Structure of the Area:

There appear to be several criteria around which the decision to build a farm school revolves. While these changed from farmer to farmer, an overwhelming number of these criteria are linked to economic considerations. Of the four farms investigated only two of the farm schools have been established by the present farmers. The schools on farm B and D were built by the present farmer's father and the previous owner respectively. It was possible to contact the previous owner of farm D and ascertain her reasons for building the school. In the case of farm B the farmer was able to give reasons why his father built the school, which were later substantiated by his mother. The following are reasons given by these farmers for building a school: 1) attracting labour to the farms; 2) stabilising the work force by providing them with something they value, namely education for their children; 3) improving the skills of their work force; 4) the workers requested a school; 5) keeping the children of the workers out of mischief; and 6) philanthropic reasons.

All the farmers interviewed in group E felt that the establishment of a farm school was an important way of securing and maintaining labour. As mentioned in chapter four, the rationale behind this is to provide facilities and resources similar to those available in urban areas in order to keep workers on the farms. Education is seen by these farmers as one of the most important needs of their workers. By providing workers with something they want and value for their children, they felt that the parents would be more inclined to stay and work on their farms. In the case of two of the farmers, the establishment of a school is also a response to requests by their workers. This brings into question the philanthropic motives of farmers in providing farm schools. While not suggesting that farmers are not capable of philanthropic practices, it is argued that such practices are closely tied up with economic considerations. Three of the farmers in group E felt that the provision of education was part of a social responsibility they had towards their workers. One farmer stated that he felt that "every child

has a right to an education, or at least a primary education". It is argued, however, that while farmers might be motivated to build a school out of a social conscience, the need to promote and maintain labour stability has a significant impact on this decision. As Nasson (1984b:6) states, the provision of education must be seen within the wider framework of social relations on the farm.

All the farmers interviewed in group E felt that farm schools were a way of improving the skills of their respective labour force. They believed that this was a necessary long-term objective, as they felt that the nature of farming was changing and would depend on cost efficiency and higher productivity in the future. This type of farming would consequently require a more skilled labour force and the provision of primary education is a means to this end. These farmers felt that there was a shortage of semi-skilled labour in the area, as the youths who had been to school tended to move to the cities where there were better job opportunities for semi-skilled or skilled labour. Three of the farmers felt that a shortage of semi-skilled labour could be a problem in the future and farmers would have to improve living and working conditions to compete favourably with the opportunities offered in urban areas. A point of interest is that two of the farmers believed that people were returning from the cities to the rural areas in order to escape the current violence in urban areas.

The provision of education as a means of attracting labour to these farms did not seem to be such an important criteria in this area in recent years. The farmers on farm B and C felt that while the establishment of the farm school did originally attract labour to their farms, this was no longer the case. The reasons for this could be: 1) the number of farm schools in the area have increased and primary education for black farm-children is no longer such a scarce commodity; and 2) the level of unemployment in Ugie has increased during recent years and there is an abundance of unskilled labour. It was mentioned by these farmers that the establishment of NECF had attracted large numbers of unemployed people to this area. Consequently farmers in this area do not appear to suffer from labour shortages. This was borne out in interviews with farmers in group F. None of the six farmers interviewed experience labour shortages. They felt that the absence of a farm school on their farms had had no effect on the supply of labour, as schooling was more readily available and too many people were without work.

It is argued that in this area the provision of farm schools in recent years is linked more to maintaining a stable labour force and improving labour skills than to attracting labour to the farms. While this conclusion must not be generalised to all farming areas, it is felt that this could be a recent trend in other farming areas as well. According to a SAAU representative in the Border area the majority of farmers in this area do not suffer from labour shortages (pers. comm. 1992). If this is indeed a trend, then it represents a change from the 1950-60's where one of the main reasons for providing farm schools was to attract labour to farms.

The majority of the farm workers interviewed believed that the availability of education for their children was an important consideration when seeking employment. However, they did feel that with the high level of unemployment in this area most people had to take whatever jobs were available. They felt that while there was a shortage of permanent employment opportunities in Ugie, it was possible to obtain piece work during the times when potatoes are planted or lifted, sheep are shorn and maize and vegetables are harvested[3].

Another motive given for building a school is keeping children out of mischief, particularly during peak seasons when they tend to disrupt the work of the adults. One farmer felt that a school would provide a discipline during the day which children needed, and which the parents were unable to provide because they were working. Similarly, another farmer believed that the school provided a discipline that equips children for a working environment.

It appears that although these farmers are prepared to provide a primary school on their farms, the provision of secondary education is not seen as that important. All four farmers felt that providing secondary education was not their responsibility and gave a number of reasons for this. Firstly, it would be more costly as additional teachers, facilities and technical aids would be required. Secondly, in the light of the present shortages of secondary schools, the establishment of such a school would attract pupils from the other rural areas and the already over-crowded urban schools. Given the logistical problems of distance, it was felt by these

[3]Due to the nature of crop farming there are seasonal trends in the labour requirements on the farms in this area. Farmers either get their labour from areas in the Transkei or local people who are unemployed (Local Farmers Organisation, pers. comm. 1992).

farmers that these pupils would end up by living on their own and adjoining farms, placing extra financial burdens on the farm workers. Thirdly, there was also a strong inference that problems, perceived and real, associated with the urban schools would then be transplanted onto their farms, as the secondary school age-group were seen to be the 'trouble-makers'.

Looking at the factors outlined above, it is clear that economic considerations have played a dominant role in influencing the decisions by farmers in group E to provide education. This is not an isolated phenomenon, but appears to be a widespread pattern as is evidenced by the findings of researchers in this field[4]. Farmers will generally only provide education on their farms if there are direct benefits. It is felt that for the farmers in Group E the costs of secondary education outweigh the benefits. While these farmers might require a more skilled workforce in the future, it is argued that primary education will be sufficient in meeting this need and that secondary education is therefore not important.

This brings into consideration another critical factor, viz: the political control farmers have over their workers. Despite the recent amendments to the LRA and the BCEA, farm workers, at least until they become mobilised and sufficiently organised to enforce their rights, will remain easily exploitable. It is argued that the farm school must also be seen as an extension of the political control evident within white agriculture. In terms of access to the labour market, primary level qualifications do not give access to anything other than unskilled work. As Christie et al (1989:87) assert, in most cases a low level of formal education has little market advantage over no education at all. Given the current surplus of unemployed, unskilled labour, primary school-leavers will have difficulty in finding employment, even at an unskilled level. Graaff et al (1986:15) came to a similar conclusion in their work on rural education in two regions of Bophuthatswana. Thus it is argued that the education provided in farms schools is not geared towards socio-economic mobility and, in fact, limits the choices of farm-children to either farm work or similar unskilled labour. As Christie et al (1989:88)

---

[4]Levy (1976), Plaut (1976), Gaganakis et al (1987), Graaff (1989, 1990), Gordon (1987, 1991b), Ardington (1991a) and Badroodien (1990) have found similar attitudes amongst farmers in their work on educational provision in 'white' commercial farming areas. Chapter four discusses their findings in greater detail.

argue, farm schooling is "part of a system that binds farm workers to farmer employers". In this manner farm schooling enforces the political control of farmers and the relations of dominance and subordination apparent on white farms. As discussed in chapter three, a higher level of education in the farm schools could raise the aspirations and political consciousness of farm-children, which could not only increase the mobility of farm workers, but could also threaten the control of the farmer. It is argued that this is also an important factor behind the lack of secondary schools on white farms.

It should be stressed that while the provision of education does increase the potential control of farmers, how this is implemented in practice depends on the individual farmer. In this study there are marked differences in the quality of life of the farm workers and in the provision of education between the four farms investigated[5]. For example, relations between the farmer and workers on farm C are poor and hostility towards the farmer was evident. The bad condition of the school building appears to be a source of tension between the farmer and his workers. While the farmer offered building material to his workers to re-build the school if they chose to, the farm workers responded that they were not given any spare time to build the school and were unhappy with its condition. In contrast the workers on farm A appear to be satisfied with their living and working conditions and are full of praise for the farmer in question.

Economic considerations have also influenced the decision of farmers in group F in not providing farm schools. Again the reasons why these farmers are reluctant to provide education varied. The majority of the farmers complained about the direct costs of providing a school. They felt that while the DET did subsidize building costs, the initial costs to build a school were too high, particularly in the light of the present economic slump within agriculture. Four of the six farmers interviewed in group F did not feel that building a school on their properties was necessary as the neighbouring farm schools and the Ugie public school could accommodate the children from their farms. However, two of the farmers in group F felt that farm schools did benefit the farmer by promoting a stable labour force. The one

[5]Research done by Kooy (1977), Levy (1977), Maree (1977), Ardington (1977) and Young (1977) also indicate that there substantive differences between farms and farming areas regarding a multitude of aspects of farm life.

farmer is planning to build a school as soon as he has the finance, while the other farmer is a school manager of a neighbouring farm school and has a lot to do with this school. All of these farmers felt that while education might increase the literacy/numeracy skills of their workers, this actually had little effect on the productivity of the farm. They felt that literacy was only relevant to a small portion of farm work. One farmer complained that the training programmes that he sent his farm workers on were "a waste of time" as the workers saw them as "an opportunity to socialise and laze in the sun". He felt such training had no impact on the productivity on his farm. A further point is a fear that training will result in workers leaving the farms for employment in the urban areas. Four of these farmers complained that workers who received their driver's licences often left the farms to work in the cities. This highlights the point made earlier, viz: higher education and the training of certain skills could lead to a migration off the farms. The fact that most farm workers perceive education to be a way out of working and living on farms gives credence to this fear.

As argued in chapter four, the loss of potential child labour is another reasons why farmers might be reluctant to provide farm schools (Gordon, 1987:38). Although the 10 farmers interviewed said that they only had children working for them after school in the afternoons or during the weekends and school holidays, it appears that the use of child labour during school hours does take place in this area. The teachers at two of the farm schools investigated complained that farmers from some of the neighbouring farms used children to work on the farms during busy times. They felt that they were powerless to prevent this as the farmers in question merely ignored their requests to stop doing this. One teacher stated that a farmer had been "very, very angry" with them as a result of the request. The DET circuit inspector said that despite sending letters to the farmers' in question, the use of child labour continued. As mentioned in chapter four, the DET cannot prevent this from happening as farmers have ultimate control over the schools and can close them down should they choose to.

Farmers in group F are also reluctant to provide farm schools because they do not want the responsibility of managing the school and having to deal with any potential problems. They felt that the behaviour of many school children did not encourage farmers to build schools. They stated that farm school children were renowned for taking short-cuts through farming property, which created footpaths which increased the potential erosion of the veld, breaking

fences and gates, stealing fruit and vegetables and destroying the crops that are grown on the farms.

It is interesting to note that while Levy (1976:4) and Gaganakis et al (1987:8) found that farmers are reluctant to provide farm schools because they associate education with the migration of their potential work force to the cities, this is not a reason why the farmers in group F have not provided primary schools. While it was felt by this group of farmers that education did encourage youths to move to the urban areas to look for better work opportunities, they did not feel that this created any labour shortages on their farms. It is argued that the migration of people to the urban areas is not an issue for these farmers because of the high-level of unemployed and unskilled labour in the area. A note of caution is necessary here: while more educated youths than uneducated youths migrate to the cities, the school is not necessarily the causal factor. According to Hanson (1980:5) the socio-economic structure of rural areas tends to reinforce negative attitudes youths may have of these areas. As long as rural dwellers perceive the urban areas to offer a better quality of life, many people will be attracted to the cities. At least 90 percent of the farm-children interviewed believed that the urban areas offered a more attractive lifestyle. As Graaff (1981:103) points out: "The central fact is the gap in standard and quality of life between rural and urban areas".

According to Nasson (1984b:16) and Gordon (1987:30), education can disadvantage job-seekers in some farming areas as school-leavers can be discriminated against because of their education. They claim that many farmers perceive school-leavers to be too qualified for farm work and fear that they will demand higher wages. Some farmers see school-leavers as potential trouble makers. It was difficult to tell if this happens in Ugie as all of the farmers (groups E and F) interviewed said that they were not aware of any school-leavers approaching them for work. Three of the farmers did say that if such a situation arose, they would not be able to afford to pay the type of wages they felt an educated person would expect. However, four of these farmers felt that education could be an important criteria in a prospective employee in the future. They felt that the changing nature of farming and the movement of trade unions into agriculture would necessitate a smaller number of permanent farm workers

who were better educated. However, as argued earlier, a primary education appears to be sufficient for the type of skills required for farm work.

While farming in the future might require a more skilled workforce, education at this stage is not an important employment criterion for the farmers interviewed. All the farmers interviewed (groups E and F) endorsed this point. However, five of the farmers said that they did prefer hiring people who at least had rudimentary skills. The farm workers interviewed confirmed that education is not a necessary criteria for farm work. At least 80 percent of the workers felt that education did not benefit them in any way with regard to their present employment conditions. Of the workers interviewed, approximately 32 percent have no education, while the average level of education amongst those who have been to school is standard one.

There does not appear to be any correlation between better wages and higher education. All the farmers (groups E and F) said that they paid according to productivity and not according to the education qualifications of their workers. The cash wages paid by farmers in the Ugie district varies from R50 to R200 per month. A general consensus amongst the farm workers was that the cash wage paid to them was very low and not enough to cover their costs. On one farm the wage is as low as R25 per month. A term used to describe this type of employment is 'poverty-in-employment'. According to Mpanza (1986:71) this refers to the combination of a low income and the instability of employment characteristic of rural areas. These farmers justified the low cash wage with payment in kind. This varies from farm to farm and includes grazing and cropping rights, accommodation, meat, milk, water, fire wood and medical expenses. The majority of the farmers felt that with the additional benefits farm wages corresponded favourably with the wages paid in Ugie, Maclear and Elliot. It appears that the minimum wage set by NECF has effected the level of wages paid in the three towns, as the majority of the businesses in these towns have increased their wages accordingly (Nel and Potgieter, 1990:39). The minimum wage set by NECF for 1992 is R14,60 per working day (an average of R321,20 per month).

While the majority of workers believed that education was irrelevant as far as farm work was concerned, they felt that it was essential that their children/ grandchildren went to school. According to one parent:

> Yes, I do every thing in my power to send my children to school. These days they need people who are educated, if you are not educated it is like someone without eyes.

At least 80 percent of the workers do not want their children to live and work on the farms, as farm work is seen to be hard work with no money or benefits. Education is perceived to be a means of escaping the farms and of getting better jobs and more money in urban centres. For most of the parents it is the only way their children can look for employment beyond the level of farm and domestic labour. According to one farm worker:

> I see those who are educated have better jobs and get more money. In the towns you can do what you want to, but here, nothing is yours, it is better in the towns.

Another worker stated that:

> With education there are better ways. Not on the farms, in the towns, on the farms education doesn't matter.

In research conducted in the eastern Cape, Gilbert et al (1991:12) found that the majority of farm workers interviewed also see education as a passport to escape from farm life.

About 18 percent of the workers do not see education in this light. They felt that life on the farms had more to offer their children/grandchildren than the urban areas did and had no wish for family members to migrate there. While they felt some form of education was important, their reasons for educating their children/grandchildren differed from the majority of the farm workers. Education is seen as a way of improving the quality of their children's lives on the farms by giving them basic skills to cope with the changing ways. What is significant about this is that all these workers, bar three people, come from one farm, viz: farm A. These workers do not want to leave the farm or change the type of work that they do. One man stated that:

> I like it here. This is my home, the old way on the farms is better.

The difference in attitude on this farm could be due to a number of factors. Firstly, as mentioned earlier, these farm workers appear

to be satisfied with conditions on the farm and have a good relationship with the farmer. Secondly, while the farm is about 20 kms from Ugie, it is in the mountains and is not easily accessible. This relative isolation could mean that this group of farm workers are not exposed to as many outside influences as the workers on the other three farms.

The farm workers on farms B, C and D differ substantially from those on farm A. At least 40 percent of these farm workers do not want to work on the farms. However, they felt that they had no option but to live on the farms, as they were uneducated and were therefore unable to find any job other than farm work or domestic labour. According to one man:

> It was very difficult to find work because I am not educated, so I had to work on the farms. I could not do the job I wanted to do.

Another woman said:

> If I leave this farm I can't get a job. I'm not educated.

Of those workers who do not want to live on the farms, almost half of the farm workers come from farm C. As mentioned earlier, the communication between the farmer and the workers on this farm is poor. The workers on farm C felt that the farmer had no concern for their wellbeing beyond his own interests, and they were dissatisfied with their living and working conditions. Six of the nine adults interviewed on this farm stated that they would leave the farm as soon as they could find alternative employment. They felt that the farmer in question had little regard for their privacy, as he demanded work at all hours without paying overtime and expected anyone living on the farm to help out during peak seasons. An ex-farm worker, who is currently unemployed, agreed to be interviewed and said that he would rather be jobless than work on the farms again because he was free.

The attitudes of workers on farm B and D are different. While there are general complaints of hard work and low wages, the hostility evident on farm C was not apparent. At least 65 percent of the workers on these two farms said that they were content to stay where they are as they were not hungry, cold or homeless and their children had an opportunity to go to school. It became apparent that on farms B, C and D there was a general anxiety over security of tenure. Many of the workers expressed concern over the fact that the farmers in question could tell them to leave the farm at any stage. This did not appear to be an issue on

farm A. According to a farm worker there:

> Baas X is good, even if he leaves here we will follow him, he will always look after us.

Again this difference in attitude could be ascribed to the good relations evident between the farmer and farm workers on farm A.

At least 90 percent of the children interviewed, including five of the seven children interviewed on farm A, do not want to stay on the farms. The career aspirations of these children varied from working in the police force and army to becoming teachers, nurses, doctors and at least five of these children wanted to become farmers who own their own land and employ people to work on the farm. None of the above-mentioned children wanted to be farm workers or domestic servants. In the words of a fourteen year old girl:

> I don't want to work on the farms, I don't like it, there is no money and I see my parents suffer.

It is interesting to note how the perceptions of the children interviewed are influenced by their environment. The types of careers that the children visualised for themselves are all familiar to rural life. The remaining ten percent of the children interviewed wanted to remain on the farms and lead the type of life their parents led. According to one young boy:

> I want to stay on the farm. My mother says you go hungry in the location. There is no food there.

The children who wanted to work on the farms are all boys. This could be due to the fact that there is a greater need for male employees on a farm than female employees. It is usually only once a man has been employed as a farm worker that the female members of his family are employed as domestic servants.

3.3. The Value of Education:

It is evident that the majority of the farm workers felt that the education of their children was important. There appear to be two main reasons for this, firstly, education is associated with economic security, and secondly, it is seen as a means for self-improvement. These are two complex issues which will be discussed in-depth in the following section.

There is a close correlation between the value parents place on education and their material aspirations. Most of the parents believed that with sufficient education their children/grandchildren would be able to get jobs which had better wages and consequently, a higher standard of living. While the majority of the farm workers undoubtedly want a better lifestyle for their children, their motive for educating their children is also prompted by a need for security. At least 40 percent of the parents felt that if their children found a well-paid job they could look after them in their old-age. This concern was particularly evident on farm C.

It is felt that the farm workers interviewed have unrealistic expectations of education. While most of the workers expect education to provide their children with a more secure lifestyle, it is argued that, for a number of reasons, the economic returns on farm school education are generally not very high. Firstly, it is felt that given the existing conditions constraining educational provision in the rural areas (the commercial farming areas as well as the 'self-governing' homelands and TBVC states), a high percentage of rural children do not actually complete their education, but drop out along the way[6]. According to the headmaster of the Idyoki Public School between 25-50 children from the farm schools in this and surrounding areas come to the secondary school each year, but less than 25 percent of these children go beyond standard six and none have reached standard nine[7]. Most farm-children only acquire a lower primary or at best a higher primary education and as such are still categorised as unskilled labourers. As mentioned earlier, there is a surplus of unemployed, unskilled labour, and as Graaff et al (1986:15) argue:

> The products of primary schools in rural areas will for the most part (particularly if they are women) be unemployed. The South African economy does not need them.

Secondly, for those farm-children who do complete their education, a matriculation certificate is not a guarantee that they will find employment. In the present economic recession jobs are

---

[6]Refer to chapter four for statistics on the number of secondary schools available for rural children and the percentage of these children attending secondary school.

[7]The Idyoki Public School has only been able to offer standard nine since the beginning of 1992. The lack of facilities within the school led to conflict between the township community, the white community and the DET at the end of 1991. Refer to the postscript for further discussion.

increasingly hard to come by and the competition for existing jobs is increasing. Both Gordon (1987:30) and Loots (1978:23) describe instances where school leavers are unemployed and unable to find work. A further problem affecting the chances of school-leavers from farm schools in finding work in urban areas is a bias against rural education. According to three of the teachers interviewed the quality of education in the farm schools was not as high as the urban schools because the teachers had to teach under such difficult circumstances and were not given adequate preparation and training[8]. Nasson (1984b:17) argues that farm school education has a stigma of inferiority and is placed at the bottom of the schooling hierarchy. He states that:

> The category plaasskool kinders embodies....assumptions about the inferior calibre of farm workers ' children.... [They] are sometimes viewed with open disdain as slow, stupid, and the connection between their 'low' habits and their low origins [are] forcefully impressed upon them.

The net result of these factors is that the expectations farm workers have of education often go unrealised.

The value that parents place on education has a definite influence on the school careers of their children. Some families are more education conscious than others. This is particularly evident at a secondary school level and does partly explain the different levels of education attained by farm-children. Both Gordon (1987:33) and Graaff et al (1990:29) found that because education does not directly benefit farm labour, some farm workers place a low value on education and are often indifferent or apathetic towards their children's education. As far as primary education is concerned, this does not seem to be a factor amongst the farm workers interviewed. As it is stated above, the majority of the farm workers perceive primary education to be essential.

However, there were mixed responses regarding the relevance and importance of secondary education. At least 25 percent of farm workers interviewed felt that secondary education was not essential and that a basic mastering of reading and writing skills was sufficient. A high proportion of this group of workers live on farm A and, as mentioned earlier, they felt that

[8] Refer to chapter four for a description of the types of problems facing farm school teachers.

farm life offered a more comfortable existence than that found in the cities and would prefer their children to remain on the farms. The two teachers on farm A observed that once the pupils left the farm school, the majority of their parents did not encourage them to study further. They did feel, however, that the financial cost of education was a limiting factor in encouraging parents to send their children to secondary school. According to a teacher:

> Many parents just can't afford to send their children away, they don't have the money.

A further 20 percent of the workers believed that there was not much they could do should their children decide to drop out of school. It appears that in certain cases parental discipline on these farms is breaking down, as some of the workers felt that they were unable to control the children under their care. At least half of the children on the farms are either illegitimate or are children of family members who are absent from the farms. One parent stated that:

> They must go to school so that the teacher can punish them if they are naughty and teach them manners, they just laugh at us.

Another woman said that:

> It is their choice, what can I do if they don't want to learn, they see how it is with us, but...

The remainder of the farm workers interviewed felt that secondary education was important and stated that as far as it was possible, they tried to send their children to secondary school. The parents on farm D were particularly concerned that their children receive a secondary education. It was difficult to ascertain why this should be the case on this particular farm. An interesting point is that a high degree of political awareness was evident on this farm. The workers felt that there was a need for trade unions on farms and at the conclusion of this investigation were discussing ways of communicating this with the farmer in question. A possible explanation for the attitudes on this farm could be the fact that the families appear to be more education conscious than on the other farms. For example, of the parents interviewed on farm D, seven of their children have gone to secondary school, with one person attaining her matriculation certificate, while the total number of children who have gone to secondary school on the other three farms is three. Most of the parents who would like to send their children to secondary school felt that there were many difficulties involved.

As it will be argued, there are a number of environmental factors that influence the chances of farm-children in completing their education.

The second reason why education is so important to farm workers is that it is seen as a means of self-improvement. The low level of education evident here is not unique, but as stated in chapter four, is found throughout the rural areas in South Africa[9]. The reasons given by the workers for their lack of education are: 1) there were no farm schools in the areas where they grew up; 2) their parents could not afford the costs (both direct and indirect) of education; and 3) education was not a priority when they were growing up. It became evident that most of the farm workers, particularly the younger generation, felt disadvantaged by their lack of education. They appeared to be very conscious of this factor and many farm workers referred to themselves as "stupid" or "dom". One farm worker said of himself: "I am closed, I don't know anything". Most of the workers did not want their children to feel ignorant the way they did. This is a reason why most parents encourage their children to attain at least a primary education. One of the parents said:

> I want my children to see, not like us who live in the darkness. They must go to school.

and:

> Those who are educated don't suffer like us on the farms.

Gilbert et al (1990:8) raise an important point when they state that the message communicated by parents to their children is one of shame about their lack of education and ignorance. This was apparent in the study. One boy felt that education was important because he does not want to be like his parents:

> I want to work in an office, I don't want to work with my hands like my parents do.

Another said:

> I don't want to live on the farm. People who are educated don't live there.

As Gilbert et al argue, implicit in such a message is a lack of self-worth and a denial of the

[9]Refer to work done by de Clercq (1984, 1986), Graaff et al (1986), Gordon (1987) and Gilbert et al (1990, 1991).

important role parents play in a child's upbringing.

Almost 90 percent of the farm workers said that they would welcome the chance to further their education, but did not feel that this was possible because they live on a farm. The majority of this group wanted to master basic skills so that they could improve the quality of their lives by being able to read and write letters, understand written instructions and not rely on others. A few of the younger workers wanted further education in order to leave farm work and find better paid employment. One young man stated that:

> I want to be educated, then I can choose a better job. Here I don't have to think. I just get told, do this, do that. I don't like it. Education is the way.

Those who do not want further education are all over 55 years of age. The feeling amongst this group is that they are too old to change their ways and education will be of no benefit to them.

A factor that became increasingly apparent is that most of the farm workers interviewed see the value of education in the most general terms: education is a the way out of economic servitude and a means for self-improvement. Whisson and Monona (1990:17) came across similar attitudes in their evaluation of pre-primary education in the Queenstown region. The broader political and socio-economic implications of education such as: Education for what purpose? In whose interest? How do these interests come to be defined and articulated? appear to be beyond the frame of reference of the parents and even the teachers and farmers interviewed[10].

The teachers endorsed the parents view of education as a means of upward mobility. Most of the teachers felt that with education farm-children could improve their own standard of living and teach their parents in the process. One teacher's view of education was:

> They help their parents when they become grown up, they upgrade their standard of living, they help others in their family about education so they can be educated too.

Another teacher said:

---

[10]It would seem that members of the white community in Ugie also see education as something totally separate from the political and socio-economic processes. For illustration of this point refer to the postscript.

> My reason for teaching is to educate my nation. It is only through education that the people will get away from poverty, you can improve yourself.

While the teachers felt that education was important in teaching children skills that give them a better chance in life, they seemed to disassociate education from the broader political and socio-economic processes. Their understanding of education appeares to be limited to what occurs in the classroom and how children progressed once they had acquired some 'knowledge'. They did not have any comments regarding the process of educational provision in rural areas, the farm school system or the role of the farmer. When the teachers spoke of problems encountered in the farm schools they were either educational issues such as inadequate facilities, overcrowded classrooms, limited resources and insufficient training, or personal problems like poor communication with the school managers and parents. Similarly they appear to be indifferent to the issue of teachers' unions, as their responses to questions on their involvement with such organisations were: "I'm not sure"; "I don't know"; "You must not ask me such questions. I do not know these things" and "I don't know nothing of them at the moment". It was difficult to discern if they were reluctant to talk about politics or whether they were not involved in political issues. The impression, however, that they were not politically active was strong.

Six of the teachers said that they preferred teaching in farm schools because they did not experience the violence and unrest that their urban counterparts did. When asked about the unrest in the urban schools these teachers did not appear to have any understanding of the underlying issues students are protesting against. The general feeling amongst these teachers is that urban children are 'naughty', undisciplined and they do not want to learn. According to one teacher:

> The children from a farm school are not naughty like children in the location schools. They come to school, they do not waste time by staying away. Also the farm-children they listen to what you tell them.

The level of commitment to teaching in farm schools also varied considerably. As it is mentioned, six of the teachers prefer teaching in farm schools because these schools are relatively peaceful. Within this group of teachers, four teachers said that they wanted to remain in farm schools as they enjoyed farm-children and they liked the farm lifestyle. They stated that while the conditions in farm schools were poor, farm-children were easier to teach as they were obedient and did not cause trouble. Of the remaining four teachers, two teachers

saw their time in the farm schools as temporary and an opportunity to gain experience to further their teaching careers. These teachers ultimately wanted to teach in the urban areas. The other two teachers did not mind if they taught in urban or rural schools and said that they would accept whatever post the Circuit Inspector assigned them to.

There are also differences between the teachers attitudes towards the school managers and the parents. The teachers on farm B appear to have a good relationship with the school manager and the farmer on whose property the school is located. These teachers have more independence than the other teachers, and the school manager is more involved with the school. In contrast, the teachers on farm C and D complained about the respective school managers, their own lack of professional autonomy and their living conditions. According to a headmistress:

> Every time I want money for the school I have to ask her, I'm not even in charge of that.

Another teacher said:

> My accommodation is very poor. I do not want to speak to the farmer because he might think I just complain all the time and tell me to leave his farm.

The position of the teachers can be constantly undermined by the farmer as he has the power to dismiss and evict them at any stage.

The communication between teachers and parents on all the farms appears to be poor. Both teachers and parents complained about this. There are a number of possible factors which can effect the communication between the two groups. Firstly, except for farm C, the teachers all live some distance from the farm workers which makes informal communication more difficult. Secondly, the perceptions teachers and parents have of each other does not always favour closer communication. When asked about friendships with members of the farm community, one teacher's response was:

> Yes, we talk to them and tell them about their children, they don't care about their children, we tell them that they must make sure they wash them every day, they must learn how to be clean.

The teachers were quite critical of farm workers and their lifestyle. Another teacher said:

> I do not want to live with the parents. They drink and make a noise. It is not right

living like that. It is unacceptable. So the farmer built this place for me at the school.

This attitude is communicated to the farm workers, as a typical response was:

They think they are better than us, they have education and we have not.

In their work in the eastern Cape, Gilbert et al (1990:11-12) also found the communication between teachers and parents to be poor. They attribute this to the lack of commitment by teachers to the local area. A similar lack of involvement was found amongst the teachers interviewed in Ugie. For example, nine of the ten teachers do not view the farms they teach on as their homes, but try to get back to their homes in the Transkei or the local towns whenever possible.

3.4. Socio-Economic Constraints Affecting Education:

It is argued that the school is only one amongst many socialising agents in a society and that the home environment plays a critical role in the development of any child. It is felt that this is particularly relevant in the case of farm-children, given the limited number of years the majority of these children spend at the farm school. In fact, in many instances, it is precisely because of environmental influences that many farm-children have such a limited contact with formal education. Graaff et al (1990:28-32) highlight a number of environmental influences which have a significant impact on the cognitive achievement of farm school children. These are: 1) parental attitudes; 2) the use of child labour; 3) the financial costs of education; 4) the loss of additional wage income; 5) health; 6) inter-farm movement of many farm workers; and 7) the physical proximity of farm schools (both access to schooling and available class-room space). As it is argued in chapter four, the impact of the socio-economic environment on education is significant and the way people choose to cope with these issues accentuate the differences found within farm school education. The following section looks at how some of these issues impact upon the schools in this investigation.

Farm workers are dependent on farmers because the farmers have control over so many important aspects of their lives, viz: employment conditions; accommodation and their children's education. As Graaff et al argue, many farm workers have a sharp sense of insecurity which is transmitted into a lack of involvement in their surroundings, including the

education of their children. The majority of the parents interviewed have very little to do with the farm schools that their children attend. The teachers felt that while there were exceptions, the parents generally felt inadequate when dealing with issues connected with the school. Whisson and Monona (1989:52) and Gilbert et al (1990:9) found similar perceptions amongst parents interviewed on farms in the Border and eastern Cape regions respectively.

As the majority of the parents are either illiterate or only functionally literate, they are unable to help with and supervise their children's homework. Most of the parents interviewed do not know what subjects their children are taught at school and very few can comment on the quality of education in the schools their children attend. The general responses to questions relating to subjects taught at school were: "I don't know" or "It is difficult for me, I'm not educated". Nasson (1984b:12) claims that very few farm schools have the networks of parental involvement and participation that characterise urban schools. This is borne out in this investigation. While two of the schools have a teacher/parents committee, according to the teachers involved meetings do not occur very often. The teachers stated that functions like concerts or sports days were better attended by parents than discussions on the academic progress of their children. While not disputing that education is important to the majority of the farm workers interviewed, it is argued that they see it in a more abstract sense rather than as a process which they can become actively involved in. Education is seen as the responsibility of the teachers and as Gilbert et al (1990:8) argue, this can lead to a denial of the wisdom and insights parents do have.

It is argued that this apparent apathy and indifference of parents to education can be transmitted to their children, who in turn do not value education and often have no incentive to continue with their schooling once they leave the farm schools. According to the three youths interviewed they all left school to work on the farms as they felt that there was little point in carrying on with school. One youth felt that:

> School can't help me, I need money. They [the farmers] don't care about education, so why bother. I can read and write.

In contrast, the parents of a sixteen year old girl, currently in standard seven at a school in the Transkei, are determined that she completes her schooling. She believed that:

> If I am educated then I can choose to do what I want, I don't have to be like my

parents and suffer.

A related problem is the difficulty for farm-children to study at home. As Keenen et al (1987:586) argue, conditions in the homes of farm workers are usually not conducive to learning, which further undermines the value of education to farm-children. There are generally no facilities like electricity, study space and school books for children to be able work at home. This appears to be a real problem on the farms investigated, although the teachers at one school tried to circumvent this problem by making time for homework after school. Again this is problematic, as some children have to walk long distances to school and also have tasks to do for their families or the farmer after school.

Another factor affecting the education of farm-children is the use of child labour by parents during school hours. As discussed in chapter four, many farmers make use of child labour during school hours despite this being prohibited by law. Parents also use children to perform domestic chores, often during school hours. The most common chore children perform is that of child-minder while the parents are working. The teachers at two schools stated that this was particularly evident during peak seasons when most of the adult members living on the farms were used to help with the extra work. In such instances the older children have to stay at home to look after the younger siblings. In two separate instances parents have stopped their oldest children, both girls, from going to school in order to look after a newly born child. In both cases the girls have been out of school for over a year and were only in standard two and four respectively. The girls are in their early teenage years. A related point is gender discrimination. This appears to differ from family to family and no clear pattern of gender discrimination amongst the families interviewed is discernable. In some cases, as outlined above, girls are expected to stop their education and look after their family. In other cases the boys are expected to leave school to get work and contribute to the family earnings. Four of the male adults interviewed had to cut short their education to get a job and look after their families. In all four instances their fathers had abandoned them.

Another consequence of the arbitrary provision of education in the farming areas is that the education of farm-children is often seriously disrupted or terminated by the inter-farm movement of farm workers looking for work. At least 40 percent of the farm workers

interviewed gave this as a reason for their low level of education. All of the teachers interviewed said that children often had difficulty adjusting when they moved to different schools, particularly if this happened in the middle of the school year. Three teachers felt that some of children who move between farms and farm schools often stopped their schooling altogether.

Another important environmental factor is financial cost. Most of the parents interviewed are able to afford the costs of primary education (school fees and school uniform). According to the farmers/school managers interviewed, the school fees per child per term vary from 60c to R2. However, the costs of secondary education are much higher. The school fees for the Ugie and Maclear secondary schools are R15 and R40 per child per annum respectively. Not only are the school fees more, but the parents have to pay for additional travelling, boarding and living expenses. Parents who have children at secondary schools stated that it was very expensive to send their children to school. Some parents interviewed said that their children had not continued with secondary school because they could not afford the additional costs. According to one parent:

> What can I do? I don't have the money, it is difficult this learning, you need the money to send children away. That is why we need the farm school.

Gordon (1987:33) notes that most of the children, particularly those in higher primary and secondary levels, leave school because of financial difficulties. Some of the parents are also reluctant to send their children to the towns to board because they do not have family living there. It appears that there is a particular concern about sending the young girls to stay in the townships, as parents felt that they run a greater risk of being abused or assaulted.

A related issue is the loss of a potential wage earner to a labouring family. Children at school are not in the position to work full-time to supplement the family income. Nasson (1984b:15) argues that as a result of the extreme poverty of most farm worker's lives, immediate economic necessity dictates that work and wages take precedence over education. The three youths interviewed said that they left school early to work on the farms to earn money. Gaganakis et al (1987:22-28) note that the dropout rate increases once the children are of the age to contribute to the family income. Looking at the numbers of children in each of the standards of the four schools investigated in Ugie, it is evident that there is a decrease in the

numbers of children from standard three onwards. Teachers in two of the schools stated that the dropout rate increased in the higher standards, while the teachers in the two other schools claimed that they did not suffer from high dropout rates.

The importance of physical health to the academic performance of pupils cannot be underestimated. The impoverishment of rural areas has resulted in a high proportion of children suffering from malnutrition (Wilson et al, 1989:100-106). In general, rural areas have poor social and health infrastructures, with few clinics, health care and creche facilities. Only one of the farms investigated has a creche and health care facility. According to Richter and Griesel (Gordon, 1987:47) malnutrition can affect the attention and concentration span of children and can seriously impair their academic abilities. As the state makes no provision for feeding schemes, it is up to the individual farmer or school to provide this. None of the schools investigated in Ugie have a feeding scheme. According to a headmistress of one of the schools the reason why such schemes do not exist in this area is because malnutrition is not a problem amongst the farm-children there. She stated that:

> Farm children are not hungry. They have milk, porridge, meat, potatoes, mielies, no they are not hungry. They don't like school in the locations, there's no food there.

According to her, the surplus food on the farms is made available by farmers to their workers and their families. After speaking to the parents on the four farms this was confirmed.

Another important factor affecting the performance of children at school and school attendance levels is the distance most children walk to school each day. As there is no transport available for farm school children in this area, they have to walk to school which, in some instances, can be as far as 20 kms each day. Three of the farmers in group F said that it was impossible for them to provide transport for the children and felt it was the parents' responsibility to get their children to and from school. Given the financial and time constraints affecting farm workers, most parents are unable to provide transport to farm schools on a sustained basis. The long distances pupils walk not only effect their concentration during lessons, but also contribute to late arrivals and absenteeism. According to the teachers absenteeism is particularly high during the rainy season and cold weather. In some instances the numbers of children who come to school are so small that classes are stopped for the day and children are given various tasks to do around the schools.

Access to education, particularly secondary schools, and the shortages of classroom space within the existing farm schools has had a critical impact on the dropout rate of farm-children from formal education. According to the DET circuit inspector there are enough farm schools in this area to ensure that all the farm-children have access to at least a lower primary education. In contrast, the headmistress of one of the farm schools investigated said that she had to turn pupils away at the beginning of 1992. She was not sure that these children would be accommodated in the other farm schools in the area. As Graaff et al (1990:23), Gordon (1990:3) and Ardington (1991a:5) all note, the higher a child goes in school, the greater the competition for classroom space. There are ten farm schools in this area, of these only one offers standard five. Secondary education is only available in the towns of Ugie, Maclear and Elliot and also in the Transkei. However, the teachers interviewed did not think that many children continued with their education once they left the farm schools. One teacher felt that:

> It is sad but it is difficult for them to carry on. The schools in the locations are full and they are far away. That is why we want more standards in this school.

This was a general feeling amongst the farm workers on farms B, C and D. They felt it would be much easier for their children to continue with their education if there were higher standards offered at the farm schools. In contrast, the workers on farm A were happy with the farm school the way it was and did not want any changes. These workers did not perceive secondary education to be as important as primary education, which could explain why they did not see the need for higher standards in the school.

The inadequate provision of education in 'white' farming areas has ensured that the majority of farm workers are either illiterate or semi-literate and are disadvantaged. While progressive organisations can and do play an important role in facilitating the empowerment of disadvantaged people, the lack of such organisations in the Ugie district is significant.

As yet there are no trade unions working on the farms. There were mixed responses amongst both the farmers and the farm workers on this issue. Only two of the farmers welcomed the unionisation of farm workers. One farmer felt that trade unions would help break the relationship of paternalism and dependency between farmers and farm workers and a more formal employment relationship could be established which would be beneficial to both parties. In contrast, three farmers were totally opposed to idea of trade unions mobilising farm

workers, as they felt that the demands of the unions were excessive and they would interfere with the working relationship that exists on the farms. According to one of these three farmers:

> They [the farm workers] are like children, a person must look after them. The unions aren't interested in their lives, they just want power.

This view appears to be widespread. According to an article in *The Farmer* (1992:5), the mouthpiece of the SAAU:

> Cosatu for instance demands the extension of trade union rights to farm workers, not the extension of labour laws. It is clear that their first priority is the trade union and the position of the farm worker of mere secondary importance.

While the remaining five farmers felt that the organisation of farm workers by trade unions would definitely occur in the future, the general feeling was that they would deal with this 'problem' when it happens. Although it became apparent that most of the farmers felt that if they were expected to meet the demands of the unions (minimum wages, upgraded living conditions and recreational facilities) then they would have to reduce their current labour force by at least half. This has serious implications for farm workers, as they would not only be unemployed (and with limited prospects of getting further employment), but they would also lose their homes, and in many cases, access to education. While the organisation of trade unions on farms is essential, it is felt that unions must be careful not to aggravate further unemployment and homelessness.

The attitudes of farm workers also varied on this issue. As mentioned earlier, the workers on farm D felt that trade unions were important, as they would provide some form of protection of their rights and it would also enable clearer communication with the farmer in question. The farm workers on the remaining farms were non-committal on this question. There could be a number of reasons for this. Firstly, the question was asked in an informal group discussion and the workers could have been reluctant to answer the question in front of their peers, although discussion on other issues was not restrained. Secondly, the workers could have feared reprisals from the farmers in question, although their confidentiality had been assured. Finally, workers might be uninformed on the question of unions.

According to a representative from NECF, an agreement could be signed between the company and the Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers Union (PPWAWU) in the early part of 1993. This could mean that the organisation of unions on the farms may occur in the near future. Education will almost certainly be on the agenda of any union mobilising in this area. While this might result in quantitative improvements in individual farm schools, it is felt that as long as farmers retain control of the farm school and the relationship of dependency on the farms continues, there can be little effective change in the provision of education in the commercial farming areas.

It was also ascertained that there are hardly any progressive organisations like the National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC) or the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) operating in this area. A representative of the NECC said that it was difficult for organisations to develop structures in remote rural areas due to the lack of personpower and the logistical problems of distance and finance (pers. comm. 1993). This merely reflects the bias between urban and rural areas and illustrates how marginal rural areas are to most of the progressive organisations. According to a spokesperson from Dyoki Township there are currently three local organisations that have been set up in the township. These are: 1) Masakhane; 2) Lubulyo Creche; and 3) Ugie Education Crisis Committee. The only service organisation working in this area is the Queenstown Early Learning Centre (QELC). This is a non-governmental organisation (NGO) which focuses on establishing pre-primary schools in the Border region and facilitates the training of pre-primary school teachers (QELC Annual Report, 1991/92). As Graaff and Louw (1992:4) state, NGO's play a critical role in the developmental field in South Africa and it is important that more of these organisations operate in rural areas.

---

[11]Masakhane is a women's organisation encouraging women to plant vegetables, sew and to do handiwork. This organisation is financed by the Ugie municipality and is currently waiting for funds before it can begin to operate. The Lubulyo Creche is an independent organisation set up by a woman in the Dyoki Township. The Ugie Education Crisis Committee is made up of representatives from both the white and black communities and is a response to the crisis in the Idyoki Public School over inadequate facilities and classrooms. This is discussed in further detail in the postscript.

4. CONCLUSION:

The theoretical approach adopted in this study, which is a combination of a macro- and a micro-perspective, has contributed to a broader understanding of the political and socio-economic factors impacting upon farm schooling. By locating this study within the broader framework of the political economy of South Africa, it is possible to see how farm schooling perpetuates the social relations within farming areas and contributes to the exploitation of farm workers.

Clearly farm schooling cannot be seen in isolation from the social relations evident in 'white' farming areas. Farm schools are intricately linked with the power structure on white farms and have to be seen as one of the structures that dominates the lives of farm workers. As it is argued in this chapter, the position of farm workers is one of helplessness and dependence on the farmer and the provision of farm schools enforce the control farmers have over those who live and work on their farms. Firstly, the fact that access to education for black farm-children is tied to the continued employment of their parents, increases the economic dependence of farm workers on farmers. Secondly, farm schools generally only offer a primary education. Combined with the lack of secondary schools in farming areas, farm-children are therefore left with limited access to any form of work other than unskilled labour. In this way the education provided on farms restricts the socio-economic mobility of farm-children and is part of a system that ties farm children to the 'white' rural areas. Furthermore, by keeping farm-children largely semi-literate and ill-educated, farm schooling is also a form of political control as the products of such schools are less likely to challenge the feudal relations that exist in the farming areas.

The relationship of control and dependence that exists between farmer and farm workers also has a significant impact upon the cognitive achievement of farm-children. As it is discussed in this chapter, environmental factors influence the perceptions that farm workers and children have of the farm school and consequently the types of decisions they make regarding education. The impact of local decision-making on the process of farm schooling should not be underestimated. A better understanding of the perceptions and attitudes of local actors regarding education, their needs and interests and the types of conditions which influence

decisions that are made, will go a long way in explaining the differences that exist within the farm school system at present.

Thus by combining a micro-perspective with a macro-perspective, this theoretical approach is capable of explaining the types of issues constraining or enabling rural education.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUDING COMMENTS:

Farm school education cannot be separated from the political and socio-economic processes in rural areas. The two central themes which underlie the findings from this investigation are: 1) the provision of farm schools is closely associated with the labour needs of farmers; and 2) once education is provided, the impact of local decision-making on the schooling process is significant. By comparing results from this study with findings from other studies conducted on farm school education[1], it is evident that these issues underlie the process of farm schooling in general.

As farm school education is intricately tied to the power structure of the white farms, any future changes to rural education will have to address both the control of the farmers and the insecurity of farm workers. Changing the system of education alone will do little to improve the quality of life of farm workers. Graaff et al (1990:28-33) make a crucial point when they state that:

> ...the average farm worker's life is marked by poverty, powerlessness, insecurity and alienation. This environment has a marked impact on schooling....the best way to improve schooling for farm-children is not via schools, but through methods which rather address the social and economic context within which they conduct their lives. [my emphasis].

Ardington's (1991a:19-22) suggestion that schooling in rural areas be centralised could be part of the solution to the problem. By this she means the consolidation of a number of small farm schools into a central school either in the rural towns or on land bought or leased by the state. She argues that:

> Through accepting responsibility for and taking control of rural education the state could aim to supply sufficient and satisfactory facilities which were distributed in such a way that no rural child would be required to travel more than a specified distance to school. If such schools were placed in towns or villages or on public land farmers would be relieved of the responsibility for providing education and their exclusive control over the current provision of education would be removed.

---

[1] Refer to Plaut (1976), Levy (1976), Nasson (1984b, 1988), Gaganakis et al (1987), Christie et al (1989), Graaff (1989, 1990) and Gordon (1987, 1991b) for further details.

The centralisation of farm schools would serve a number of purposes: 1) black farm schools would be removed from the control of individuals; 2) farm-children would not be dependent on their parents' continued employment by the farmer for their education; 3) all rural children would be assured of a chance to get a basic education; 4) teachers would not be dependent on the farmer, both professionally and personally; 5) resources from the smaller schools could be accommodated in one larger school; and 6) it would be easier to provide secondary schools. This is essential. As long as farm school education remains at a primary level and is not linked to secondary education, farm-children will continue to be locked into a system where they are only functionally literate and unemployable beyond the level of unskilled labour. Another important point is that once the education of farm-children is no longer tied to the employment of the parents, it will be easier for parents to become effectively involved with the affairs of the school[2]. As mentioned in chapter four, while the 1988 Education Amendment Act made provision for farm school governing bodies, consisting of the farmer/school manager and representatives from the pupils' parents, it has not been successful as ultimate control is still in the farmer's hands.

As Graaff et al (1990:45-46) point out, there are two major drawbacks to the centralisation of farm schools. Firstly, the success of such a system would depend upon a degree of commitment by a number of interest groups viz: the state; farmers; parents; teachers and the pupils themselves. They raise an important issue when they query whether the political will exists to push through such a system. Secondly, centrally placed schools would involve extensive transportation to and from school. Given the present economic climate and the lack of readily available funds to subsidise such transportation, it could be problematic. Furthermore, the consolidation of schools would not improve 'educational' issues like the poor quality of education, the shortage of teachers, the low qualifications of existing teachers, the lack of technical aids and equipment and the high dropout and failure rates. These issues

---

[2]There are currently moves by farmers in certain farming areas to establish education trusts where the farmers are not in control of the schools and the parents are included in the decision-making structures of these schools. Three such Trusts have in fact been established and are the Hantam Trust near Colesburg, Karoo; the Natal Midlands Farm School Project in the Natal Midlands and the Winterberg Trust near Tarkastad, eastern Cape (pers. comm. 1992).

would have to be addressed separately by the state. However, despite such drawbacks, it is felt that the centralisation of farm schools will at least address the issues of control and inadequate financial provision currently affecting farm schools and force the state to assume responsibility for the provision of education in the 'white' farming areas.

While centralised farm schools will remove the education of farm-children from the arbitrary control of the farmer, it is doubtful whether this would have any impact on the social relations of the farm. However, if the centralisation of farm schools corresponded with the establishment of rural villages for farm workers, then the control of the farmer over both the schooling of farm children and the personal lives of farm workers would be undermined (Bot, 1988:60; Ardington, 1990b:609). The establishment of farm villages where farm workers can ultimately own their own homes would break the relationship of dependency and exploitation between the farmer and farm worker. In the light of the amendments to the LRA and BCEA, to be legislated in 1993, farm villages would also make it easier for farm workers to organise collectively and protect their rights. Such a broad approach would make it possible to establish pre-school care centres, adult education and primary health care facilities which could be integrated into the daily lives of the farm workers living in these villages. As Ardington (1986:72) states, farm villages would facilitate the occupational and spatial mobility for farm workers as houses would no longer be tied to employment.

Again, similar drawbacks exist. Firstly, would farmers be prepared to relinquish the control they have over the lives of farm workers and their families? The uncertainty over the extension of tenure rights to farm workers might well propel farmers into supporting this concept rather than have to deal with the complex nature of tenureship on their properties. The establishment of farm villages could force some farmers to improve their employment conditions in order to compete with other employees to attract more skilled labour. Secondly, where would such villages be established? One option could be the present rural towns. Another option could be that farm villages be established on land presently owned by the state or land bought from farmers by the state for this purpose.

Another important consideration is the relevance of the education system itself. As it is argued in this study, educational policy- makers have concentrated on 'education for economic

growth' and, as illustrated, the economic returns on farm school education are not very high. Smith (1984:8) challenges this understanding of education and argues that education should be about individual empowerment. He suggests that a policy of 'Basic Education', implemented within the context of political and economic change, could begin to redress the inequalities and poverty within rural communities. Such a policy should include:

- basic tools of literacy and numeracy and knowledge of health care;
- Employment directed skills of administration, organisation, presentation, communication;
- Leverage skills for obtaining access to resources, influencing local and central government;
- Leadership skill...questioning and enquiring.

A further point is that while change is important at a national level, it is essential that policy-makers consider local issues and the needs of different communities. This raises the question of the 'top-down' approach which has characterised policy-making in the past, where policy changes were implemented without consultation at the local level. It is important that local communities are involved in the process of change, particularly in the light of the considerable differences that exist between rural areas. Individuals should be suitably empowered to be able to make informed choices and have the adequate social structures to defend and represent their interests (Gilbert et al, 1990, 1991). In this context it is important that structures which will lead to the empowerment of rural people are developed in these areas. The mobilisation of local people and their participation in the decision-making process is necessary. Formal education on the lines of the strategy mentioned above can be linked to other development and community issues. In this regard adult literacy programmes, pre-primary education and creches, health-care facilities, trade unions and community development organisations aimed at developing local skills and resources, creating employment and generating income, are all important to the process of empowerment and improving the quality of life in rural areas.

In this regard it is essential that more NGO's become involved with rural people and rural issues. The further the distance from an urban centre, the more marginalised a rural area becomes in terms of organisations operating in these areas. As stated in chapter one, it is often the communities that are in the most need of attention that are the most neglected by

organisations and social researchers. It is felt that NGO's can play an important role in facilitating community development. It is essential that these organisations do not perpetuate the bias between urban and rural areas by concentrating on urban centres and the immediate outlying areas.

In conclusion, it is essential that the neglect of rural areas is not repeated in the move to a post-apartheid society. The problems affecting rural areas need to be a priority on the agenda of policy-makers. However, the danger still exists that the changes implemented will focus on urban areas and issues and may well by-pass the rural areas. This should be avoided at all costs. When the nature of the future South Africa is negotiated, it is imperative that representatives of rural communities highlight the daunting problems facing these communities to ensure that they are not neglected and further disadvantaged in future policy-decisions.

POSTSCRIPT

During the period the investigation was conducted in the Ugie district a crisis arose over the lack of classrooms and facilities for standard nine and ten pupils in the Idyoki Public School. Negotiations between representatives from the Dyoki Township and the Ugie town council over this problem reached a deadlock and in December 1991 a boycott against the 'white' business community was enforced. In response to this, the business community in Ugie and members from the township met on an informal basis to discuss the problems. The two groups where known as the Liaison and Co-ordinating committees respectively. An agreement was reached between the two groups that the business community would sponsor the erection of three classrooms if the boycott was lifted. After further negotiations the DET also agreed to build another three classrooms to accommodate the standard nine pupils and to build further classrooms for the standard ten pupils by 1993.

The researcher attended these meetings as an observer and reached the conclusion that the majority of the white representatives did not see the education crisis in the township as part of the broader political and socio-economic processes, but as something isolated from wider society. This reaction is a microcosm of the decisions taken over the years by policy-makers who have failed to contextualise education within the broader social processes and, as a result, have not been able to effectively address the problems inherent in the present education system.

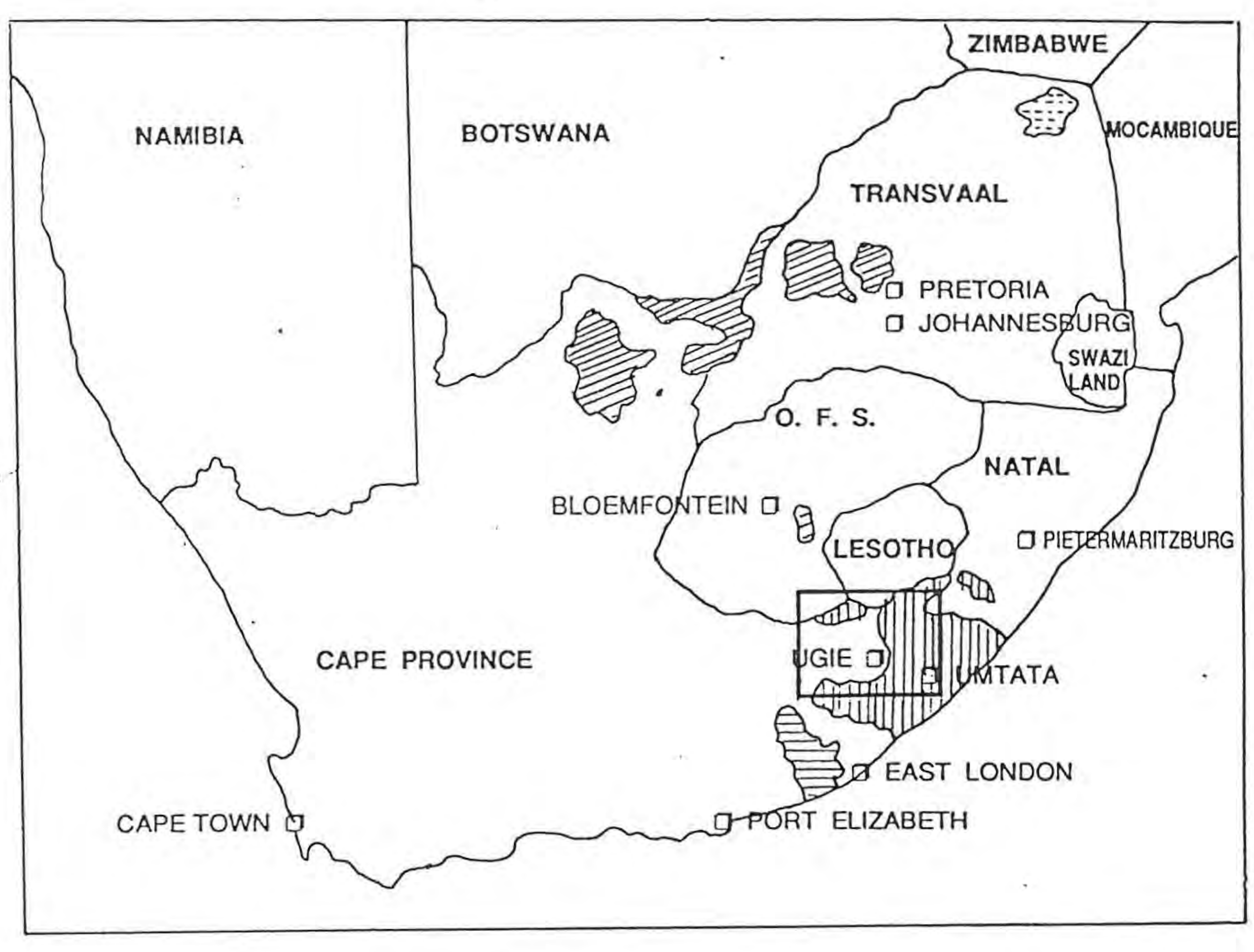
A positive outcome of these informal meetings between the two communities was the formation of a representative structure, the Ugie Education Crisis Committee. This structure was set up at the end of 1992 and is a forum where members of both communities can air grievances and discuss solutions.

A further point is that in the period subsequent to this investigation, certain farmers in the north eastern Cape have become the target of black violence. It is felt that this must have an impact on the social relations in this area.

A final comment is the impact of the draught on farming operations. While the Ugie district itself has not been affected, the consequence of the draught on other farming areas has been devastating. According to the Minister of Agriculture over 100 000 people lost their jobs within the agricultural sector in 1992 as a result of the drought (Eastern Province Herald, 3 February 1993:4). In many instances farm workers have been given 24 hours notice and evicted from the farms (Land Update, 1992:11-12). The implications of this are serious as farm workers not only lose their homes, but in many cases they also lose access to education for their children.

APPENDIX A

FIGURE 1 : SOUTH AFRICA AND THE 'INDEPENDENT STATES'



KEY.

BOUNDRY LINES.

TRANSKEI.

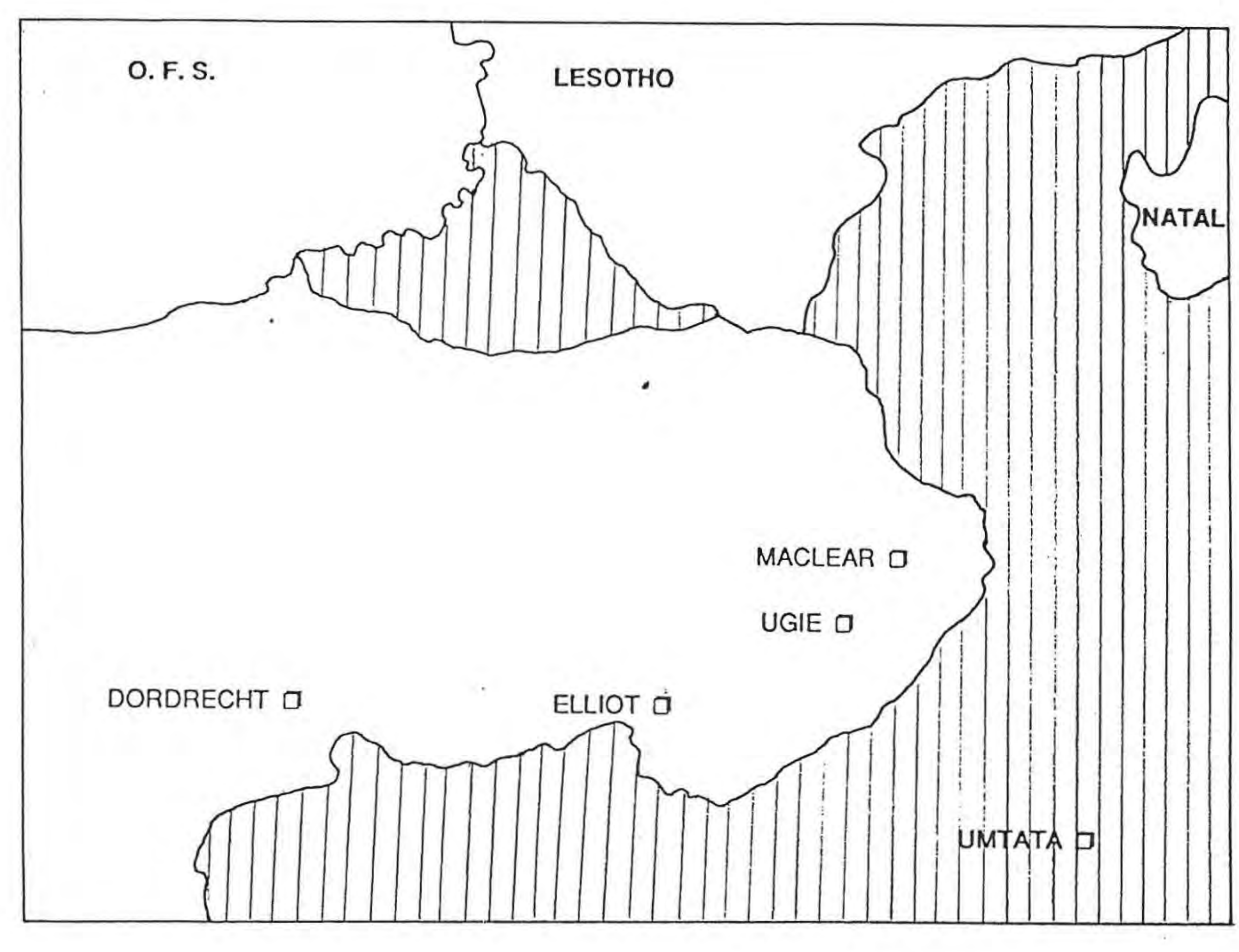
BOPHUTHATSWANA.

VENDA.

CISKEI.

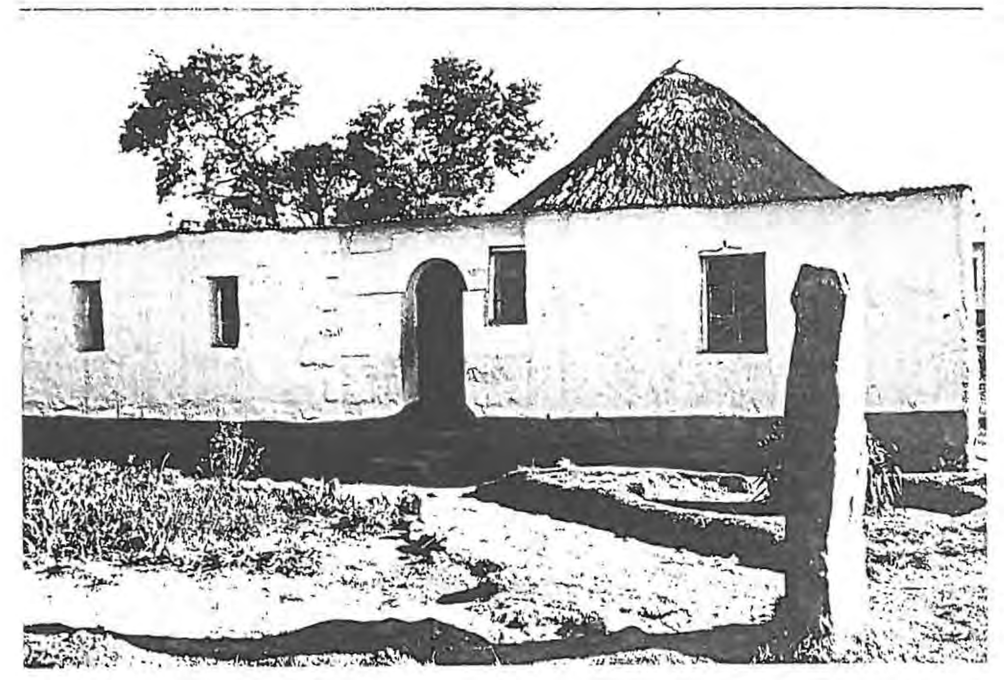
AREA ENLARGED IN FIGURE 2.

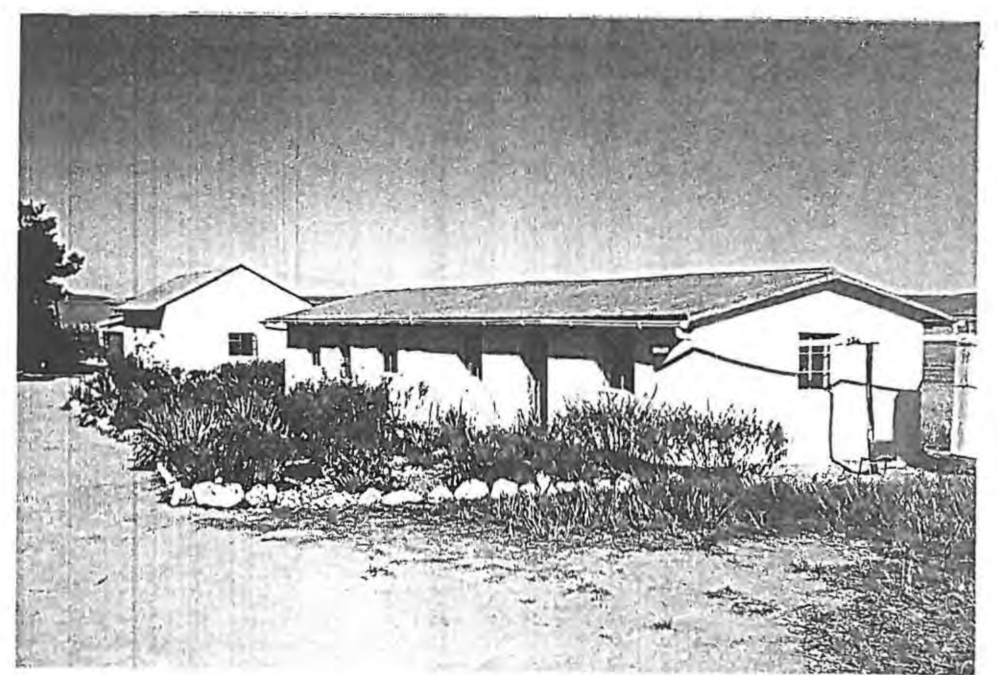
FIGURE 2 : NORTH EASTERN CAPE

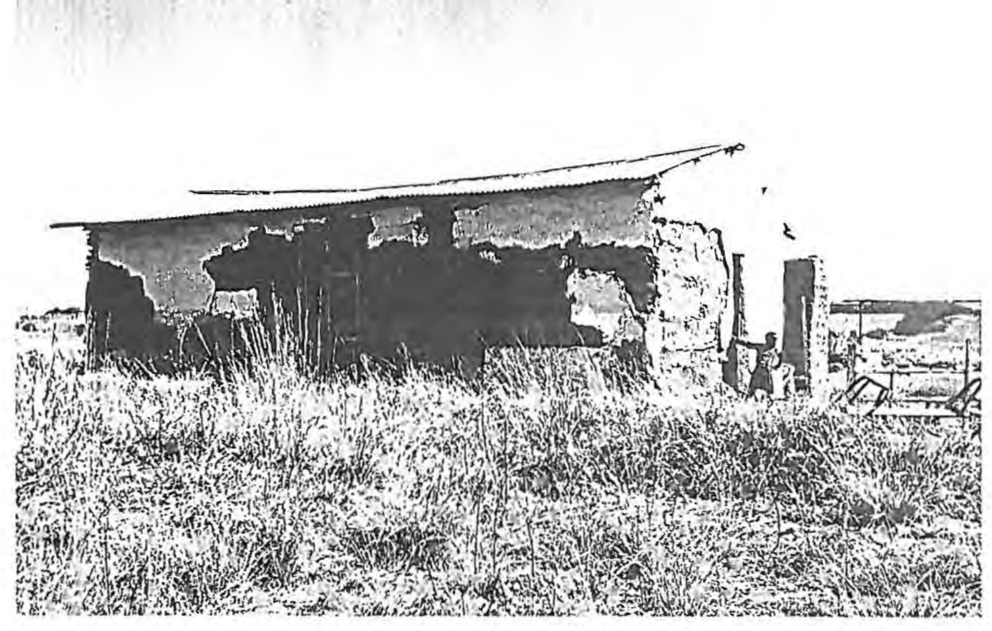


APPENDIX B

PHOTOGRAPHS OF FARM SCHOOLS:







APPENDIX C

PART 1:

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH PUPILS IN SUB A, SUB B AND STANDARD ONE:

1. How old are you?

2. What standard are you in?

3. How many years have you spent at school?

4. Do you have any brothers and/or sisters who are at school?

5. If they do go to school, 1) what school do they go to?
   2) what standard(s) are they in?
   If they do not go to school, what are the reasons?

6. Were you born on this farm?
   If not, 1) when did you move to this area?

7. With whom do you live?
   How many people live in your household?

8. Where does your father work?

9. Where does your mother work?

10. Who else works in your family?
    Where do they work?

11. Do you have any household chores to do?
    If so, 1) what?
    2) when do you do them?

12. Do you ever work for the farmer or his wife?
    If so, 1) what?
    2) when do you work?
    3) do you get paid?

13. Have you ever missed school (apart from being sick)?
    Why is this?

14. What do you do in the 1) afternoons after school?
    2) weekends?
    3) school holidays?

15. Do you like going to school?
    Why / Why not?

16. What do you want to be when you grow up?

APPENDIX C

PART 2:

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH PUPILS IN STANDARDS TWO, THREE AND FOUR:

1. How old are you?

2. What standard are you in?

3. How many years have you spent at school?

4. Have you been to any other school(s)?
   If so, 1) where is the school?
   2) what is the school's name?
   3) why did you leave this school?

5. When you pass Standard 5 will you go to another school?
   If yes, 1) which school will you go to?
   2) where is this school?
   If not, why will you not go to another school?

6. What do you think of school?
   What do you like about school?
   What do you not like about school?

7. What do you want to do when you finish school?

8. Do you have any brothers and/or sisters who are at school?

9. If they do go to school, 1) what school do they go to?
   2) what standard(s) are they in?

10. If they do not go to school, what are the reasons?

11. Were you born on this farm?
    If not, 1) when did you move to this area?

12. With whom do you live?
    How many people live in your house?
    Who are they?

13. Where does your father work?

14. Where does your mother work?

15. Who else works in your family?
    Where do they work?

16. Do you have any household chores to do?
    If so, 1) what?
    2) when do you do them?

17. Do you ever work for the farmer or his wife?
    If so, 1) what?
    2) when do you work?
    3) do you get paid?

18. What do you do in the 1) afternoons after school?
    2) weekends?
    3) school holidays?

19. Have you ever missed school (apart from being sick)?
    Why is that?

APPENDIX C

PART 3:

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH TEACHERS:

A. Residential Background:

1. Where do you live?

2. Do you like living here? Why?

3. What is your home language?

B. Family Life:

1. Are you single / married / other?

2. Does your family live with you? Why?

3. Do you have any children?
   1) how many?
   2) where do they live?
   3) are they at school?

4. What type of relationship do you have with the farm workers?

5. Do you belong to any union organisation?
   If so, which union do you belong to?

6. Is there a teacher's union active in this area?
   Why is this?

C. Educational Achievements:

1. Where did you go to school?
   -secondary school(s) ...
   -tertiary training ...

2. What level of education did you reach?
   Why did you stop at that level?

3. Why did you become a teacher?

4. How long have you taught at this school?

5. Why did you come to teach at this school?

6. Do you enjoy teaching in this school? Why?

D. The Functioning of the Farm School:

1. How many pupils attend this school?

2. What standard does this school go up to?

3. How many pupils in each standard?

4. What is the average age of each standard?

5. What is the medium of instruction at the school?

6. What is the home language of most of the pupils?

7. How many farms does this school serve?

8. Where do the majority of the pupils come from?
   What is the furthest distance they come from?

9. How do these pupils get to school?

10. Do the pupils attend school regularly? Why?

11. Have pupils ever been used, during school hours, to:
    1) work on the farm?
    2) work in the farm house?
    3) work in their own homes?
    What do you feel about this?

12. What subjects are taught at this school?

13. How many teachers are there in this school?

14. Are there any teacher training programs in this area?
    What do you think of such programmes?

15. How many classrooms are there?
    Is there a staff room, telephone, toilets?
    Are there any shortages?

16. What do you do about a library?

17. Is there a secondary school that farm school pupils can attend in this area?
    1) If yes, do many of your pupils go on to attend secondary school?
    2) If no, what do pupils do?

18. Is there a high failure rate in this school? Why?

19. Do many children leave school for reasons other than failing? Explain.

20. What problems have you encountered in farm schools?
    Do you have any solutions?

21. What jobs are available in this area?
    Does education help people to get jobs in this area? Why?

22. What do most of the pupils do when they leave school?

23. Do many of the young people leave this area? Why?
    Do you think education plays a role in this migration?

24. Are the pupils who have passed through this school any more of a help to their families than other children who have not been to school? Why?

25. Are there any children in this area who have had no education whatsoever? Why?

26. How could the farm schools be improved so that pupils are better equipped to:
    - go on with their studies.
    - get a job.
    - to help their communities.

27. What role does the school play in the farm community?

28. Is there a parents committee?

29. Do you think that the parents play an active role in the education of their children? Why?

30. What do you think the parents think about education?

31. Is there any communication between yourself (and fellow teachers), parents and the farmer on the functioning of the school? Why?

32. Is the farmer the school manager?

33. What role does the farmer play in the function of the school?
    Does the farmer's wife have anything to do with the school?

34. What type of relationship do you have with the farmer?

35. Who controls the finance of the school? Why?

36. Do you have any complaints?

E. Farm School Structure:

1. What do you think of black farm schools in general?

2. Should the farmer be in charge of the school on his farm? Why?

3. Who should provide accommodation for the teachers? Why?

4. Who should employ the teachers? Why?

5. What do you think of the subjects taught at farm schools?

6. Should there be farm schools?
   If so , why do you think this?
   If not, 1) why not?
   2) do you have any ideas about an alternative system?

7. Who do you think should be responsible for schooling in rural areas? Why?

APPENDIX C

PART 4:

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWED WITH PARENTS:

A. Household Composition:

1. Are you married? (If not, what status?)

2. Are you the head of the household?
   If not, who is the head?

3. Do you like living here? Why?
   Would you like to leave here? Why?

4. What language do you speak at home?

5. How many people are living in your home at present?
   - Adults (over 18 years) ...
   - Children (18 years and below) ...

B. Educational Level:

1. Did you go to school?
   If so, 1) where did you go?
   2) was it a farm school?
   3) how many years did you go to school for?
   4) what standard did you reach?
   5) why did you leave school?
   6) did education help you to get a job? If so, why?
   If you did not go to school, 1) why not?
   2) did you have difficulty getting a job?

2. Has education changed since you where a child?
   If so, how?

3. Do you think education for adults (like literacy classes) is a good thing? Why?

C. Educational Expenses:

1. How many children do you have?

2. Are all your children in school?
   If not, why not?

3. Are any of your children (below 18 years) staying elsewhere?
   If so, 1) how many?
   2) where are they staying?
   3) who is looking after them?
   4) how many of these children attend school?

4. Where do your children go to school?

5. Who run(s) the school(s)?

6. Are there any children (below 18 years), apart from your own, presently living in your household?

7. Who pays for the education (fees, books, uniform etc.) for:
   1) your children
   2) other children in your household?

8. Do you pay school fees? How much per year?
   Is there anything else you need to pay for? How much?

9. How do you cover the costs of education?

D. Attitudes towards the Educational Process:

1. Do you try to educate your children as far as possible? Why?

2. Do you think that education is important? Why?

3. Are you happy with the school that your children go to? Why?

4. Is there a better school nearby?
   If so, 1) why do you think it is better?
   2) what is the name of the school?
   3) why do you not send your children there?

5. Should there be farm schools?
   If so , why do you think this?
   If not, 1) why not?
   2) where should the children in this school go to school?

6. Who do you think should be in charge of schools in rural areas? Why?
   Do you think that you should have anything to do with your children's education?

7. What would you like your children to be when they are adults?

8. Do you want your children to live and work on the farms? Why?

9. Is there a secondary school that you can send your children to?
   If so, 1) where is it?
   2) will you send your children there?
   3) why?
   If not, what will you do?

10. How many of your children have left school?
    What were the reasons each one left?

11. Do any of your children who are at school earn money too?
    If they do: 1) how?

12. Do any of your children work for the farmer and/or his wife?
    If they do, 1) what do they do?
    2) when do they work?
    3) how much do they earn?
    4) does this ever interfere with their schooling?

13. Do any of your children work for your household?
    If so, when do they do this work?

14. Did your son(s) and daughter(s) get the same amount of education? Why?

15. Which subjects do you think are the most important ones for children at school? Why?

16. Should boys and girls get the same amount of education? Why?

17. What jobs are available in this area?
    Does education help people to get jobs in this area? Why?

18. Do you think an education helps someone to get jobs on the farms? Why?

19. Do men and women get higher wages if they have a higher education? Explain.

20. Has higher education helped any of your children to get:
    1) a job? if so, what type of job and where?
    2) higher wages? if so, how much?

21. Do you think education encourages people to leave the farming areas for the towns and cities? Why?

22. Do the farmers in this area suffer from labour shortages? Why?

23. Is a farm school important when a person decides to work on a farm? Why?

E. Community and Parental Involvement in Education:

1. What role does the school play in the farm community?

2. Are you personally involved with school matters?
What are your reasons?

APPENDIX C

PART 5:

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWED WITH GRANDPARENTS:

A. Household Composition:

1. Are you married? (if not, what?)

2. Are you the head of the household?
   If not, who is the head?

3. Do you like living here? Why?

4. What language do you speak at home?

5. How many people are living in your home at present?
   - Adults (over 18 years) ...
   - Children (18 years and below) ...

B. Educational Level:

1. Did you go to school?
   If so, 1) where did you go?
   2) was it a farm school?
   3) how many years did you go to school for?
   4) what standard did you reach?
   5) why did you leave school?
   6) did education help you to get a job? If so, why?
   If you did not go to school, 1) why not?
   2) did you difficulty getting a job? Why?

2. Has education changed since you where a child?
   If so, how?

3. Do you think education for adults (like literacy classes) is a good thing? Why?

C. Educational Expenses:

1. How many children do you have?

2. Have they all left home?

3. Did they all go school?

If not, why not?
If the did, 1) what standards did they reach?
2) why did they leave school?

4. Did your son(s) and daughter(s) get the same amount of education? Why?

5. Has higher education helped any of your children to get:
1) a job? if so, what type of job and where?
2) higher wages? if so, how much?

6. How many grandchildren do you have staying with you?

7. Do these grandchildren go to school? If so, which school do they go to?

8. Who run(s) the school(s)?

9. Are there any children (below 18 years), apart from your grandchildren, presently living in your household?

10. Who pays for the education (fees, books, uniform etc.) for:
1) your children
2) your grandchildren
3) other children in your household?

11. How much do you spend per year on education?
Is there anything else you need to pay for? How much?

12. How do you cover the costs of education?

D. Attitudes towards the Educational Process:

1. Do you try to educate your children/grandchildren as far as possible? Why?

2. Do you think that education is important? Why?

3. Are you happy with the school that your grandchildren go to? Why?

4. Is there a better school nearby?
If so, 1) why do you think it is better?
2) what is the name of the school?
3) why do you not send your grandchildren there?

5. Should there be farm schools?
If so , why do you think this?
If not, why not?

6. Who do you think should be in charge of schools in the rural areas? Why?

Do you think that you should have anything to do with your children/ grandchildren's education?

7. What would you like your grandchildren to be when they are adults?

8. Do you want your children or grandchildren to work on the farms? Why?

9. Is there a secondary school that you can send your grandchildren to?
If so, 1) where is it?
2) will you send them there?
3) why?
If not, what will you do?

10. How many of your grandchildren have left school?
What were the reasons each one left?

11. Do any of your grandchildren living with you, and who are at school, earn money?
If they do 1) how?

12. Do any of these grandchildren work for the farmer and/or his wife?
If they do, 1) what do they do?
2) when do they work?
3) how much do they earn?
4) does this ever interfere with their schooling?

13. Do any of your children work for your household?
If so, when do they do this work?

14. Which subjects do you think are the most important ones for children at school? Why?

15. What jobs are available in this area?
Does education help people to get jobs in this area? Why?

16. Do you think an education helps someone to get jobs on the farms? Why?

17. Do men and women get higher wages if they have a better education? Explain.

18. Do you think education encourages people to leave the farming areas for the towns and cities? Why?

19. Do the farmers in this area suffer from labour shortages? Why?

20. Is a farm school important when a person decides to work on a farm? Why?

F. Community and Parental Involvement in Education:

1. What role does the school play in the farm community?

2. Are you personally involved with school matters?
   What are your reasons?

APPENDIX C

PART 6:

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH EMPLOYEES WITHOUT CHILDREN:

A. Household Composition:

1. Are you married?

2. Are you the head of the household?
   If not, who is the head?

3. Do you like living here? Why?

4. What language do you speak at home?

5. How many people are living in your home at present?
   - Adults (over 18 years) ...
   - Children (18 years and below) ...

B. Educational Level:

1. Did you go to school?
   If so, 1) was it a farm school?
   2) how many years did you go to school for?
   3) what standard did you reach?
   4) why did you leave school?
   5) did education help you to get a job? How?
   If you did not go to school, 1) why not?
   2) did you difficulty getting a job? Why?

2. Has education changed since you where a child?
   If so, how?

3. Do you think education for adults (like literacy classes) is a good thing? Why?

C. Attitudes towards the Educational Process:

1. Do you plan to have children?
   If so, 1) how many children?
   2) will you send them to school? why? where?

2. Should there be farm schools?
   If so , why do you think this?

If not, 1) why not?
2) where should the children in this school go to school?

3. Who do you think should be in charge of education in the rural areas? Why?
   Do you think that parents should have anything to do with their children's education?

4. Do you think that education is important? Why?

5. Should boys and girls get the same amount of education? Why?

6. What jobs are available in this area?
   Does education help people to get jobs in this area? Why is this?

7. Do you think an education helps someone to get jobs on the farms? Why?

8. Do men and women get higher wages if they have a higher education?

9. Do you think education encourages people to leave the farming areas for the towns and cities? Why?

10. Do the farmers in this area suffer from labour shortages?
    Why is this?

11. Is a farm school important when a person decides to work on a farm. Why?

APPENDIX C

PART 7:

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH FARMERS (GROUP E):

A. Residential Background:

1. Are you married?
2. What is your home language?
3. How long have you lived on this farm?
4. Where did you go to school?
5. What level of education did you achieve?

B. The Farm School:

1. How long has the school been here?
2. Did you establish it?
   Is so, what were your reasons?
3. Is there any chance that you might close the school down? Why?
4. Do you know how much it cost to build the school?
   How do the subsidies provided by the Department of Education and Training (DET) work?
5. How big is this school?
6. Would you like a bigger school on your property? What are your reasons?
7. Where do the pupils at the school come from?
   Do they need your permission to attend the school?
8. What level does the school go up to?
   Are there any other schools in the area where pupils can continue their education?
9. How many teachers are there at the school?
   What level of qualification do they have?
10. Who is responsible for the maintenance of the school?
    What does this involve?

Who supplies the equipment needed in the school?

11. Who controls the finances for the school? Why?

12. Who hires and fires the teaching staff?
    What do you feel about this?

13. What do you consider important when hiring a teacher?
    What are your reasons?

14. Who provides the teacher's accommodation?
    Does this create any problems?
    If so, 1) what?
    2) how do you handle this?

15. Does the DET provide any subsidy for the teacher(s)'accommodation?
    How much?

C. Farmer's Role in the School:

1. Are you the manager of the school?
   If so, what are the functions of a manager?
   If not, who is?

2. Do you have anything to do with the DET?
   If so, what?

3. What is your role in the school?

4. How would you describe your relationship with the teacher(s)?
   What are your reasons?

5. Is there any communication between yourself, the teacher(s) and the parents on the functioning of the school? Why?

6. Do you have anything to do with the parents of the pupils? Why?

7. What problems have you encountered with the functioning of the schools?
   Do you have any solutions?

8. Is there a high failure rate at the school? Why?

9. Is there a high drop out rate at the school? Why?

D. Attitude towards Farm School Education:

1. Do you think it is a good idea for a farmer/ property owner to administer a school for his workers' children?
   Why is this?

2. What do you think of black farm schools in general?

3. Should there be farm schools?
   If so , why do you think this?
   If not, 1) why not?
   2) do you have any ideas about an alternative system?
   3) where should the children in this school go to school?

4. Who do you think should be responsible for education in rural areas? Why?

5. What should the criteria be for:
   - hiring teachers ...
   - firing teachers ...
   - selecting pupils ...

6. Who should provide the accommodation for the teachers? Why?

7. How do you think education can be improved?

8. What do you think of the syllabi taught at farm schools?
   Do you think it is appropriate? Why?

9. Would you like to see the schools teach something that is more relevant to rural life and farming? Why?

10. What do you think are the main reasons why pupils leave school?

11. What jobs are available in this area?
    Does education help people to get jobs in this area? Why is this?

12. Do you think an education helps someone to get jobs on the farms? Why?

13. Have any of the children who have left the school on your farm come and worked for you? Why?

14. Do many of the young people leave this area? Why?

15. Do you think education encourages people to leave the farming areas for the towns and cities?
    Is this a problem?

16. Do the farmers in this area suffer from labour shortages? Why?

17. Do you suffer from any labour shortages? Why?

18. Is education a consideration when you hire someone? Why?

19. Does a higher education have any influence on a worker's wage? Why?

20. Do you think education for your workers is important?
What are your reasons?

21. What level of education do the majority of your workers have?

22. Has the establishment of a farm school on your farm in any way attracted people to work for you? Why?

23. Is farming in this area changing?
If so, 1) how?
2) will this change the type of worker you need? Elaborate.

25. Can you see the schools in the area providing the type of worker you might need in the future?
Why is this?

APPENDIX C

PART 8:

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH THE FARMER (GROUP F):

A. Residential Background:

1. Are you married?

2. What is your home language?

3. How long have you lived on this farm?

4. Where did you go to school?

5. What level of education did you achieve?

D. Attitude towards Farm School Education:

1. Do you think it is a good idea for a farmer/ property owner to administer a school for his workers children?
   Why is this?

2. What do you think of black farm schools in general?

3. Should there be farm schools?
   If so , why do you think this?
   If not, 1) why not?
   2) do you have any ideas about an alternative system?
   3) where should the children in this school go to school?

4. Who do you think should be responsible for education in rural areas? Why?

5. How do you think education in rural areas can be improved?

6. Would you like to see the schools teach something that is more relevant to rural life and farming? Why?

7. Where do the children on your farm go to school?

8. Are you involved in their education at all?

9. Do you know what standard that school goes up to?

10. What do you think are the main reasons why pupils leave school without completing their education?

11. What jobs are available in this area?
Does education help people to get jobs in this area? Why is this?

12. Do you think an education helps someone to get jobs on the farms? Why?

13. Have any of the children who have left a farm school come and worked for you? Why?

14. Do many of the young people leave this area? Why?

15. Do you think education encourages people to leave the farming areas for the towns and cities? Is this a problem?

16. Do the farmers in this area suffer from labour shortages? Why?

17. Do you suffer from any labour shortages? Why?

18. Is education a consideration when you hire someone? Why is this?

19. Does a higher education have any influence on a worker's wage? Why?

20. Do you think education for your workers is important? What are your reasons?

21. What level of education do the majority of your workers have?

22. Would a farm school on a farm serve as a way to attract people to work for a farmer? Why?

23. Is farming in this area changing?
If so, 1) how?
2) will this change the type of worker you need?
Elaborate.

24. Can you see the schools in the area providing the type of worker you might need in the future? Why is this?

APPENDIX C

PART 9:

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH THE SCHOOL MANAGER:

A. Residential Background:

1. Are you married?

2. What is your home language?

3. Where did you go to school?

4. What level of education did you achieve?

B. The Farm School:

1. How long has the school been here?

2. Do you know who established it?

3. Why did you become the school manager?

4. How long have you been the manager?

5. What would you say your role as manager is?

6. How many teachers are there at the school?
   What level of qualification do they have?

7. How often do you meet with the teachers?
   How would you describe your relationship with the teachers?

8. Do you have anything to do with the parents of the pupils?

9. Is there a teachers/parents association at this school?
   If so, are you involved with it in any way?

10. How often do you meet with the DET?

11. Is there any chance that the school might close down? Why?

12. How big is this school?

13. Where do the pupils at the school come from?
Do they need your permission to attend the school?

14. What level does the school go up to?
Are there any other schools in the area where pupils can continue their education?

15. Who is responsible for the maintenance of the school?
What does this involve?
Who supplies the equipment needed in the school?

16. Who controls the finances for the school? Why?

17. Who hires and fires the teaching staff?
What do you feel about this?

18. What do you consider important when hiring a teacher?
What are your reasons?

19. What problems have you encountered with the functioning of the schools?
Do you have any solutions?

20. Is there a high failure rate at the school? Why?

21. Is there a high drop out rate at the school? Why?

D. Attitude towards Farm School Education:

1. Do you think it is a good idea for a farmer/ property owner to administer a school for his workers' children? Why is this?

2. What do you think of black farm schools in general?

3. Should there be farm schools?
If so , why do you think this?
If not, 1) why not?
2) do you have any ideas about an alternative system?
3) where should the children in this school go to school?

4. Who do you think should be responsible for education in rural areas? Why?

5. What should the criteria be for:
- hiring teachers ...
- firing teachers ...
- selecting pupils ...

6. Who should provide the accommodation for the teachers? Why?

7. How do you think education can be improved?

8. What do you think of the syllabi taught at farm schools?
Do you think it is appropriate? Why?

9. What do you think are the main reasons why pupils leave school?

10. What jobs are available in this area?
Does education help people to get jobs in this area?
Why is this?

11. Do you think an education helps someone to get jobs on the farms? Why?

12. Have any of the children who have left the school on your farm come and worked for you? Why?

13. Do many of the young people leave this area? Why?

14. Do you think education encourages people to leave the farming areas for the towns and cities? Is this a problem?

15. Do the farmers in this area suffer from labour shortages? Why?

16. Does a higher education have any influence on a farm worker's wage? Why?

17. Do you think education for farm workers is important?
What are your reasons?

18. Can you see the schools in the area providing the type of worker farmers might need in the future? Why is this?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adam, H. & Giliomee, H. 1979. The Rise and Crisis of Afrikaner Power. Cape Town: David Philip.

Alderson, J.C. 1980. "The Nature of Evaluation". Paper presented at The National Seminar on ESP. Brazil.

Apple, M.W. 1976. "Commonsense categories and curriculum thought" in Dale, R., Esland, G. & MacDonald, M. (eds). Schooling and Capitalism. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Ardington, T. 1977. "Factors affecting wages and employment in sugar farming" in Wilson, F., Kooy, A. & Hendrie, D. (eds). Farm Labour in South Africa. Cape Town: David Philip.

Ardington, E. 1985. "Black Life-styles in White Agriculture". Rural Urban Studies Working Paper no. 14. Centre for Social and Development Studies. University of Natal.

Ardington, E. 1986. "Farm Villages, A Relief Measure for Rural Poverty" in Indicator South Africa, vol. 4, no. 2, p. 68-72.

Ardington, E. 1989. "Rural Towns and Basic Needs". Rural Urban Studies Working Paper No. 20. Centre for Social and Development Studies, University of Natal.

Ardington, E., Jordaan, K., Stewart, R. and Gilfillan, T. 1989. Memorandum to the Deputy Minister of Education and Training on Rural Education for Blacks on the North Coast of Natal. Unpublished Mimeo. Centre for Social and Development Studies. University of Natal.

Ardington, E. 1990a. "The Impact of Services upon Rural-Urban Linkages" in Reality, vol. 22, no. 1\2, p. 6-8.

Ardington, A. 1990b. "Private Sector and other possible initiatives in promoting rural development" in Development Southern Africa, vol. 7, p. 603-612.

Ardington, E. 1991a. "The Crisis in Rural Education". Centre for Social and Development Studies. University of Natal.

Ardington, E. 1991b. "Education for All, Spatial Dimensions" in Indicator South Africa, vol. 8, no. 2, p. 79-82.

Badroodien, A. 1990. "An Investigation into a Theory of Farm Schooling with Special Reference to the Oak Valley and Glen Elgin Farm Schools in the District of Grabouw". BA Honours. Department of History. University of Cape Town.

Ball, A. 1990. "Organising farmworkers" in South African Labour Bulletin, vol. 14, no. 8, p. 52-61.

Blignaut, S. 1986. "Statistics on Education in South Africa" in SAIRR Pamphlet, vol. 18, p. 3-46.

Bogdan, R. & Taylor, S.J. Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: A Phenomenological Approach to the Social Sciences. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Bogdan, R. & Biklen, S.K. 1982. Qualitative research for education: an introduction to theory and methods. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Bosch, D. 1992. "Farmworkers and the Law, the struggle for first class citizenship" in New Ground, The Journal of Development and Environment, no. 8, p. 13-14.

Bot, M. 1988. "Reducing the Urban/Rural Gap" in Indicator South Africa, vol. 5, no. 2, p. 57-60.

Bourdieu, P. 1976. "The school as a conservative force: scholastic and cultural inequalities" in Dale, R., Esland, G. & MacDonald, M. (eds). Schooling and Capitalism. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Bowles, S. & Gintis, H. 1976. Schooling in Capitalist America. Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life. New York: Basic Books.

Buckland, P. 1981. "HSRC Investigation into Education: Another Brick in the Wall?" in Lawrence, M. (ed). The Proceedings of the Kenton Conference 1981, South African Education Policy: Analysis and Critique. University of Cape Town.

Buckland, P, 1983. Education Policy and Reform in South Africa. Education Policy Unit. University of Cape Town.

Buckland, P. 1984. "Technicism and de Lange: Reflections on the Process of the HSRC Investigation" in Kallaway, P. (ed). Apartheid and Education, The Education of Black South Africans. Johannesburg: Raven Press.

Bundy, C. 1988. The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry. 2nd Edition. Cape Town: David Philip.

Bundy, C. 1992. "Land, Law and Power in Rural South Africa" in New Ground, The Journal of Development and Environment, no. 8, p. 6-8.

Burgess, R.G. 1985. "Introduction" in Burgess, R.G. (ed). Strategies of Educational Research, Qualitative Methods. London: The Falmer Press.

Burroughs, G.E.R. 1975. Design and Analysis in Educational Research. University of Birmingham. School of Economics. Birmingham.

Cameron, M.J. 1986. "An Introduction to Bantu Education and the question of resistance: co operation, non-collaboration or defiance? The struggle for African schooling with special reference to Cape Town 1945-1960". Unpublished M. Ed Thesis. University of Cape Town.

Chisholm, L. 1984. "Redefining Skills: South African Education in the 1980's". Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa. Conference Paper No. 96. Cape Town.

Christie, P. & Collins, C. 1984. "Bantu Education: Apartheid, Ideology and Labour Reproduction" in Kallaway, P. (ed). Apartheid and Education. The Education of Black South Africans. Johannesburg: Raven Press.

Christie, P. & Gaganakis, M. 1989. "Farm Schools in South Africa: The Face of Rural Apartheid". Comparative Education Review, vol. 33, no. 1, p. 77-92.

Claasens, A. 1991. "For whites only - land ownership in South Africa". in de Klerk, M. (ed). A Harvest of Discontent, The land Question in South Africa. Cape Town: Idasa.

Cohen, L. & Manion, L. 1980. Research Methods in Education. London: Croom Helm.

Collins, C. 1980. "Black Schooling in South Africa: Notes towards a reinterpretation of the schooling of Indigenous People" in Africa Perspective, no. 17, p. 4-41.

Coombs, P.H. 1990. Practical uses of non-formal education: An international perspective. Paper presented at the Conference on Literacy and Education in Southern Africa. Human Science Research Council.

Dale, R., Esland, G. & MacDonald, M. 1976. Schooling and Capitalism. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Davenport, T.R.H. 1977. South Africa, A Modern History. London: The Macmillan Press.

Davies, J. 1984. "Capital, State and Educational Reform in South Africa" in Kallaway, P. (ed). Apartheid and Education, The Education of Black South Africans. Johannesburg: Raven Press.

de Clercq, F. 1984. "Education and Training in the Homelands: A Separate Development? A Case Study of Bophuthatswana". Africa Perspective, no. 24, p. 20-40.

de Clercq, F. 1986. "Conflicts over Rural Schooling: a Historical Case Study of Educational Development in Taung". Education research monograph of the Institute of Education. University of Bophuthatswana. Mmbatho.

Department of Education and Training (DET). 1977. Annual Report. Pretoria: Government Printers.

Department of Education and Training. 1986. The Provision of Education for Black Pupils in the Rural Areas. A Synthesis Report. Pretoria: Government Printers.

Department of Education and Training (DET). 1988. Department Circular No. 30 of 1988. Pretoria: Government Printers.

Department of Education and Training (DET). 1986-1990. Annual Reports. Pretoria: Government Printers.

(ERS) Department of National Education. 1991. Education Renewal Strategy: Discussion Document. Department of National Education. Pretoria: Government Printers.

du Toit, A.E. 1954. The Cape Frontier, A Study of Native Policy With Special Reference to the Years 1847-1866. Elsies River: National Commercial Printers.

de Villiers, R. 1971. "Afrikaner Nationalism" in Wilson, M. & Thompson, L. (eds). The Oxford History of South Africa 1870-1966. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Editorial Comment. (1992). "How to make changes stick" in Finance Week, November 12-18, p. 7-9.

Education in South Africa, Facts and Figures. 1989. SACHED Trust.

Edwards, D. 1990. "Case Study Research Method - A theoretical introduction and practical manual". Department of Psychology. Rhodes University.

Enslin, P. 1986. "In Defence of a Liberal Theory of Education". Unpublished Ph.D thesis. University of the Witwatersrand.

Farm Labour Project. 1982. Submission to the Manpower Commission on Farm Labour. Johannesburg.

Gaganakis, M. & Crewe, M. 1987. Farm Schools in South Africa, An Introductory Review. Johannesburg: SAIRR.

Gale, F. 1989. "A Preliminary Examination of Teacher Development in Farm Schools through an Illuminative Evaluation of a Teacher Development Course Implemented by the 1820 Foundation Farm School Project". Unpublished M. Ed Thesis. Rhodes University.

Gardiner, M. 1984. "Redefining Education: The White Paper on the Provision of Education" in Africa Perspective, no. 24, p. 3-19.

Gilbert, A.J., Nkwinti, G. & Van Vlaenderen, H. 1990. "Schooling to Escape: Education and Development in Rural South Africa". Paper presented at the Conference on Literacy and Basic Adult Education for Development in Southern Africa. HSRC. Pretoria.

Gilbert, A.J., Nkwinti, G. & Van Vlaenderen, H. 1991. "Planting Pumpkins: Education, Socialization and the Role of Local Knowledge in Rural South Africa". Paper presented at Psychological Association of South Africa National Congress. University of Pretoria.

Gordon, A. 1987. "Another Mielie in the Bag: Opportunities and Constraints Facing Farm Schools in a Peri-Urban Area". NIPR. Johannesburg.

Gordon, A. 1988. "The Inverted Funnel. Peri-Urban Schooling" in Indicator South Africa, vol. 5, no. 2, p. 61-64.

Gordon, A. 1990. "Policy options effecting Farm Schools: Possibilities for Change". Paper presented at the Farm Schools Networking seminar. Johannesburg.

Gordon, A. 1991a. "South African Farm Schools - The Neglected Sector". Paper presented at the Farm Schools Networking Conference. Broederstroom. Transvaal.

Gordon, A. 1991b. "The transformation of South African farm schools: Opportunities and constraints". Unpublished Ph.D thesis. University of the Western Cape.

Graaff, J.F. de V. 1981. "How Education Defeats Rural Development" in Lawrence, M. (ed). The Proceedings of the Kenton Conference 1981, South African Education Policy: Analysis and Critique. University of Cape Town.

Graaff, J.F. de V. & Lawrence, M.L. 1986. "Rural parents and school enrolment rates in two regions of Bophuthatswana: subjects for reconsideration". Education research monograph of the Institute of Education. University of Bophuthatswana. Mmbatho.

Graaff, J.F. de V. 1987. "Crisis? What crisis? Suggestions for a Research Programme in Rural Education". Paper presented at the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Social work Department. University of the Witwatersrand.

Graaff, J.F. de V. 1988. "Rural Schools: Cause for Hope?" in Africa Insight, vol. 18, no. 1, p. 20-25.

Graaff, J.F. de V. 1989. "Farm Schools in the Western Cape: A Different Type of Bitterness". Paper presented at the Conference on Economic Change, Social Conflict and Education in South Africa. Essex.

Graaff, J.F. de V., Louw, W. & van der Merwe, M. 1990. "Farm Schools in the Western Cape: A Sociological Analysis". Research Unit for Sociology and Development. University of Stellenbosch. Stellenbosch.

Graaff, J.F. de V. & Gordon, A. 1992. "South African Farm Schools: Children in the Shadow". in McGregor, R. & McGregor, A. (eds). McGregor's Education Alternatives. Kenwyn: Juta & Co.

Graaff, J.F. de V. & Louw, W. 1992. "Civil Society in the Platteland: The Case of Rural NGO's". Paper presented at the ASSA Conference. Pretoria University.

Guy, R., Edgley, C., Arafat, I. & Allen, D. 1987. Social Research Methods, Puzzles and Solutions. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Hanson, J. 1980. "Is the School the Enemy of the Farm? The African Experience". African Rural Economy Paper No. 22. African Rural Economy Program. Department of Agricultural Economics. Michigan State University. Michigan.

Hartshorne, K.B. 1984a. "Can Separate Mean Equal? A Commentary on the White Paper on Education" in Indicator South Africa, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 7.

Hartshorne, K.B. 1984b. "Rural Education: Some Research Priorities". Address given at a Seminar. The HSRC Working Group on Rural Education. University of Bophuthatswana.

Hartshorne, K.B. 1992. Crisis and Challenge, Black Education 1910-1990. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Hartwig, M. & Sharp, R. 1984. "The State and the Reproduction of Labour Power in South Africa" in Kallaway, P. (ed). Apartheid and Education, The Education of Black South Africans. Johannesburg: Raven Press.

Harvey, R.W. 1980. "The Farm-School System and Bantu Education" in Reality, May, p. 16-20.

Hirsch, B. 1979. Year of Fire, Year of Ash. London: Zed Press.

Hindson, D. 1985. "The Pass System and Differentiated Labour Power". Paper presented at the ASSA Conference. Cape Town.

Hindson, D. 1987. Pass Controls and the Urban African Proletariate in South Africa. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Hofmeyr, J. 1987. "Liberals and the Education Crisis" in Butler, J., Elphick, R. & Welsh, D. (eds). Democratic Liberalism in South Africa -It's History and Prospect. Cape Town: David Philip.

Horrell, M. 1963. African Education: Some Origins and Development until 1953. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

Horrell, M. 1968. Bantu Education to 1968. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

Houghton, K.A. Hobart. 1908. "The Problem of Bantu Education in South Africa" (abridged version) in The South African Journal of Science, p. 334-340.

Human Sciences Research Council. 1981. Report on Education Provision in the RSA. Work Committee Report on Technical and Vocational Education. Pretoria: Government Printers.

Hyslop, J. 1985. "The Concepts of Reproduction and Resistance in the Sociology of Education: The case of the transition from 'missionary' to 'Bantu Education', 1940-1955". Paper presented at the ASSA Conference. Cape Town.

Hyslop, J. 1986. "State Education Policy and the Social Reproduction of the Urban African Working Class". Paper presented at the ASSA Conference. University of the Witwatersrand.

Hyslop, J. 1987. " Food, Authority and Politics: Student Riots in South Africa 1945-1976" in Africa Perspective, no. 3-4, p. 2-43.

Hyslop, J. 1990. "Schools, unemployment and youth: origins and significance of student and youth movements, 1976-1987" in Nasson, B. & Samuel, J. (eds). Education, From Poverty to Liberty. Cape Town: David Philip.

James, W. 1984. "State and Race: Revisionism, Inquiry and Bureaucracies". Conference on Economic Development and Racial Domination. Paper No. 31. University of the Western Cape.

Jenkins, G. 1992. "Be prepared" in Effective Farming, vol. 7, no. 7, p. 409-410.

Kallaway, P. 1984. "Introduction" in Kallaway, P. (ed). Apartheid and Education, The Education of Black South Africans. Johannesburg: Raven Press.

Kallaway, P. 1987. "Education and the State: from mass education to bantu education to people's education - some preliminary comments" in Muller, J. (ed). Critique - Vision - Strategy, Proceedings of the Kenton Conference 1986. University of the Witwatersrand.

Kallaway, P. 1990. "Privatisation and the Educational Politics of the New Right" in Moss, G. & Obery, I. (eds). South Africa, Contemporary Analysis. South African Review 5. London: Hans Zell Publishers.

Karabel, J. & Halsey, A.H. 1977. Power and Ideology in Education. New York: Oxford University Press.

Keegan, T. 1986. Rural Transformation in Industrialising South Africa. Johannesburg: Raven Press.

Keenen, J. & Sarakinsky, M. 1987. "Reaping the Benefits: Working Conditions in Agriculture and the Bantustans" in Moss, G. & Obery, I. (eds). South African Review IV. Johannesburg: Raven Press.

Kooy, A. 1977. "Farm Labour in the Karoo" in Wilson, F., Kooy, A. & Hendrie, D. (eds). Farm Labour in South Africa. Cape Town: David Philip.

Lacey, M. 1981. Working for Boroko, The Origins of a Coercive Labour System in South Africa. Raven Press: Johannesburg.

Land Update, A Publication of the National Land Committee. 1991. "Flying in the face of change", June/July, p. 8-9.

Land Update, A Publication of the National Land Committee. 1992. "The impact of the drought on farm workers", November/December, p. 11-12.

Legassick, M. 1974. "South Africa: capital accumulation and violence" in Economy and Society, vol. 3, no. 3, p. 252-287.

Levy, B. 1976. "Farm Schools in South Africa: an empirical study". Paper No. 44. SALDRU Farm Labour Conference. Cape Town.

Levy, B. 1977. "Seasonal migration in the Western Cape" in Wilson, F., Kooy, A. & Hendrie, D. (eds). Farm Labour in South Africa. Cape Town: David Philip.

Lipton, M. 1986. Capitalism and Apartheid in South Africa, 1910-1986. Hants: Wildwood House.

Lodge, T. 1983. Black Politics in South Africa since 1945. London: Longman Group.

Loots, L.J. 1978. "A Profile of Black Unemployment in South Africa". Saldru Working Paper No. 19. Cape Town.

Malherbe, E. 1977. Education in South Africa, Vol 2, 1923-1975. Cape Town: Juta.

Marcus, T. 1991. "National, class and gender issues in land reform" in de Klerk, M. (ed). A Harvest of Discontent, The Land Question in South Africa. Cape Town: Idasa.

Maree, J. 1977. "Farm Labour in the Dealesville district, OFS" in Wilson, F., Kooy, A. & Hendrie, D. (eds). Farm Labour in South Africa. Cape Town: David Philip.

Maree, L. 1984. "Hearts and Minds of the People" in Kallaway, P. (ed). Apartheid and Education, The Education of Black South Africans. Johannesburg: Raven Press.

Marks, S. & Atmore, A. 1980. Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa. London: Longman.

Marks, S. & Rathbone, R. 1982. Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa: African class formation, culture and consciousness, 1870-1930. New York: Longman.

Molteno, F. 1983. "Reflections on Resistance - Aspects of the 1980 Students' Boycott" in Lawrence, M. (ed). Kenton - At - The - Stadt. University of Bophuthatswana.

Molteno, F. 1984. "The Historical Foundations of the Schooling of Black South Africans" in Kallaway, P. (ed). Apartheid and Education, The Education of Black South Africans. Johannesburg: Raven Press.

Morris, M.L. 1976. "The development of capitalism in South African agriculture: class struggle in the countryside" in Economy and Society, vol. 5, no 3, p. 292-341.

Morris, M.L. 1977. "Apartheid, Agriculture and the State, the Farm Labour Question". Saldru Working Paper No. 8. Cape Town.

Mouton, J. & Marais, H.C. 1990. Basic Concepts in the Methodology of the Social Sciences. HSRC Series in Methodology.

Mpanza, Z. 1986. "Rural Poverty and Unemployment" in Indicator South Africa, vol. 4, no. 1, p. 68-71.

Nachmais, D. & Nachmais, C. 1981. Research Methods in the Social Sciences. New York: St. Martin's.

Nasson, B. 1984a. "Education and Poverty: Some Perspectives". Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa. Conference Paper No. 94. Cape Town.

Nasson, B. 1984b. "Bitter Harvest: Farm Schooling for Black South Africans". Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa. Conference Paper No. 97. Cape Town.

Nasson, B. 1988. "Bitter Harvest: Farm Schooling for Black South Africans" in Perspectives in Education. vol. 10, no. 1, p. 13-41.

Nasson, B. 1990. "Redefining inequality: education reform and the state in contemporary South Africa" in Nasson, B. & Samuel, J. (eds). Education, From Poverty to Liberty. Cape Town: David Philip.

Nattrass, J. 1982. "The Dynamics of Black Rural Poverty in South Africa". Working Paper No. 1. Development Studies Unit. Centre for Applied Social Sciences. University of Natal.

Nattrass, J. 1985. The South African Economy, its growth and changes. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Nel, H. & Potgieter, J.F. 1990. "Impact study of the Mondi Forestry Development in the North-Eastern Cape". University of Port Elizabeth.

Odendaal, A. 1984. Vukani Bantu! The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912. Cape Town: David Philip.

Pillay, P.N. 1984. "The development and under-development of education in South Africa". Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa. Conference Paper No. 95. Cape Town.

Plaut, T. 1976. "Farm Schools for African and Coloured Children in South Africa". Paper No. 17. SALDRU Farm Labour Conference. Cape Town.

Posel, D. 1983. "Rethinking the Race-Class Debate in South African Historiography" in Social Dynamics, vol. 9, p. 50-66.

Powney, J. & Watts, M. 1987. Interviewing in Educational Research. London: Routledge & Keegan Paul.

Queenstown Early Learning Centre. 1991/1992. Annual Report. Queenstown.

South African Institute of Race Relations. 1991. Race Relations Survey, 1990\1991. Johannesburg.

Report on National Consultative Conference on the Crisis in Education. 1985. University of the Witwatersrand.

Rose, B. & Tumner, R. 1975. Documents in South African Education. Johannesburg: Donker Publisher.

Ross, R. 1986. "The Origins of Capitalist Agriculture in the Cape Colony: A Survey" in Beinart, W., Delius, P. & Trapido, S. (eds). Putting a Plough to the Ground, Accumulation and Dispossession in Rural South Africa, 1850-1930. Johannesburg: Raven Press.

R.S.A. White Paper on the Provision of Education in South Africa. 1983. Pretoria: Government Printers.

SAAU Nineteen Annual Report. 1990/1991. Pretoria.

SAAU Nineteen Annual Report. 1991/1992. Pretoria.

Samuel, J. 1990. "The state of Education in South Africa" in Nasson, B. & Samuel, J. (eds). Education, From Poverty to Liberty. Cape Town: David Philip.

Sanders, W.P. & Pinhey, T.K. 1983. The Conduct of Social Research. New York: Holt, Rhinehart & Winston.

Schoeman, B. & Plater, T. 1992. "Assaults on Farm Workers - Must they go on and on?" in Civil Rights League, vol. 39, no. 4, p. 10.

Segal, S. 1992. "Education Muddle, To understand the new policy is not child's play" in Finance Week, February 27 - March 4, p. 12-13.

Segal, S. 1992. "Old McDonald faces changes, South Africa's big white farmers no longer agriculture's driving force" in Finance Week, November 19-25, p. 20-22.

Shapiro, J. 1982. "Education in a Capitalist Society: How ideology functions" in Perspectives in Education, vol. 5, no. 2, p. 99-109.

Sharp, R. 1980. Knowledge, Ideology and the Politics of Schooling: Towards a Marxist Analysis of Education. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Shingler, J.D. 1973. "Education and Political Order in South Africa, 1902-1961". Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Yale University.

Simon, A. M. 1979. A Guide to Practical Social Research for Students. Department of Sociology. University of the Witwatersrand.

Smith, R.B. & Manning, P.K. 1982. Qualitative Methods: Volume Two of Handbook of Social Research Methods. Cambridge: Mass Ballinger.

Smith, B. 1984. "Education: The Rural Poor: The Delusion of Basic Education". Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa. Conference Paper No. 98. Cape Town.

South Africa, Debates, House of Assembly (Hansard). 14/4/1986, cols. 3423-5.

Stadler, A. W. 1976. "Agricultural Policy and Agrarian Politics: A Note on the Marias-Du Plessis Commission on Agricultural". Paper No. 15. SALDRU Farm Labour Conference. Cape Town.

Stavrou, S.E. 1987. "Black Farm Labour , Attitudes and Perceptions on Employment and Migration Patterns in Natal Midlands". Rural Urban Studies Working Paper No. 11. Development Studies Unit. Centre for Applied Social Sciences. University of Natal.

Stavrou, S.E. 1988. "The Development of Capitalism in South African Agriculture: The Restructuring of Agrarian Capitalism after 1950". Working Paper No. 14. Development Studies Unit. Centre for Applied Social Sciences. University of Natal.

Stavrou, S.E. 1991. "Telecommunications, the Urban/Rural Link" in Indicator South Africa, vol. 8, no. 2, p. 71-74.

Surplus People Project. 1983. Forced Removals in South Africa. Cape Town: Raven Press.

The Farmer. 1992. "Labour Legislation - What are the norms", August, p. 5.

Tripodi, T., Fellin, P. & Meyer, H. 1969. The Assessment of Social Research, Guidelines for the use of Research in Social Work and Social Sciences. Itasca: F.E. Peacock Publishers.

Unknown Author. 1984. "The Historical Roots of Bantu Education" in Africa Perspective, no. 24, p. 41-76.

Urban Foundation. 1990. Rural Development. Towards a New Framework. Johannesburg.

van Ryneveld, P. 1986. "The Crop and the Dop, Farm Life in the Western Cape" in Indicator South Africa, vol. 4, No. 2, p. 73-75.

Verwoerd, H.F. 1954. Bantu Education: Policy for the immediate Future. Pretoria: Government Printers.

Welsh Report. Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education. 1935-1936. UG 29.

Welsh, D. 1987. "Democratic Liberalism and the Theories of Racial Stratification" in Butler, J., Elphick, R. & Welsh, D.(eds). Democratic Liberalism in South Africa - It's History and Prospect. Cape Town: David Philip.

Whisson, M.G. & Manona, C.W. 1989. "The Pre-schools of the East London Region and the Southern Ciskei". Report to the East London and Border Association for Early Child Educare. Rhodes University.

Whisson, M.G. & Manona, C.W. 1990. "The Pre-schools of the Queenstown Region". Report to the Queenstown Early Learning Centre. Rhodes University.

Williams, G. 1990. "Capitalism and Agriculture: The South African Case". Collected Seminar Papers no. 40. The Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries. vol. 16, p. 141-147.

Wilson, F. 1971. "Farming, 1866-1966" in Wilson, M. & Thompson, L. (eds). The Oxford History of South Africa 19870-1966. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Wilson, F., Kooy, A. & Hendrie, D. 1977. Farm Labour in South Africa. Cape Town: David Philip.

Wilson, F. & Ramphele, M. 1989. Uprooting Poverty, The South African Challenge. Report for the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa. Cape Town: David Philip.

Wolpe, H. 1972. "Capitalism and Cheap Labour-Power in South Africa: From Segregation to Apartheid" in Economy and Society, vol. 1, no. 4, p. 289-120.

Wright, H M. 1977. The Burden of the Present - Liberal - Radical Controversy over South African History. Cape Town: David Philip.

Yin, K.R. 1984. Case Study Research, Design in Methods. London: Sage Publications.

Young, M. 1976. "Curriculum change: limits and possibilities" in Dale, R., Esland, G. & MacDonald, M. (eds). Schooling and Capitalism. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Young, G. 1977. "Labour in Transvaal agri-business" in Wilson, F., Kooy, A. & Hendrie, D. (eds). Farm Labour in South Africa. Cape Town: David Philip.

NEWSPAPERS:

Maurice, P. Weekly Mail, 14-20 June 1991, p. 11.
Baker, B. Weekly Mail. 4-10 October 1991, p. 22.
Maurice, P. Weekly Mail. 4-10 October 1991, p. 19.
Maurice, P. Weekly Mail. 31 January - 6 February 1992, p. 2.
Maurice, P. Weekly Mail. 29 January - 4 February 1993, p. 5

Daily Dispatch. 21 November 1991, p. 5.
Daily Dispatch. 18 February 1992, p. 4.
Daily Dispatch. 24 September 1992, p. 1.
Daily Dispatch. 13 November 1992, p. 1.
Daily Dispatch. 20 November 1992, p. 1.
Daily Dispatch. 29 November 1992, p. 1.
Die Volksblad. 11 December 1992, p. 1.
Eastern Province Herald. 4 December 1992, p. 1.
Eastern Province Herald. 3 February 1993, p. 4.