THE TEACHER PROTEST MOVEMENT IN LEBOWA: 1989-1992

BY

JOEL MAPHEFA THALOKI MACHABA

SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

MASTER OF ARTS

IN THE

FACULTY OF ARTS

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

SUPERVISOR: PROF. J.P. GROENEWALD

1995

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am much indebted to my promotor, Prof. J.P Groenewald, without whose help this study would have been a failure. I wish to acknowledge his guidance and advice in planning and production of this piece of work.

To Prof. J.S. Oosthuizen (Head: Sociology Department) and prof. C. van Aardt, I say thanks for the moral support during my stressful moments throughout the course of this study.

My acknowledgements also go to Mr. M.P. Thobejane and Morallane L.S. (SADTU: N Tvl Regional Chairperson and Treasurer respectively), Mr. Molabe (Lebowa - Chief Liaison Officer), Principal's Councils, Inspectors and School Committee councils who co-operated and simplified my arduous task of assembling documentary sources.

I would like to express my gratitude to Mrs. E. Grobler for typing this dissertation so neatly.

I am deeply appreciative of my brother-in-law, Mohatli 'a bo Ramaphaka and his family for their kindness and concern during my stay with them. To you, Hardy, I say: "O Taamane, O epja Kgole".

Thanks to all my sisters, especially Sefularo, who encouraged me to do a study on teacher protest movements in Lebowa. To you mother, Ngwa'a Matshwi Mokwena, your comforting words have been an inspiration and strength to me during my studies.

Special thanks to my beloved wife, Baikepi, for her untiring and persevering patience: "Ke a go rata, Phuti". I heartily thank my children namely Sefako, Tlhatlhedi, Mmabagoe, Mmamoshidi, Murebiwa and Tshilidzi for their understanding and sacrifices during my absence.

Above all I sincerely wish to thank God the Almighty. Romans 11: 36 reads thus: "For of Him, and through Him, and to Whom, are all things: to Him be glory forever. Amen.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

This study was carried out in Lebowa Bantustan, situated in the Northern Transvaal Region of the Republic of South Africa. This study covered the period 1989 to 1992. This period was marked by considerable unrest and upheaval in Black education. The Black education crisis was compounded by a political climate created by the unbanning of political parties, release of political prisoners and the return of exiles in 1990, whereby several petitions for demands were handed over to the LED's Head Office and Circuit Offices, among others, by teachers (LED Annual Report, 1990: 20). The following factors were, inter alia, identified as having contributed to the educational crisis in Lebowa bantustan (LED Annual Report, 1990: 22): -

* general campaign waged by some teachers for lawlessness, defiance and intimidation of authority;

* the influence of external organisations on the schools;

* backlogs in the provisioning of basic educational facilities;

* irrelevant school curriculum;

* teacher's low morale;

* lack of meaningful parental involvement in education; and

* limited participative decision-making and management in the schools.

The mentioned factors aroused dissatisfaction and discontent among teachers. Furthermore, teachers considered education provided by the LED as perpetuating apartheid, characterised by vast disparities and uneven distribution of resources. The protesting teachers started to share this discontent. In the words of Jenkins and Perrow (1977: 250) when widespread and shared discontent increases, collective efforts to alleviate this state of affairs occur. In the case of protesting teachers the South African Democratic Teachers' Union was founded.

The focus of this study, therefore, will be to describe and analyze the occurrences and effects of teacher protest activities in Lebowa for the period between 1989 and 1992. The more specific research questions will concern:

*   Socio-political, administrative, demographic, physical, financial and educational conditions existed, in which a teacher protest movement could take root. These factors aroused discontent and a resultant general belief among some teachers that the education received by blacks was inferior;

*   Transformation of collective beliefs into collective actions and mobilisation. Teachers became convinced that movement participation was an effective way of redressing grievances. As such SADTU attempted to mobilise consensus among the protesting teachers. Consensus mobilisation was done through the aid of <u>frame alignment processes</u> (e.g. bridging, amplification and transformation) and <u>four group processes</u> (e.g. consciousness-raising, collective empowerment, polarisation and collective decision-making). The latter created a willingness to sacrifice personal welfare for a collective cause; and

*   the impact of teacher protest activities on the Lebowa government, the LED's official duties, pupil/student performances and the parents. Not only did the disruptions and protests retard the learning process in schools, but also contributed towards the poor std 10 examination results. The LED officials were adversely affected by these actions. Some teachers and principals were intimidated and threatened (Case Register no's: 123/11/91 at Police stations and 48/10/92 at Gompies Police Station). Protesting teachers advocated for defiance campaigns against LED's authorities, inspectors and principals (TUATA, 1990: 26). Parents and community at large lost trust and confidence in the teachers for the education of their children.

OPSOMMING VAN DIE VERHANDELING

Hierdie studie is in die Lebowa "bantustan", wat in die Noord-Transvaal gebied van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika geleë is, gedoen. Dit dek die periode 1989 tot 1992. Die periode is gekenmerk deur aansienlike onrus en oproerigheid in die swart onderwys. Die swart onderwyskrisis is deur die politieke klimaat wat geskep is deur die ophef van die verbod op sekere politieke partye, die vrylating van politieke gevangenes en die terugkeer van uitgewekenes in 1990, veroorsaak. Na hierdie gebeure is verskeie petisies met eise aan die Lebowa Onderwysdepartement (LOD) se hoofkantoor en kringkantore, onder andere deur onderwysers, oorhandig (LOD jaarverslag, 1990: 20). Die volgende faktore is, inter alia, geïdentifiseer as bydraend tot die onderwyskrisis in die Lebowa "bantustan" (LOD jaarverslag, 1990: 22):

* 'n algemene veldtog vir wetteloosheid, uitdagings en intimidasie van outoriteit, wat deur sekere onderwysers gevoer is;

* die invloed van eksterne organisasies op skole;

* die agterstand in die voorsiening van basiese onderwysfasiliteite;

* irrelevante skoolkurrikulum;

* onderwysers se lae moraal;

* 'n tekort aan betekenisvolle ouerlike betrokkenheid in die onderwys; en

* beperkte deelnemende besluitneming en bestuur in skole.

Die bogenoemde faktore het tot ontevredenheid en misnoë by onderwysers gelei. Onderwysers het verder onderwys wat deur die LOD verskaf is, gesien as die bevordering van Apartheid, gekarakteriseer deur groot ongelykheid en die ongelyke verspreiding van hulpbronne. Die protesterende onderwysers het begin om hul misnoë bekend te maak. In die woorde van Jenkins en Perrow (1977: 250), kom kollektiewe pogings om die aangeleentheid te versag voor wanneer wydverspreide en gedeelde misnoë toeneem. In die geval van die protesterende onderwysers is die, "South African Democratic Teachers Union" (SADTU) gestig.

Die fokus van die studie is om die voorkoms en die effekte van die onderwyserprotesaksies

in Lebowa vir die periode 1989 tot 1992 te beskryf en te ontleed. Die spesifieke navoringsvrae ondersoek die volgende:

* Sosio-politiese, administratiewe, demografiese, fisiese, finansiële en onderwyskondisies wat bestaan, waarin 'n onderwyserprotesbeweging sy oorsprong kon vind. Hierdie faktore lei tot misnoë met die algemene persepsie onder sekere onderwysers dat die onderwys wat deur swart mense ontvang is, ondergeskik was;

* Verandering van gesamentlike oortuigings oor kollektiewe aksies en mobilisasie. Onderwysers is oortuig dat deelname aan bewegings 'n effektiewe wyse was om ongelukkighede reg te stel. As sulks het SADTU probeer om konsensus te mobiliseer tussen protesterende onderwysers. Konsensusmobilisering is gedoen met die hulp van "frame alignment processes", (byvoorbeeld oorbrugging, versterking en verandering) en vier groepsprosesse (byvoorbeeld bewusdheidverhoging, kollektiewe mag, polarisasie en kollektiewe besluitneming). Die laasgenoemde ontwikkel 'n bereidwilligheid om persoonlike rykdom op te offer vir 'n kollektiewe saak; en

* die impak van onderwyserprotesaktiwiteite op die Lebowa regering, die LOD se amptelike pligte, leerlinge/studente se vordering en die ouers. Nie alleen het die ontwrigtings en die protesaksies die leerproses in die skole vertraag nie, maar het dit ook bygedra tot die swak st. 10 eksamenuitslae. Die LOD beamptes is nadelig beinvloed deur hierdie aksies. Sekere onderwysers en hoofde is geïntimideer en gedreig (Saakregister nrs. 123/11/91 by polisiestasies en 48/10/92 by Gompies polisiestasie). Protesterende onderwysers het versetveldtogte teen die LOD se outoriteit, inspekteurs en hoofde aangeblaas (TUATA, 1990: 26). Ouers en gemeenskappe het as geheel vertroue in die onderwysers vir die onderwys van hulle kinders verloor.

ACRONYMS

AATO	:	All African Teachers' Organisation
AGIL	:	Adaptation, Goal attainment, Integration and Latent pattern maintenance
ANC	:	African National Congress
ANCWL	:	African National Congress Women's League
ANCYL	:	African National Congress Youth League
ATASA	:	African Teachers' Association of South Africa
AZAPO	:	Azanian People's Organisation
BCM	:	Black Consciousness Movement
CATA	:	Cape African Teachers' Association
CATU	:	Cape African Teachers' Union
CIE	:	Catholic Institute of Education
COSAS	:	Congress of South African Students
COSATU	:	Congress of South African Trade Union
DBSA	:	Development Bank of South Africa
DET	:	Department of Education and Training
DETU	:	Democratic Teachers' Union
ECTU	:	Eastern Cape Teachers' Union
EDASA	:	Education for Democratic and Awareness South Africa
ELPTU	:	East-London Progressive Teachers' Union
FAWU	:	Food and Allied Workers' Union
FRELIMO	:	Freedom Liberation Movement
LDC	:	Lebowa Development Corporation
LED	:	Lebowa Education Department
LOD	:	Lebowa Onderwysdepartement
MATU	:	Mamelodi Teachers' Union
MPLA	:	MOVIMENTO Popular e Libertacao e Angola
NAPTOSA	:	National Professional Teachers' Organisation of South Africa
NATU	:	Natal African Teachers' Union
NECC	:	Nation Education Crisis Committee

NEHAWU	:	National Education and Health Allied Workers' Union
NEUSA	:	National Education Union of South Africa
NOTRAPSU	:	Northern Transvaal Public Servants' Union
NOTTU	:	Northern Transvaal Teachers' Union
NTS	:	Natal Teachers' Society
NTUF	:	National Teacher Unity Forum
NUSAS	:	National Union of South African Students
OFSATA	:	Orange Free State African Teacher's Association
PAC	:	Pan Africanist Congress
PCE	:	Per Capita Expenditure
PTL	:	Progressive Teachers' League
PTU	:	Progressive Teachers' Union
RSA	:	Republic of South Africa
SACCAWU	:	South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union
SACP	:	South African Communist Party
SACS	:	South African Communication Services
SADTU	:	South African Democratic Teachers' Union
SAIRR	:	South African Institute for Race Relations
SANSCO	:	South African National Students' Congress
SAOU	:	Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysunie
SATA	:	South African Teachers' Association
SCC	:	Soweto Crisis Committee
SOTU	:	Soshanguve Teachers' Union
SRC	:	Students' Representative Council
STAC	:	Soweto Teachers' Action Committee
TASA	:	Teachers' Association of South Africa
TATA	:	Transvaal African Teachers' Association
TFC	:	Teachers' Federal Council
TTA	:	Transvaal Teachers' Association
TUATA	:	Transvaal United African Teachers' Association
UCT	:	University of Cape Town

UDF	:	United Democratic Front
UNESCO	:	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNIN	:	University of the North
UNIVEN	:	University of Venda
UTASA	:	United Teachers' Association of South Africa
WCOTP	:	World Confederation Organisation of Teaching Profession
WECTU	:	Western Cape Teachers' Union
ZIMLA	:	Zimbabwe Liberation Army

CONTENTS   PAGE

CHAPTER THREE
CASE HISTORY OF TEACHER PROTEST MOVEMENT IN LEBOWA (1989-1992)

LIST OF TABLES   **Pages**

LIST OF FIGURES

ANNEXURES

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL ORIENTATION AND POSTULATION OF THE PROBLEM

1.1   PREAMBLE

Lebowa became a self-governing territory on 2 October 1972, according to proclamation R225 of 1972 (Government Gazette, 1972). Lebowa is situated in the Transvaal Province of the Republic of South Africa (RSA). It is fragmented between RSA, Venda Republic and Gazankulu (north and north-eastern); RSA and Kangwane (east) RSA and Kwa-Ndebele (south) and RSA and Bophutatswana Republic (west). (DBSA - Lebowa Government, 1988: xi) ANNEXURE A: Lebowa Orientation Map.

Lebowa consists of a number of departments, one of which is the Department of Education (LED). The LED's hierarchy is as follows: Minister, secretary, directors, chief-inspectors and circuit inspectors, subject advisors (LED, 1991: 1-10) principals and teachers (LED, 1991: 139 & LED, 1990: 108) Lebowa Department of Education has 310 pre-schools, 1 268 primary schools and 625 secondary schools (Lebowa Department of Education, 1991: 128). The geographic area in which the Lebowa Department of Education provides education is divided into four (4) regions, namely Central, Lowveld, South-Eastern and Western region. At the head of each region is a Regional Chief Inspector who is responsible for four (4) inspection circuits (Lebowa Department of Education, 1991: 7).

The above-mentioned Annual Report (pp 127, 131 and 137) indicates that Lebowa schools have a total number of 26 863 teachers of which 612 are in the pre-schools with an enrolment of 35 111; 15 926 in the primary schools with an enrolment of 625 336; and 10 325 in the secondary schools with an enrolment of 341 233. There are, in addition, twelve (12) Colleges of Education (enrolment 11 735) and five (5) Technical Institutes (1 464 students) with 696 lecturing staff and 164 instructors respectively (Lebowa Department of Education, 1991: 153).

1

1.2   AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE INVESTIGATION

The aims and objectives of this investigation can be summarised as follows:

1.2.1   To study and interpret the existing and underlying conditions in which a teacher protest movement in Lebowa could take root;

1.2.2   To describe how the teacher collective beliefs were transformed into protest actions;

1.2.3   To examine how teachers were mobilised for, and recruited into participation to pressurize the LED authorities to respond to their demands;

1.2.4   To study and analyse the impact of teacher protest actions on the Lebowa Government, the LED and pupil performances especially std. 10 candidates; and

1.2.5   To give a case history of SADTU in Lebowa.

1.3   RESEARCH PROBLEM STATED

The passing of Bantu Education Act of 1953 marked the beginning of Apartheid education. The Act closed technical and commercial curricula to blacks because of job reservation legislations, policies and practices (Van Aardt, 1994: 26). The racially and ethnically fragmented South African education systems became saturated with racist and sexist ideologies and educational doctrines of apartheid policy (ANC, 1994: 58). The Lebowa Education Department (LED) was one of the ethnic homeland education systems that perpetuated apartheid policy. Characteristic features of the apartheid education system were, inter alia, unequal access to education and training, vast disparities between white and black provisions and limited participative decision-making and management in education by all stakeholders.

The aforementioned inequalities and disparities implied relative deprivation of access to proper education. Relative deprivation, according to Rose (1982: 77) exists when people feel deprived as a result of comparing reality against some standard of what they feel that reality should be. In the same vein, Marshall (1994: 117) argues that relative deprivation refers to deprivation experienced when individuals who lack something compare themselves with those who have it. Blacks saw education received

2

by them as inferior to one afforded to their white counterparts. The inferior education included low level of available skills, high levels of illiteracy and critical shortage of high level human resources in the South African labour market (Van Aardt, 1994, 28). Comparing their state of deprivation with that of other racial groups, and realising the inequalities of apartheid, African teachers started to question the status quo. Apartheid policy failed to take account of deeply felt sentiments or perceptions of the realities facing Black education on a daily basis. Teachers created currents of agitation by their actions and formed informal social organisations. Toch (1966: 3) maintains that when people are frustrated by conventional society, they can sometimes by-pass established institutions and create informal social organisations on the side. Toch (1966: 3) argues further that such grass-root movements serve to provide otherwise unavailable services, to protect indignities, to escape suffering, to release tension, to explain confusing events or in some other way, to create a more tolerable way of life than is afforded by the existing formal organisation.

Furthermore it should be mentioned that prior to 1989 all aforesaid teachers, lecturers and instructors (see preamble) were affiliates of the Transvaal United African Teachers' Association, (TUATA). TUATA, like Cape African Teachers' Association (CATA), Orange Free State African Teachers' Association (OFSATA) and Natal African Teachers' Union (NATU), is a member of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa (ATASA). TUATA, to which Lebowa teachers belong, was founded on the discriminary and oppressive principles of the South African Government Education system (Moll, 1989: 63-64).

Contemporary social life is dynamic and complex. Social life in South Africa was characterised by unrest and upheavals. Lebowa territory was not an exception. Social disorder, instability and conflicts were the order of the day.

With the advent of period 1989-1992 a significant number of teachers throughout the Republic of South Africa relinquished their membership with ATASA, and consequently, formed a teachers' union called South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU). SADTU aligned itself with protest movements in South Africa.

SADTU protested against discriminatory and oppressive laws of the South African Government. SADTU was established at various regions in South Africa, one of which is in Lebowa. This teacher protest union became more active during the period 1989-1992. Realising this fragmented, unequal and undemocratic nature of apartheid education system, SADTU perceived that the education provided for the blacks denied them any semblance of opportunities. SADTU launched organised demands for change: equal access to education; equitable provisioning of resources and facilities in education; and full participative decision-making and management in schools. But the LED's authorities were impermeable, intransigent and unaccommodative. The emergence and the modus operandi of SADTU effected the LED's system adversely. This study will describe and analyse the occurrences and effects of teacher protest activities in Lebowa during the period 1989-1992. The more specific research questions will concern:

* Conditions conducive for the occurrence of teacher protest movements;

* the teachers' attempt to secure responses for their demands; and

* the impact of these activities on the Lebowa Education Department (LED).

1.4 PREPARATORY STUDY UNDERTAKEN

An extensive overview of social movement and collective action literature was undertaken to formulate an appropriate conceptual background for the study. This included a study of Smelser (1962), Piven and Cloward (1979), Snow et al (1986) and Klandermans (1984).

An extensive collection of primary and secondary documentary sources was assembled. This included records of the minutes of meetings between the LED authorities and SA Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU); petitions and memoranda, minutes, circulars and other documents supplied by SADTU officials; minutes of meetings of Principals' Councils and combined school committees; press reports covering City Press, New Nation, Lebowa Times, Citizen, Sowetan and Weekly Mail; statistics on the teaching staff employed by the LED, the number of schools, class-room and teacher-pupil ratios, number of students, drop-out rate and the

Standard 10 examination results. These documentary sources are filed and are available for analysis. The aforesaid work has been done and completed in 1993.

1.5 RESEARCH PROCEDURE AND METHODOLOGY

The research procedure will take the form of a case history of the teacher protest movement in LEBOWA during the period 1989-1992. The descriptive research method, in particular the documentary analysis of data available in par. 1.4 above will, in the first instance, be used to provide a chronological history. Where necessary, documentary sources will be supplemented with interviews with the LED authorities, police, SADTU officials and Principals' Council members. Thereafter the events of the period will be analysed with reference to the following questions:

* Which conditions underlie teacher collective actions?
* How were teacher collective beliefs transformed and teachers mobilised to participate in collective actions?
* What has been the impact of these activities on the LED?

To obtain and/or convey information more effectively, use of maps, diagrams and graphs (bar graph, in particular) will be used to represent some of the gathered statistical data.

This aspect of study will use the breakdown, resource mobilisation and social reality construction theories to guide the analysis. The study will be concluded with an evaluation of the adequacy of recent theories to analyse protest movement such as the above.

1.6 DEMARCATION OF THE FIELD OF STUDY

Sociology is a systematic and scientific study of society and social human behaviour (Popenoe, 1980: 14). Society, from a functionalist viewpoint, is a system of interrelated parts in which no part can be understood in isolation from the whole (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1967 as quoted by Wallace and Wolf, 1980: 14). The

5

social system is composed of individuals and groups of individuals that are purposive in character. It is the social system that has to fulfil these human purposes or goals. These human goals or set of needs, Parsons, refers to as system's functional imperatives (Wallace and Wolf, 1980: 35) The said system's functional imperatives are **Adaptation, Goal Attainment, Integration** and **Latent pattern maintenance and tension management**, thereafter acronymised as AGIL.

The **functional imperatives** define some respects in which social systems function routinely. If a particular social system fails to accomplish the mentioned functional imperatives, collective behavioural episodes may come into being.

Collective behaviour is the field of sociology that focuses on the consequences and patterns of interaction that emerges in problematic situations. Problematic situations are those situations in which participants lack adequate guides to conduct.

According to Rose (1982: 17) a collective behaviour may manifest itself in the following forms: **disaster, protest, persecution** and **renewal**.

Disaster: represents behaviour in situations of adaptive failures; when there is a sudden inability of social systems to sustain the resources required for the continuation of the system.

Protest: occurs when people resort to unusual tactics in the area of goal attainment, using unusual tactics in an attempt to fulfil their demands for political decisions in their favour.

Persecution: represents extra-ordinary intense efforts to suppress persons or behaviours that are seen as dire threats to the social order. These efforts employ means that go beyond the normal operations of law and order forces; all persecutions represent some form of "vigilante justice".

Renewal: represents intense episodes of pattern maintenance and/or tension management activity, typically occurring when people perceive an alarming growth of moral indifference and corruption.

The attention of this study will be focused on collective behaviour as manifested by **protest**, but occasionally also on other forms, as the need may arise. Specifically, this study will be limited to teacher protest actions using unusual means to secure responses to their demands. The unusual means, here, refers to the tactics employed in putting forth the demands. Typical protest tactics may, according to Rose (1982: 73), include: **strikes, demonstration, disruptions** and **coercion**.

1.7 VALUE OF THE STUDY

Prior to 1989 Lebowa Education System has been conventionally accepted by teachers, parents and students. But with the advent of period 1989 to 1992, as mentioned under paragraph 1.3 above, a teacher protest movement called SADTU was formed. SADTU protested against the existing formal social order of Education system. The activities of SADTU worked against the norms of the Education system. In terms of the functionalist viewpoint, such teacher protest activities during that period, were therefore, socio-pathological and dysfunctional in nature.

The value of this study is a worthwhile and relevant undertaking in Lebowa because:
* Lebowa was a developing self-governing territory and it was already experiencing aftermath effects of riotous protests. The appointment of commissions of prominent citizens, to investigate, among other things, the etiology of such protest episodes as student demonstrations, teacher strikes, etc. etc. was necessary.
* Knowledge of collective behaviour and the resultant protest movement based on the findings of commissions and research may assist in formulating general statements of the social conditions underlying the outbreak of protest movement, not only in Lebowa, but throughout the RSA.

7

1.8 DEFINITIONS AND/OR EXPLANATION OF OPERATIONAL TERMS

1.8.1 TEACHER:

Simpson and Weiner (1989: 689) defines teacher as one whose functions is to give instruction especially in a school. For the purpose of this study, the term teacher, will mean a member of the teaching, lecturing or instructing staff employed in schools, Colleges of Education or Technical Institutes by the DET or Homelands' Departments of Education.

1.8.2 PROTEST:

Protest has been socio-scientifically studied by social scientists. Therefore the term protest has been variedly conceptualised. According to Lofland (1985: 1) protest may mean:

*   a solemn declaration of opinion and usually of dissent;
*   a complaint, an objection or display of unwillingness usually to an idea or course of action; and
*   a gesture of extreme disapproval.

Lofland (1985: 4) goes on to write that protest movements are obstreperous and careless of the existing legitimacy which is seeking to destroy in the interest of a new pattern which is awaiting to emerge.

An appropriate definition for this study is by Rose (1982: 73): "a collective action by unusual means in which the protestors attempt to secure responses to their demands by constituted authorities".

1.8.3 LEBOWA:

Lebowa means "the North". Lebowa was a non-independent self-governing territory that covers an area of approximately 22 137 km (DBSA, 1990: 93). It consisted of

loose units of land, which stretched from Bochum district in the north to the Moutse district (Groblersdal) in the south and from Mokerong district (Potgietersrus area) in the west to Mapulaneng (Bushbuckridge area) and Phalaborwa-Letaba districts in the east (Monyepao, 1990: 8) (See also Lebowa Orientation Map - Annexure A).

The main language spoken in Lebowa is North Sotho. There were also small groups of Swati, Ndebele, Venda, Shangaan and Tswana in the area.

1.8.4   SOCIAL MOVEMENT:

Gould and Kolb define social movement as "a concerted and continued effort by a social group aimed at reaching a goal common to all its members. More specifically, the effort is directed at modifying, maintaining, replacing or destroying an existing social institution" (1964: 100). This is an old view of social movement. The following two definitions of social movement are recent and more relevant to this study, viz: "a non-institutionalised effort to change society through collective action" (Popenoe, 1980: 537) and "an organised effort by a significant number of people to change or resist change in some major aspect or aspects of society" (Marshall, 1994: 489). Examples of social movement would include, inter alia, trade unions, feminism and teacher protest movements.

1.8.5   COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOUR:

It is "an uninstitutionalised mobilisation for action in order to modify one or more kinds of strain on the basis of a generalised reconstruction of a component of action" (Smelser, 1962: 71). According to Marshall (1994: 65) collective behaviour is a very wide-ranging field of study emerging as a response to problematic circumstances and situations. He (1994: 65) argues that at one extreme, collective behaviour can mean the study of co-ordinated and organised social movements; at the other, it refers to the seemingly spontaneous eruption of common behavioral patterns. Examples of collective behaviour would include riots, panic, fads and crazes.

1.8.6 <u>COLLECTIVE ACTION</u>:

This is "an action taken by a group of people in pursuit of members' perceived shared interests" (Marshall, 1994: 64).

1.8.7 <u>AUTHORITIES</u>:

These are "those persons towards whom protest are directed, or are those in legitimate control of the power to make the demanded responses" (Rose, 1982: 74). For this study the term, authorities, refers to all those holding managerial positions in the Lebowa Education Department (LED).

1.8.8 <u>PRINCIPAL</u>:

"A teacher in control of a school and the staff there-of" (Government Gazette. LED. Vol 7 1986/09/05: 3).

1.9 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES OF COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOUR AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

1.9.1 The Traditional Social-psychological theories

The earliest formulations of collective behaviour are to be found in **crowd psychology**. Psychology theorists such as Le Bon and Freud (Spencer & Inkeles, 1982: 493) argued that the crowd was a reality *sui generis*, since it forms a single being, and is subjected to the law of the mental unity of crowds (Marshall, 1994: 65). The theorist suggested that all individual responses were lost in the crowds and that a collective mind emerged which made people feel, think and act in a manner quite different from that in which each individual of them would. Crowd (Marshall, 1994: 65) emerged through the existence of **anonymity**, which allowed a decline in personal responsibility; in **contagion**, i.e. ideas moving rapidly through a group; and through a **suggestibility**, i.e. whereby the unconscious aspects of personality come to the fore.

10

A more sociological approach to collective behaviour is evident in *Smelser's value-added schema*. According to Spencer and Inkeles (1982: 513) Smelser is a leading contemporary theorist explaining hostile outbursts, social movements and other patterns of collective behaviour. Smelser's value-added model suggests that the determinants of collective behaviour are given by the following sequence of events and elements (Smelser, 1962: 15):

*   **Structural conduciveness**, which are conditions of permissiveness under which collective behaviour is seen as legitimate.

*   **Structural strain**, which refers to the impairment of the relations among social elements and consequently inadequate functioning of the components of actions (Smelser, 1962: 47), e.g. deprivation. According to Spencer and Inkeles (1982: 492) structural strain refers to a problem in a social environment, such as a conflict, a lack, an ambiguity or a gap between expectations and reality.

*   **Growth and spread of generalised belief**, which is a kind of shared ideology, a system of meaning that calls for certain responses (Spencer and Inkeles, 1982: 492), e.g. Bantu Education is inferior. According to Smelser (1976: 16) a generalised belief "identifies the source of strain, attributes certain characteristics to this source, and specifies certain responses to the strain as possible and appropriate".

*   **Precipitating factors**, which are specific events which confirms the earlier generalised beliefs. Smelser (1976: 16) maintains that these factors give the generalised beliefs concrete, immediate substance, thus providing a concrete setting towards which collective action can be directed.

*   **Mobilization for action:** social movements will not occur unless the adherents are mobilized for action. The part to be played by leaders of social movements is of vital importance. According to Dawson and Gettys (1948: 19) a leader can be:

    -   **an agitator**, to make people restless and susceptible to appeals and suggestions that tap their discontent;

    -   **a reformer or prophet**, who conscientises the underprivileged group about the emergence of the prevailing conditions and as to what should be done;

- **a statesman**, when the movement becomes more clearly organised with rules, policies and tactics as well as internal discipline; and

- **an administrator**, when the movement has crystallised into a fixed organisation with a definite personnel and structure to carry into execution the purpose of the movement.

* **Operation of social control agencies**, which refers to the counter-forces set up by the wider society to prevent or inhibit the previous determinants. Smelser (1976: 261) argues that social control involves:

- the institutionalising of respect for law and for orderly expressing grievances;

- the alleviation of conditions of strain which generate dissatisfactions;

- the softening of prejudice and discrimination which deepens the social cleavages; and

- the minimising of decisiveness among the ruling groups in society.

Fundamental to the explanation of Smelser's theory of collective behaviour is the concept of **strain**. Smelser (1962: 385) proposes that people under strain mobilise to construct social order in the name of a generalised belief. Jenkins and Perrow (1977: 250) maintain that social movements arise because of deep and widespread discontent. First, there is a social change which makes the prevailing social relations inappropriate, producing a strain between the **old** and **new** or **privileged** and **the deprived**. Strain, then, generates discontent within some social groupings. When discontent increases rapidly and is widely shared, collective efforts to alleviate discontent will occur. Discontent culminates into protests by unorganised but aggrieved groups, which in turn make it possible to launch an organised demand for change.

Once organised, groups redressing widely-shared grievances should be able to secure at least some part of their programme through bargaining or compromise. Therefore polity should be structurally permeable, readily incorporating new groups and their interest into decision-making process (Jenkins & Perrow, 1977: 251). Such incorporation fails when public officials are unresponsive (Rose, 1982: 92), and that a successful challenge is contingent upon interaction of established liberal

organisations and neutrality of political elites (Jenkins and Perrow, 1977: 251). Klandermans (1993: 1) called this approach in social movement research the **breakdown approach.**

*   Social control is of particular importance, according to Smelser (1981: 443), since once an episode of collective behaviour has appeared, its duration and severity are determined by the response of agencies of social control.

Spencer and Inkeles (1982: 491) refer to the above determinants as the **IF'S**. If all the **IF'S** are satisfied, the result is a specific collective behaviour, such as **protest**:

"If structural conduciveness exists, and

if structural strain exists, and

if a generalised belief exists, and

if precipitating factors occur, and

if participants are mobilised for action, and

if social control agents fail to stop the event,

then collective behaviour will occur".

The Breakdown theorists - Davies (1962), Toch (1966), Gurr (1970) and Smelser (1971) - assume that social movements result from discontent and hardships shared by subsections of the population. The breakdown theorists assert that:

*   Social disorganisation generates discontent;

*   In a society there are ideologies and/or grievances available that point to causes and solutions for the discontent;

*   On the basis of such ideologies the movements formulate their goals;

*   When these goals seem to provide the solutions for the discontent and individual experiences, the chances are that he/she participates in that movement; and

*   many who experience the same discontent will do the same.

13

1.9.2 Resource mobilisation and political process theories

These theorists assume that social movements and political protests are a means towards political goals.

They start by criticising the breakdown theorists that neither grievances nor ideologies are necessary or sufficient conditions for the development of social movements. The grievances or ideologies may be there and their existence may not explain that a movement generates. For instance:

*   these grievances may be older than the mobilising movement;
*   It is not clear why these specific grievances or ideologies rather than any other become the focal point of the movement;
*   the observation that participants of a movement share a specific grievance or ideology does not demonstrate the significance of either because opposite to those who are in the movement, there are many people who are not participating although they share the same grievances or ideologies.

The aim of the Resource Mobilisation theorists is to change the availability of resources and to bring about further changes in the cost-benefit structure of the movement. The development, maintenance and professionalisation of the movement mobilisation requires resources and it is the lack or unavailability of such resources that explains to what extent discontent translates into action.

The aim of the Political Process theorists is to change the availability of political processes and changes in the cost-benefit and expectations of success. The political theorists emphasise the significance of expanding opportunities and tactical innovations for the reduction of the costs and risks of collective action and for an increase in the likelihood of success.

According to Tarrow (1991) political opportunities expand when:

*   levels of access to political institutions begin to open up;
*   political alignments are in disarray;

* political elites are divided among themselves so that the challengers can take advantage, and

* challengers are offered the help of influential allies from within and outside the system.

Tactical innovation affects the interaction between challengers and authorities in that it increases chances of success. Such tactical innovations may trigger off protest circles in which movement organisations of all kinds adopt the new repertoire of contention (Tarrow, 1989: Chapter 3).

1.9.3 Social Reality Construction Theories

The proponents of Social Reality Construction theories criticise the resource mobilisation and political process theorists as concentrating too much on how structural factors such as the availability of resources and the presence of favourable political opportunity structure facilitate the formation of social movements. The two **approaches neglect to study how the discontent generates among citizens and how people become convinced that movement participation is an effective way of redressing their grievances**.

The social reality construction theorists assume that an individual behaves in accordance with how he **perceives reality** in relation to grievances, resources, political opportunities and the outcome of collective action. This approach take into account mediating processes through which people attribute meaning to events and interpret situations.

1.9.3.1 How can social reality construction of protest be analyzed?

Various frameworks have been proposed, but common consensus is that **collective action proceeds from a significant transformation in the collective beliefs of the actors involved**. Piven and Cloward (1979) provide a summary of the kind of transformation it concerns:

15

- the system loses legitimacy;

- people, who are ordinarily fatalistic, begin to demand change; and

- develop a new sense of efficacy.

1.9.3.2 **How does this transformation come about?**

Klandermans (1993: 3) locates three levels of the processes of meaning construction:

- **level of public discourse**, involving everyone in the society through the diffuse networks of meaning construction;

- **level of persuasive communication during mobilisation campaigns by movement organisations, their opponent and counter-movement organisation**, which affects only those individuals who are targets of persuasion attempts; and

- **level of consciousness-raising during episodes of collective action**, which concerns primarily participants in the collective action and sympathetic spectators.

According to the social constructionalists, discontent and hardships, increasing resources, and expanding opportunities are all believed to be vehicles of social movement formation (Klandermans, 1993: 4). Reconstruction of meaning results in generation of a social movement. What triggers such reconstruction is the changes in the society itself. The social construction is not automatically and mechanically possible. Some actor has to start the reconstruction work.

Finally Klandermans refers to the two fundamental aspects of social life:

* Society or any group embraces rival systems of collective beliefs that compete for dominance. "Thought-world and meaning systems are at variance with the dominant culture and ruling groups that survive in viable social and ecological enclaves and subcultures" (Oberschall, 1989: 18, as quoted by Klandermans 1993: 4).

* Some members of a community will always deviate from its collective beliefs.

16

Although every community has mechanisms for neutralising dissent, the seeds of transformation that these dissenters bear, cannot be entirely obliterated.

1.10   PLAN OF STUDY OR CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter one deals with general orientation and postulation of the problem. Specifically, it seeks to place this dissertation in perspective by providing the reader with the statement of the problem, demarcation of the field of study, research procedure and methodology, explanation and/or definitions of operational terms, value of study, and sociological conceptions about collective behaviour and social movements.

Chapter two focuses on teachers' behaviour and their location in the class structure.

Chapter three deals with case history study of SADTU in Lebowa during the period 1989-1992.

Chapter four describes the underlying conditions in which a teacher protest movement took root in Lebowa.

Chapter five discusses how teacher collective beliefs were transformed and how teachers were mobilised for participation in protest activities.

Chapter six deals with the impact of teachers' protest actions on the Lebowa government, the LED and the performances of pupils in schools, parents and other teachers or teaching profession.

Chapter seven provides a sociological interpretation of the problem and suggestions and recommendations to the LED with regard to the nature and activities of protest movements and how to deal with them.

CHAPTER TWO

TEACHERS' BEHAVIOUR AND THEIR LOCATION IN THE CLASS-STRUCTURE

2.1   INTRODUCTION

Not all people have the same amount of money, prestige or social influence. These things are required by almost everyone but are unevenly distributed in any society. It is possible to rank people in a society in terms of the income, prestige, education or power. A combination of these standards forms a person's socio-economic status.

People of about the same socio-economic status level make up a status grouping commonly known as a social class (Popenoe, 1980: 294). In Marxian Sociology a social class is a group whose members share the same relationship to the ownership of productive resources, and who also share similar level of control over their own or other's work. Members of a social class share awareness about a common situation and interests. Marx (Chafetz, 1988:7) calls this awareness, class consciousness. Such consciousness suggests division of the social system in two main groupings: the exploiters and the exploited. Exploiters are members of a social class owning the capital (Sanderson, 1991: 504), and are called the bourgeoisie. The exploited are a working class, normally referred to as the proletariat.

Teachers constitute a group of workers which does not readily fall into this category of labour in the same equivocal way as workers on the assembly line in a factory do. Some important questions arise: Are teachers workers? Can they be organised into uions? What is their location in the class structure? With the recent signs of political radicalisation amongst black teachers, these have become important questions for the labour movement in South Africa.

In the following pages I develop a framework for better understanding of teachers as they present a challenge to schooling in our apartheid South Africa. In particular I argue that teachers' collective occupational culture incorporates conceptions of

teachers' interest in the schools that are potentially transformative. So far very little attention has been focused on teachers' collective occupational culture. Dennis Carlson (1987: 284) maintains that teachers' power is amplified when it is collectivized. Teachers' collective organisation and presentation of their interests as workers in schools manifest oppositional aspect of teaching.

In order to develop this arguments, I divide my discussion into sections: In the first section I will portray teachers in two critical theories of schooling, namely: <u>a structural-functional theory</u> of schooling in capitalist state and <u>a cultural theory</u> of class cultural production and reproduction. In the second section I will endeavour to indicate the impact of labour unions and the militant professionals on teachers. In the third section I will discuss the location of teachers in the class-structure. Finally I will focus on the crisis, tendencies and dilemmas of reform under the current school system.

2.2 TWO CRITICAL THEORIES OF SCHOOLING

2.2.1   <u>Structural-functional theory.</u>

Structural-functionalism is a theoretical strategy that analyses social phenomena in terms of the functions they perform in maintaining the existence or stability of society (Wallace and Wolf, 1980:14). This theoretical strategy influenced critically minded educators' view of teachers and teaching. The exponents of the structural-functionalist theory of schooling in France were Louis Althusser (1971) and Nicos Poulantzas (1975); in the USA were Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis (1976). These neo-Marxian structural-functionalists shared a common understanding of a special role of the state in social and economic reproduction; a functional view of schools as apparatus of the state; and a reductionistic treatment of teachers as agents or functionaries of the state. In this regard Althusser once remarked: "the school is the single most important institution of the ideological state apparatus".

19

2.2.1.1   Reproduction of dominant culture

Functionalists contend that students are socialised to assume appropriate personality traits, worknorms and worldviews needed in the economy.   This implies that the reproductive theory of teaching subsumes the role teachers play in schools.   The dominant culture is reproduced through various processes of sorting, selecting, transmitting and disciplining (Carlson, 1987:283).   The theory of how the dominant culture is produced suggests that schools are not fully autonomous (Ozga and Lawn, 1981:20) but fosters dependence on the state.   This suggests that education is imposed for the disadvantaged.   It prepares students of the weaker class for the lower rungs of a highly inequitable social and labour hierarchy.

To appreciate how teachers in education are treated, we need to understand the functionalist view of teachers' objective location within the process of appropriation of surplus value which determines their class position.   Surplus value, according to Sanderson (1991:183) means the increment in value that the capitalism and functionalism developed concurrently during the late 19th Century when the state grew as a central legitimating agency.   During this period a new class emerged and it assumed various names: the new middle class (Carchedi, 1975); the new professional-managerial class (Ehrenreich, 1978:5-48) and the petit bourgeoisie (Poulantzas in Hunt 1977).   (See par. 4 below).   This is an intermediary class between two great camps in Capitalist society, viz: Labour and Capital (Carlson, 1987).   The functions of the new professional-managerial class (Carlson, 1987;288) are:

* To supervise the capitalists' appropriation of the surplus value in the production process;

* To extract more surplus value from labour, and

* To indoctrinate workers or future workers with the values of discipline and respect for authority, that are essential to the appropriation process.

Teachers, according to Dennis Carlson, are included in this lower - middle class. Teachers, therefore, serve as agents of the state by supervising, disciplining and

indoctrinating the future workers (students) in the service of the capital. Capitalism brings into perspective the notion of economic factors i.e. the question of productive and unproductive labour supplied by teachers. Ginsberg, Meyenn and Miller (Ozga and Lawn, 1981:44) asset that teachers are not capitalists, but wage-earners, who sell their labour and neither own nor control the means of production. "Teachers' work would become productive when teachers provided the young with important skills and knowledge that contributed to their capacity for socially beneficial and personally enhancing work in the community" (Carlson, 1987: 288).

2.2.1.2 Proletarianisation of teachers

Social classes are, according to Karl Marx (in Sanderson, 1991:225) groups organized around property relations. Two major classes in capitalist society are identifiable viz:

* the capitalists or bourgeousie i.e. owner of capital.

* the proletariat or workers i.e. the propertyless who sells his labour to the capitalist in order to make a living. A proletariat is defined by Engels as a class of modern wage-labourers, who having no means of production of their own, are to sell their labour power in order to live" (Thompson, K. & Tunstall, T. 1987: 237). Proletarianisation therefore, is "the process whereby the contractual form of labour known as wage-labour increasingly becomes the dominant form of labour organisation" (Sanderson, 1991: 512).

How are teachers proletarianised?

Teachers are, from a Marxist viewpoint, victims of exploitation and oppression within the hierarchical bureaucratically organised school system. Braverman holds that since the 19th century a central concern of the capitalists has been to gain control over the work force and the work process (Sanderson 1991: 171). To achieve this, Frederick Winslow Taylor's brainchild - the scientific management - was introduced. According to Bowles and Gintis (1976: 204) the scientific management has three basic principles:

*   Separation of the work process from the skills of the worker.   The work process is to be organised so that it does not depend on the knowledge and craftsmanship of the workers.   The practices of management and not the abilities of workers, determine how work is done.   The new instructional technologies and programmed instructional materials in teaching may be having the effect of deskilling teachers in the traditional craft skills of teaching.   In this regard Harris writes: "the proletarianised teacher controls children more and instructs them less" (Harris, 1982: 90)

*   Separation of conception from execution.   The teachers' labour is intensified by prespecified curriculum, frequent testing and classroom supervisory duties.   Apple (1983: 618) contends that intensification of teachers' labour tends to contradict the traditional interest.   The quality of school services deteriorates as a result of this intensification of teachers' labour.   Braverman writes: "All possible brain work should be removed from the shop and be centred in the planning or laying-out department" (Sanderson, 1991: 172).

*   Promotion of the continuing, cheapening and substitutability of the teachers' labour.   Technological developments (eg. video, tapes, overhead projectors, slides, etc.) in the instructional programmes imply that teachers' labour can be delegated to less qualified, low paid, inexperienced teachers and unqualified teachers.

Proletarianisation is suggestive of the fact that teachers identify themselves with the working class discontents and political interest.   This implies that proletarianisation links teachers' occupational interest with a broad working class movement for change.   Proletarianisation further links the teachers interest to their fundamental changes in schools.   Consequently opposition to proletarianisation implies opposition to:
*   bureaucratisation and centralisation of decision-making in schools;
*   dominant management ideologies and production metaphors;
*   An objectified curriculum with more standardised testing; and
*   the general predetermination of learning "inputs" and "outputs" that all act in

22

one way or another to deskill and subordinate teachers.

2.2.2   The class cultural theory

The cultural theory was propounded by Paul Willis (Michael Apple, 1982).   The cultural theory emphasises the active production of class culture - including culturally specific resistances - within the overall dynamics of social and economic production (Apple, 1982).

Willis was particularly interested in the class culture of the working class students. Willis shows how a group of delinquent adolescent students actively construct a counterschool culture that gains them some measure of autonomy and that helps them cope with some of the more debilitating aspects of the classroom work routine. Willis shows again how the delinquent students contribute to their own domination in the school process.   For example they resisted domination in the system and refused to compete for grades.

Willis applied the cultural theory to teachers also.   The relevance of the cultural theory is in the understanding of the everyday practices and beliefs of teachers as they make their roles in schools and classrooms, both as they participate in, or acquiesce to, existing relations and ideologies in schooling and as they resist their treatment as proletarianised functionaries of the state.   The cultural theory of teaching is based on two sets of concepts which are central to the calls of cultural argument (Apple, 1982), viz resistances and accommodation, penetration and limitations.

*   Both resistance and penetration designate a rejection of domination.   The notion of penetration and resistance imply a strength and resilience among oppressed groups as they engage in daily differences with the institutionalised hegemony and work processes that most visibly oppress them.

*   Resistances do not challenge the prerogative of school management in imposing the new system on teachers;   but they do impede the system's

23

effectiveness once it is adopted; and they represent at least a partial penetration of the managerial ideology that lies behind changes.

*   The term limitation, according to Willis (1977: 119) designates those blocks, diversions and ideological effects which confuse and impede the full development and expression of working class discontents.

Teachers' everyday resistances are important, but as long as they remain depoliticized, kept in the closet of the self-contained classroom, it is difficult to see how they represent a serious threat to system's stability.   In the same vein Jean Anyon (Walker & Barton, 1983: 34) remarks that individual, fragmented and isolated negotiations from group effort pose no threat to the system's stability.

2.3   LOCATION OF TEACHERS IN THE CLASS-STRUCTURE

Karl Marx views classes as groups organised around property relations (Sanderson, 1991: 226).   Two main classes are identifiable: the bourgeiosie, or capitalist, the owners of capital; and the proletariat, or workers, those who are propertyless and thus selling their labour power to the capitalists in order to make a living (Marshall, 1994: 570).

Modern Marxists eg. Erik Olin Wright (1982) modified and updated the Marxist conception of classes.   Classes, according to him, rest not only on property relations, but also on modes of domination and control.   Positioning contemporary capitalist classes Wright distinguishes what he calls basic class locations and contradictory class locations.   Basic class locations are positions in the social organisations of production that are relatively unambiguous with regard to the nature of property ownership and domination and control, eg the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.   Contradictory locations are positions within the productive process that are characterised by some of the elements of the two different basic class locations.   Therefore contradictory class locations are inconsistent with regard to property and domination.

24

Various sociologists researched about class location of teachers. Erik Olin Wright (Walker, 1979:28) identified a third social class which he calls the petty bourgeoisie. According to Marx (Gordon Marshall, 1994:388) the petty bourgeoisie is a transitional class in which the interests of the major class of the capitalist society (ie bourgeoisie and proletariat) meet and become blurred. This class is located between these two classes in terms of interests as well as its social situations.

Teachers belong to this class. Teachers are semi-autonomous professional workers within a bureaucratic organisation. They occupy a contradictory class between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Wright argues that teachers bear the characteristics and interests of the two major classes. Because of the indeterminacy of position, class struggle at political and ideological levels can decide the extent to which teachers in their contradictory location join with the working class in a capitalistic society.

Nicos Poulantzas (Dougherty, 1980:171) refers to teachers as the new petty bourgeoisie on the basis of ideological, political and economic criteria. Teachers are unproductive wage-earners who are none the less carriers of ideological domination. They are ambivalently located between the bourgeoisie above and the proletarian below. Teachers in education reproduce the labour force necessary for capitalism and inculcates in the working class the attitudes necessary for capitalism's continuation. According to Poulantzas the new petty bourgeoisie, which includes teachers, is internally fragmented and fractionalised due to its contradictory and stressful location.

Finn, Grant and Johnson (1977) conceive of teachers as not proletariat, but as unproductive workers. Ideologically and politically teachers use their professional status and expertise to distance themselves from the working class. Consequently Finn et. al. put it thus: "teaching has been ideologically constructed to emphasize differences from the working class.

2.4 PROFESSIONALISM AND TRADE UNIONISM

2.4.1 Professionalism

Millerson (1964: 10) defines a profession as "a type of higher-grade, non-manual occupation, with both subjectively and objectively recognised occupational status, possessing a well defined area of study or concern and providing a definite service, after advanced training and education." This definition suggests a homogeneous group, whose members share identity, values, definition of role and interests, and whether they are governed by norms and codes of behaviour. Such an approach to professionalism rules out conflict within the group or between that group and competitors attempting to secure its privileges for themselves. This view gave high score to traditional professions such as Law and Medicine, while certain occupations, like teaching and engineering, don't come to the scratch.

In order to achieve professional status Parry and Parry (Ozga, 1981: 14) in England viewed teaching profession as been deeply influenced by the concept of occupational ideology and organisation which they called professionalism To them professionalism is a process. They maintain that teachers have pursued a consistent strategy for development as an occupational group. Professionalism, according to them, is therefore:

* a strategy for controlling an occupation in which colleagues, who are in a formal sense equal, set up a system of control by restricting entry to the occupation through education, training and process of qualification;

* the exercise of formal and informal management of members' conduct in respect which are defined as relevant to the collective interests of the occupation;

* there is use of occupational solidarity and closure to regulate the supply of services to the market which serves to provide a basis for the domination of

institutions, organisations and other occupations associated with it; and lastly

* there is a reinforcement of this situation by the acquisition of state support in order to obtain legal monopoly backed by legal sanction. Where this is not possible, at least a tacit acquiescence of the state is required.

Johnson (Ozga & Lawn, 1981: 17) agrees with Parry & Parry by regarding profession as a peculiar type of occupational control rather than expression of nature of particular occupations. A profession is not an occupation, but a means of controlling an occupation. A professional, according to Johnson, is a noble individual who places public duty and honour before anything else. When individuals act together as a group, they obtain or achieve great occupational status and prestige.

Teaching profession during Apartheid era in South Africa placed public duty before anything else. As it will be observed below (par. 2.4.3) teachers worked in a narrow professional field that allowed no extensive negotiations or application of pressure technigues to improve working conditions or remuneration of members.

2.4.2   Unionism

Studying trade unionism in England, Sydney and Beatrice Webbs defined a trade union as "a continuous association of wage-earners for the purpose of improving or maintaining the conditions of employment" (Martin, 1989: 8). A more recent definition is by Gordon Marshall: "A trade union is any organisation of employees established in order to substitute or attempt to substitute, collective bargaining for individual bargaining in the labour-market" (Marshall, 1994: 537). Trade Union is therefore an organisation representing members within a particular occupation or series of occupations, for the purpose of negotiating remuneration and working conditions (Millerson, 1964:14). The purpose of trade unions concerns a satisfaction of interests. The responsibility of trade union purpose, therefore, is well expressed in the following Marxist-Leninst quotations:

"... the trade unions must succeed in rallying round themselves all workers still outside their ranks. They must carefully safeguard the interests of workers. They must convince the whole world that their efforts are far from narrow and egoistic; but

27

on the contrary, are directed the emancipation of the down-trodders masses" (Marx in Martin, 1989: 317). Lenin concisely echoed the same sentiment when he remarked that: through trade unions workers learned to make war on their enemies for the liberation of the whole people, of all who labour (Martin, 1989: 317).

Generally the main objective of unions remains entirely protective. In most trade unions no educational qualification is required, demonstrating successful completion of specialized training. Employment in a particular occupation constitutes the only membership requirement. To gain benefits for members, trade unions are prepared to call strikes, to advise members to work to rule, and so on.

2.4.3 Are Black South African Teachers professionals or unionists?

According to Millerson (1964: 39) all associations connected with a direct occupation are called <u>occupational associations</u>. True occupational association organises professionals. Millerson identifies two types of occupational associations: the co-ordinating and protective associations. <u>The co-ordinating associations</u> consist of qualified professionals working in a narrow professional field (eg teaching and nursing) which co-ordinates the professional activities of the members, without extensive negotiations or application of pressure techniques to improve working conditions or remunerations of members. For our purpose the African Teachers' Association of South Africa (ATASA) is a good example.

<u>The protective association</u> is an association of qualified professionals working in a comparatively wide professional area, which provides an organised means of exercising pressure to protect and improve the working conditions and remuneration of the individual professional. With regard to Black African teachers, I wish to quote the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU) as an example.

The African Teachers' Association of South Africa (ATASA), founded in 1960, primarily aimed at co-ordinating Black qualified teachers. To substantiate this, TUATA Newsletter (vol 2, no 1, Jan 1991: 3) contends that ordinary limited membership was to teachers holding certificates recognised by the Department.

ATASA recognises that teaching profession occupies a position of public trust (TUATA, Sept 1991: 11). This implies that the actions and conduct of teachers should be of such a nature that they command the respect of the community and enhance the image of the profession. Drastic action methods of trade unions to use Millerson's words, 'damage the professional image' (1964: 14). As a co-ordinating association of teachers, therefore, ATASA is opposed to strike activity by teachers and claim to put the child first (Vadi, 1993: 3). Traditionally ATASA does not bargain or discuss fees. To quarrel over payment may destroy the ideal of public service. Bureaucratization and mass employment have removed many qualms. Teachers had no right to bargain with bureaucrats and administrators or school boards. Instead, ATASA supported a system whereby teachers were limited to making requests and pleas. Teachers were expected to subordinate their own interests to the larger purposes and interests that the educational administrators, state planners and policy-makers supposedly represented. Teachers would be accused of being 'unprofessional', and of placing their own interest before the interests of children if they complained that:

* their concerns were ignored by their bureaucratic superiors,

* their grievances were not listened to, or

* their salaries were too low.

According to Enslin (1969: 2) the professional teacher is not responsible to himself or to his peers but to an army of bureaucrats. Teachers are at the mercy of this bureaucratic control. An American, Stephen Cole, once wrote: "the primary goal of the professionals was to provide service to the community. ... If the members of an occupational group showed too great a concern with financial rewards, their status as professionals would be weakened..." (Cole, 1969: 4). Hence in its early history ATASA claimed that discussions of teachers' salaries were 'unprofessional'.

What constitutes unprofessional behaviour of teachers? Can teachers be described as having professional status at all? According to Enslin (1976:1) unprofessional behaviour of teachers is behaviour that harms the educational progress of the pupils, such as go-slow action (refusal to handle official correspondence or refusal to supervise extramural activities) and a general strike by teachers for a period of time. In Lebowa bantustan various forms of unprofessional behaviour occured (See par.

3.3.1 below). Enslin (1976:2) argues further that teachers take such action on grounds of benefitting themselves and pupils too. But the LED authorities dissuaded teachers from taking such action through salary-cuts, transfers, dismissals, etc.. The professional status of teachers is meaningless if teachers are without a professional autonomy. Lack of autonomy, so believes Enslin (1976: 2), is the most influential cause of exodus of teachers from teaching fraternity. Hyslop (1986: 91) postulates that teachers are loosing control of their work as they are subject to tighter and tighter bureaucratic regulation. Failure of the existing professional teacher associations to serve the needs of their members and the rise of political activism led to the development of a new militant teachers' trade unionism.

The militant teacher organisations - unlike the traditional associations - conscientised teachers on the political dimensions of the education struggle (Gardiner, 1982: 126-128). They sought education to be transformed, which can only be achieved through collective bargaining agreements with apartheid Education Authorities. The following are some of the examples of the militant teacher organisations in South Africa: the National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA) founded in 1980, the Western Cape Teachers' Union (WECTU) founded in 1985 and the South African Democratic Union (SADTU) founded in 1990 (Sanger, 1990: 35-36). Their object is protective in nature. They operate on a comparatively wide area, which provides an organised means of exercising pressure to protect and improve the working conditions and remuneration of the individual teachers.

The emergence of teacher unions has been the result of political activities. Around 1950 the ANC Youth League produced teachers who sought to change the forms of the traditional teacher organisation (Hyslop 1986: 92). This happened concurrently with the introduction of Bantu Education in South Africa. In the Transvaal a group of young Orlando teachers took over leadership of the Transvaal African Teachers' Association (TATA). The leadership - amongst others Zeke Mphahlele, Zeph Mothopeng and Motlhamme - showed hostility to Bantu Education. In the Cape, the Cape African Teachers' association (CATA) participated actively in attempts to prevent the establishment of Bantu Education structures, namely, school boards and school committees. After 1976 Soweto riots ATASA became targeted and troubled by a growing number of politicised young teachers. The youth action challenged the

kind of self-seeking, apolitical outlook which ATASA represented. The result was that the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee (STAC) was founded in 1976 in protest against Bantu Education. Such political crisis pressurised prominent ATASA and TUATA leader, H H Dzamlenze, to withdraw from DET structures (e.g. Soweto Crisis Committee) and ultimately participated in the May 1 stay-away (Hyslop, 1986: 96).

The militant forms of teacher organisation indicated some affinities with trade unionism. Traditional craft unions were set up by members of a single craft such as printers or engineers. These craftworkers restricted the supply of the valuable skills by limiting the number of apprentices who could be trained. This was done to strengthen their bargaining powers (World Book Inc. 1992: 328-9). The members of the craft unions exercised significant control over the point of production by training and supervising new members; and establishing the guidelines for performance of work, eg. work ethics, performance standards and even pay scales.

A craft orientation to understanding workers' interests implied a concern with broadening the job-control rights of individual practitioners and occupational group as a whole. Broadening job-control rights countervailed the status quo, which ultimately could not be contained by the existing corporate and bureaucratic state structures.

There exists a link between conceptions of craft unionism and job-control rights among practitioners of skilled trades and conceptions of the professional rights of teachers. Teachers seek to be treated like professionals. This means that they should be given more job-control rights, ie greater control over organisation of class-room activities, curriculum selection, teacher evaluation and inspection, occupational ethic and so forth (Carlson, 1987: 297). The teachers' concern with gaining greater job-control through collective bargaining or through politically lobbying thus fundamentally challenges the top-down model of bureaucratic control that characterises apartheid education (Moll, 1989: 62).

Furthermore, in 1985, the Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU) was founded. COSATU was a predominently black trade union, which espoused non-

racialism rather than Black consciousness or exclusivism. COSATU was opposed to the Apartheid policy in general and official labour relations system in particular (Bureau of Information, 1989: 380). COSATU contends that all teacher organisations of the oppressed should be united according to the principle of "one industry, one union" (Moll, 1989: 60). Consequently at a meeting held in Harare, on the 4-8th April 1988, attended by various teacher organisations anonymously agreed that COSATU should facilitate the teacher unity talk process (Moll, 1989: 70). COSATU acted as a midwife to the teacher unity process (SADTU Commemorative Journal, 1990: 2). Through its experience, COSATU brought to birth a united teachers' union known as South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU).

Like COSATU - which is non-exclusive - SADTU is a national, unitary, non-racial union of teachers. SADTU attempts to blend professionalism - which is concerned with the status of teachers and quality of education and unionism - which aims at representing the material and political interests of teachers into an organic unity (Vadi, 1993: 4). Randall van den Heever, SADTU's General Secretary, puts it thus: "... Unionism and professionalism are not mutually exclusive concepts. A trade union is not necessarily opposed to professionalism. SADTU is busy with a professional programme never before realised by any other organisation - the formulation of a teachers code of ethics. But SADTU remains equally submitted to serve as a union advancing the rights of its members" ("Transforming Teachers" in Mayibuye, February 1991).

2.5 CONCLUSION: TEACHERS' WORK CULTURE AND THE DILEMMAS OF SCHOOL REFORM

The first section of this chapter discussed the theories of schooling: Structural-functional and cultural theories. The section started by fashioning a discourse around reproductive thesis and highlighted the link between the role of teachers in schools and the social and cultural manifestitations of the capitalist mode of production. Here I indicated how teachers provide pupils with knowledge and skills they need to occupy their respective places in the labour force stratified by class within the

32

exploitative economic relationships. Teachers also are functional in the distribution and legitimising knowledge, values and language that constitute the dominant culture and interests. Thus Althusser (1984: 22-23) contends that teachers play a central role in disseminating the ruling class ideology. The ruling class ideology gear the subordinate class in society towards learning the attitudes of submission and obedience that will fit them into their positions in the capitalist system. Consequently Christie and Collins (McKay & Romm, 1984: 163) argue that the state education in South Africa is geared towards reproduction of labour as required by capitalism. In addition this implies that the inequalities in Black Education are geared to perpetuate the ideology of inequality and social relations of domination and insubordination. For example Capitalism demands workers who will obey and submit to control from above, taking orders rather than questioning them (Bowles & Gintis, 1976: 42). Alongside with the reproductive theory, teachers are separated from their work and the product. They are proletarianised.

On the other hand teachers are not passive bearers of ideology, but are instead active appropriators who reproduce existing structures only through struggle, contestations and a political penetration of those structures (Willis, 1977: 175). In this regard I showed that teachers' resistance is ineffective when teachers remain depoliticised and act as individuals. Collective action is important.

In the second section I portrayed teachers as semi-autonomous employees within the bureaucratically organised education system. They occupy a contradictory class location between the state education management and the working class. Because of the inconsistency of their location in the social class-structure, some teachers - who were traditionally subordinate to the existing state bureaucrats - became susceptible to political influences and trade unionism. The impact of these influences became evident in the emergence of the militant teacher organisations such as the National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA), the Western Cape Teachers' Union and many others during the 80's. This culminated in the establishment of SADTU in 1990.

Presently the role of a teacher is not serving a reproductive function. Teachers are in constant conflict with administrators. For example: they protest against the use of Workbooks (Sowetan: May, 1990:4) they threaten to evict inspectors from Circuit offices (Konekwena circuit Principals' Council Meeting: 30/05/91), they threaten to disband principals' councils (Mahwelereng Principals' Council Meeting: 10/06/91); they bring schools to a halt (Mahlangu: Head Office meeting: 11/09/91) and they shout at the inspectors (Tuata: Sept. 1991). Obviously, then, reproductive processes are not carried out in a smooth, uncontested manner in the schools. The LED system became dysfunctional. Dysfunctionalism is a term used to deal with tensions in a social system (Marshall, 1994: 137). Something is dysfunctional if it inhibits or disrupts the working of the system as a whole or another part of the system. For example if teacher anomie disrupts the education, it may be said to be dysfunctional for the educational system. To deal with endemic system dysfunctions, two basic lines of reform are open to elite corporate and state groups:

*   Repressive:
This implies more top-down accountability and more use of 'output' standards of student achievement to evaluate and differentially reward teachers. One problem with top-down accountability, and consequently more subordination of teachers to managerial work plan, is that it generates more discontent and further alienates teachers from managerial goals. The LED practised unilateral restructuring of education while top-down decision-making remained in place. In spite of the transition process in the political arena, the LED has shown a distinct reluctance to subject education to a democratic transition process. For instance, the LED ignored the call by SADTU N.Tvl Region to iron out educational differences. That generated more dissatisfactions.

*   Recognising teachers as professionals:
Dramatic improvement of teachers' working conditions is extremely essential to effective education. Without fundamental changes in the teachers' working conditions, tensions and conflicts and teacher burn-out will not cease to occur. Such problems should be resolved through treating teachers as professionals, thus empowering them

34

in the schooling process. Conversely, teachers must think for themselves if they are to help others think for themselves. They are to help others think for themselves. They must be able to act independently and collaborate with others, and render critical judgement.   Teachers must be people whose knowledge is wide-ranging and whose understanding runs deep (Carlson, 1987: 305-306).

It has been indicated that reproductive work necessitates a great deal of top-down control including bureaucratic subordination of teachers. The dilemma of reform is that the system cannot create conditions most suitable to teachers without giving teachers more control over schooling process. The system, again, has no assurance that teachers will use their new found power consistently to match the state interests. Democratically viewed, the system need to exercise strong pressures to re-assert top-down bureaucratic control and disempower teachers within the schooling process.

Teacher empowerment suggests participation of teachers in the pronunciation of an alternative voice for change in schools and the broader society. Such a change will only be possible provided the elements of collective teachers' occupational interests are heeded. The elements of collective occupational interest countervail the capitalist state system. For traditional teacher organisation such as ATASA such elements are largely depoliticised. In SADTU they are a powerful force for the development of a radical ideology and practice among teachers.   On the collective occupational level, teachers can build on countervailing ideologies and practices that exist already within teacher unionism and professionalism as forms of work culture and attempt to link and politicise issues related to teachers' work and structuring and direction of public education.

CHAPTER THREE

CASE HISTORY OF TEACHER PROTEST MOVEMENT IN LEBOWA

3.1 INTRODUCTION: BUREAUCRATIC Organisation OF LEBOWA DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION (LED)

The self governing territory, Lebowa, consists of a number of departments, one of which is the department of education. Lebowa Education Department (LED) is based on the principles of Apartheid policy. Education provided by LED is a product of the Bantu Education Act no 49 of 1953, introduced by Dr H F Verwoerd. This education is designed to entrench racist and inferior education among the Blacks (SADTU Commemorative Journal 1991: 11). The advent of Bantu Education was never acceptable to Blacks. Hence the President of ATASA, Mr M T Moerane, once wrote: "We resist Bantu Education to the extent of a threatened boycott" (TUATA vol. 1, no 4, 1971:19). The Act marked the beginning of Apartheid Education System and the end of missionary education. Grobler, (1988:103) points out that African teachers protested against the replacement of the liberal education systems of the missionaries by Bantu Education. Brookes (1968: 57) argues that Bantu Education is used to foster stereotypes; to inculcate a sense of inferiority among the Blacks and to prepare the Blacks for certain categories of jobs only. Opposition to implementation of Bantu Education was suppressed by the State.

In Chapter 1 it was indicated that the total teaching personnel in Lebowa according to statistics given in 1991 was 27 723 (LED 1991: 1; LED, 1992, 1). These teachers are distributed throughout Lebowa schools that are geographically grouped into four regions, namely Central, Lowveld, South-Eastern and Western regions (LED 1990: 11-12). Each region consists of four Circuits as indicated below:

TABLE 1A: LEBOWA REGIONS AND CIRCUITS:

Regions	Circuits
Central	Mahwelereng, Mankweng, Mogodumo, Zebediela
Lowveld	Bolobedu, Mapulaneng, Ramokgopa, Thabina
South-Eastern	Bohlabela, Dennilton, Nebo, Sekhukhune
Western	Bakenberg, Bochum, Konekwena, Polokwane

(Source: LED, Annual Reports 1990:11; 1991: 7; 1992: 5)

The above named circuits can be best located on the Map (Annexure B) attached. Each circuit has its own numerical strength as indicated in table 1B below.

TABLE 1B: <u>Teaching numbers according to circuits: 1991</u>

Circuit	Pre-school	Primary school	Secon= dary school	Coll. of Ed.	Tech-nical Inst.	Total
1.Bakenberg		995	819	-	-	1814
2.Bochum		1055	578	39	-	1672
3.Bohlabela		1401	806	61	-	2268
4.Bolobedu		1196	586	80	-	1862
5.Dennilton		867	535	62	31	1495
6.Konekwena		694	692	-	-	1386
7.Mahwelereng		730	518	90	-	1338
8.Mankweng		1011	817	-	-	1828
9.Mapulaneng		1167	649	45	20	1881
10.Mogodumo		833	598	44	16	1491
11.Nebo		1211	684	-	-	1895
12.Polokwane		855	590	125	78	1648
13.Ramokgopa		695	459	34	-	1188
14.Sekhukhune		1442	862	65	-	2369
15.Thabina		1158	725	51	19	1953
16.Zebediela		616	407	-	-	1023
	612					612
	612	15 926	10 325	696	164	27723

(Source: LED, 1991:1, 131, 1'39, 149 and 153)

This chapter attempts to define the essential character of teacher protest movement in Lebowa: 1) It offers a historical development of teacher protest movement from a professional teacher association to a one unitary, non-racial democratic teachers' union, 2) It provides a historical analysis of SADTU's campaigns for formal

recognition in Lebowa. 3) It provides a description of the LED's reaction to SADTU's collective actions.

3.2 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHER PROTEST MOVEMENT IN LEBOWA FROM A PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION TO UNITARY NON-RACIAL DEMOCRATIC TEACHER'S UNION

According to the South African Government's policy of Apartheid, teacher organisations are separated on the basis of racial groups (Moll, 1989:61):

* African Teachers' Association of South Africa (ATASA) for Blacks;
* United Teachers' Association of South Africa (UTASA) for Coloureds;
* Teachers' Association of South Africa (TASA) for Indians;
* Teachers' Federal Council (TFC) for Whites.

3.2.1 Traditional Teacher organisations for professionalism

ATASA is a national federal body of African Teachers in South Africa. ATASA was founded in 1960 and it was constituted by the following affiliates from four provinces of South Africa (Hyslop, 1986:94):

* Cape African Teachers' Union (CATU)
* Natal African Teachers' Union (NATU)
* Orange Free State African Teachers' Association (OFSATA)
* Transvaal United African Teachers Association (TUATA)

TUATA was founded in 1958. Lebowa teachers formed part of the TUATA. Its membership grew rapidly. For instance in 1963 TUATA membership was 5000, but trebled itself (to 15 000) in 1974 (Hyslop 1986:94). TUATA viewed teachers as having "no business involving themselves in politics ... Any criticisms that were voiced of Bantu Education were made on professional and/or educational grounds, not political ones" (Hyslop: 1986:94). TUATA worked within the South African state education system. TUATA 's organisational work did not fundamentally challenge the apartheid system. Thus Moll (1989:64) argues that the activities of TUATA did

39

nothing to oppose the machinery of apartheid education system. Vadi (1993:3) also points out that TUATA is opposed to strikes by teachers. TUATA members put the child's education first. Thus the president of TUATA, mr Taunyana (TUATA, Sept, 1991: 12) mentioned that TUATA strives to ensure that the interest of each child should in no way be harmed by actively involving the child on behalf of education in any resistance or collective actions. Taunyana (TUATA Newsletter, 1991: 3) went on to say that the the outcry against apartheid education must continue ..., but let's stop sacrificing the education of our youth.

Attempts to mobilise membership around issues of political concern, were not accepted by TUATA. Rather TUATA leadership concentrated on diverting its members' energies into social and cultural activities. The most important of these were choir competitions run by the organisation which absorbed a tremendous amount of energy and resources of the teachers (Hyslop, 1986: 94)

3.2.2 Professionalism versus radicalism

After 1976 TUATA came under pressure brought about by the influence of the Black Consciousness Movement. The Black consciousness is, according to Frank Talk, "the realization by the Black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude ... It seeks to infuse the Black community with a new found pride in themselves, their efforts, their value system, their culture, their religion and the outlook of life" (Vol 1, Feb/March 1984: 3). Black consciousness is opposed to apartheid system.

A significant number of teachers were influenced by the Black consciousness philosophy. This philosophy conscientized and politicised Black young teachers in order to strive for their legitimate rights in education. The teachers worked towards the establishment of an educational system that would respond creatively towards the needs of the teachers (Talk: vol 1, no 2 & 3 July/Aug 1984 p 3&4).

In 1980 the National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA) was founded (Hyslop, 1986:96). NEUSA was a non-racial teachers' union committed to reorganise education (Hyslop, 1986:90). NEUSA sought to conscientise the teachers on the political dimension of educational struggle. NEUSA needed teachers to be involved in the struggle for educational transformation and the broader liberation of South Africa. This suggested a radical change in the Apartheid system of education.

In 1983 the United Democratic Front (UDF) was founded (RSA Official Year Book 1989/90). The UDF was a non-exclusive anti-apartheid movement specifically formed to protest against the government's reforms. The UDF - unlike the Black Consciousness Movement - welcomed members of all population groups. Resultantly, the NEUSA became allied with the UDF.

By 1985, however, the UDF mass struggles in townships, particularly the wave of school-boycotts in 1984/85, started to affect the position of the traditional teachers organisations. Three progressive teacher organisations emerged in the Cape: Western Cape Teachers' Union (WECTU) with 2000 coloured membership; Democratic Teachers' Union (DETU) comprising African teachers; and East-London Progressive Teachers' Union (ELPTU), which presented a large number of younger politicised teachers. (Moll, 1989: 64-65).

The period 1986-1987 saw the emergence of a number of other progressive teacher organisations: Progressive Teachers' League (PTL), Progressive Teachers' Union (PTU), Mamelodi Teachers' Union (MATU), Soshanguve Teachers' Union (SOTU) and Northern Transvaal Teachers' Union (NOTTU) in the Transvaal; and the Eastern Cape Teachers' Union (ECTU) in the Cape (Moll, 1989:67). All progressive teacher organisations were characterised by continued dissatisfaction with Bantu Education (Moll, 1989:67) and their desire to scrap it.

The progressive teacher organisations and the traditional teacher organisation were in conflict. The progressive teacher organisations argued that ATASA leadership were the very principals and inspectors who carried out state repression, victimising

41

progressive teachers. They said "ATASA members were the first and foremost collaborators with apartheid education" (Moll, 1989:66). Other organisations, like TUATA, supported the demands of the progressive teacher organisations, but did not agree with the strike tactic they used (Moll, 1990:26). The result was that two parallel sets of teacher unity talks emerged at the end of 1987 (Moll, 1989:68): namely:

In October 1987 the progressive teacher organisations agreed to unite in one national body (City Press, November 22, 1987). The Unity talks miscarried because NEUSA - which comprised in majority the African teachers - observed that there was no strong national African presence in these talks, therefore withdrew. In addition, NEUSA was a non-racial, non-exclusive teacher organisation. However NEUSA's regions - Natal, MATU, and NOTTU - continued to attend the unity talks and voted for the resolution to seek unity with other progressive teacher bodies (Moll, 1989:68).

In November 1987 ATASA convened a meeting of the affiliates of the traditional associations - UTASA, TASA and TFC - and NEUSA (Weekly Mail, November 27, 1987). NEUSA declined to attend because its fellow progressive teacher organisations had not been invited. The express purpose of the meeting was to popularise the teacher unity amongst the teachers.

The two teacher unity forums - the progressive and the traditional teacher organisations - started to drift together, but the process was too slow. Teachers were either to belong to professional traditional teacher association or progressive teachers' unions. Vadi (1993:3), however , contends that teacher professionalism and teacher unionism were counterposed as two mutually exclusive concepts.

3.2.3 One unitary non-racial, non-sexist democratic teachers' union.

In 1988 the All African Teachers' Organisation (AATO) and the World confederation of Organisations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP) convened a meeting at Harare to discuss the issue of teacher unity in South Africa. The traditional and progressive teacher organisations, ANC and COSATU were represented at the meeting. The

42

South African Labour Bulletin (Vol 13, no 7, 1988:3) reported that all parties present at the meeting unanimously agreed on 15 points, which became the guidelines for the establishment of one national teachers' body within the anti-apartheid camp (See Annexure C). COSATU was identified as a facilitator while ANC would provide the necessary guidance (SADTU Commemorative Journal, 1991). All parties were mandated to go back and consult with their affiliates about the 15 points.

In August 1988 a report back meeting of all teacher organisations - with the exception of those affiliated to TFC - was convened by COSATU. UTASA, TASA and progressive unions and leagues reported the intentions of their affiliates to participate in only one set of teacher unity talks viz, those convened by COSATU and that all other initiatives would be dissolved. ATASA had not yet completed the process of consultation with its affiliates on the Harare guidelines.

In December 1988 at a second meeting convened by COSATU, the English-speaking teacher organisations indicated their desire to become part of the unity talk process (New Nation, Feb 23, 1989). The English-speaking teacher organisations would be welcome in unity process if only they could align themself with the Harare guidelines.

In January 1989 the affiliates of ATASA, except TUATA - which had the biggest membership-resolved not to participate in the unity talks convened by COSATU (Sowetan, Jan 1, 1989).

After several meetings the Harare Accord organisations formed the National Teacher Unity Forum, (NTUF) under the convenorship of COSATU (SADTU Constitution Booklet, 1990/91: 1) The NTUF elected an interim Working Committee whose duties were (Kganakga 1990 - Teacher Unity Report Back):

* To make a programme for further meetings;
* To study constitutions of various teacher organisations whereby making a draft constitution for the NTUF.
* To negotiate on behalf of all teachers in the interim, and
* To promote contact and liaison in matters regarding teacher unity.

43

The Unity process, directed by the NTUF, finally culminated in the establishment of the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) on the 6 October 1990 (Constitution Booklet, 1990/91 and SADTU Commemorative Journal, 1991).

The main aim of SADTU is to eradicate apartheid in education and to strive towards a free non-racial, non-sexist, compulsory and democratic education in one education system in South Africa (Vadi, 1993:4). The emergence of SADTU should be seen against the background of the continuing crisis in education. Teachers committed themselves to overcoming the serious problems prevailing in education in South Africa, and viewed SADTU as an effective vehicle through which to promote their transformative actions (SADTU Constitution Booklet, 1990/91: Introduction).

The following areas have been demarcated as SADTU regions: Border, SW Cape; Western Cape; Eastern CApe; Northern Cape; OFS; Natal; Southern Transvaal and Northern Transvaal (SADTU NEWS, 1990:2; Draft Unity Agreement - 17/09/90: 10).

Northern Transvaal region embraces SADTU members in the service of Venda, Gazankulu and Lebowa bantustans. SADTU disregarded ethnic borders in the delimitation of the regions. In another context the chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu, mr MG Buthelezi (TUATA, 1972: 9) once said that there is nothing really Sotho, Xhosa, Tswana, Venda, Pedi or Zulu about Black problems of education in South Africa. Mr. R.L. Peteni, vice President of ATASA, (TUATA, 1972: 5) also reiterated that ATASA does not believe in isolation, and even if bantustans became a reality, we would like to communicate with each other without difficulty.

The Northern Transvaal Region of SADTU has it headquarters at Mimosa Building in Pietersburg. Like all other regions, the Northern Transvaal region is constituted by Branches. Schools are units of a branch. Each branch within the Northern Transvaal Region elects a Branch Committee. The Branch Committees appoint representatives to attend Regional Conferences. Each Branch is entitled to one representative for every 100 members, or part thereof, at Regional Conferences

(SADTU Constitution Booklet, 1990/91: 15). The Regional Conference and Branch Annual General meeting elect Regional executive council (Constitution Booklet, 1990: 15) and Branch Committee (Constitution Booklet, 1990:10) respectively, consisting of the following office bearers, namely the <u>chairperson</u>, the <u>Deputy-chairperson</u>, the <u>Treasurer</u>, the <u>Secretary and the Assistent-secretary</u>.

Lebowa territory has 17 SADTU branches with paid up members, viz <u>Bakenberg</u>, <u>Bochum</u>, <u>Bohlabela</u>, <u>Bolobedu</u>, <u>Dennilton</u>, <u>Konekwena</u>, <u>Mankweng</u>, <u>Mapela</u> <u>Mashashane-Maraba</u>, <u>Mokopane</u>, <u>Naphuno</u>, <u>Nebo</u>, <u>Phalala</u>, <u>Sekgosese</u>, <u>Sekhukhune</u>, <u>Seshego</u> and <u>Zebediala</u> (SADTU N. Tvl Financial Report 26-28/02/92).

The communication steps or order of precedence in the region and in each branch of this region in the event of, say, a conflict or dispute, is as follows (Constitution Booklet, 1991:29):

       Regional Conference

       Regional Executive Committee

       Branch General meeting

       Branch committee

       School meeting of SADTU members

       SADTU School Committee (Unit leaders)

The exact numerical strength of SADTU membership in Lebowa is not known. Thus the General Secretary of SADTU, Mr Randall van der Heever, estimated it to be more than 5000 (New Nation, July 3, 1992). Paid up membership as per Financial Report read at the Regional Conference on the 26-28/02/93 has been at most 1813.

Affiliation and/or subscription fees of R36-00 per annum are payable to the branches by each SADTU member. The R36-00 is distributed as follows:

-       Branch retains R12-00 and sends R24-00 to the region;

-       Region retains R12-00 and sends the other R12-00 to the National Office.

It is expected that the region will make arrangements with education authorities so that the subscriptions of R36-00 per annum per SADTU member be payable to the

union by stop-order. To date the stop order has not been functional yet. Instead Branch Treasury collects the R36-00 and acknowledges receipt thereof. A current account is opened with a commercial bank. The chairperson, secretary and the treasurer are the signatories. Regional and Branch financial books should be closed on or before the 31 March of each year, while statements are to be submitted to Regional Head Office not later than 30 April for the purpose of internal audit (Mokopane SADTU Branch Financial Report, 1992; SADTU Constitution Booklet, 1990/91: 26).

SADTU's aim is to unite teachers and educationists and to work for a non-racial, just and democratic system of education in a free and democratic South Africa (Vadi 1993:2). Specific objectives of SADTU Northern Transvaal Region as enshrined in a <u>Petition and Memorandum of Demands to the Minister of National Education Department</u> are inter alia:

- To strive for democratization of education and to fight bureaucracy, hierarchy and favouritism;
- To seek and maintain itself as a union of teachers to be recognised by education authorities and to this end, to negotiate on behalf of its teachers to advance their individual and collective interests by entering into collective bargaining relations with the educational authorities;
- To fight injustices, maladministration and malpractices committed by departmental authorities;
- To strive for a single education Department,
- To strive for a free universal and compulsory education.

In Chapter 5, i.e. Transformation of collective beliefs and mobilization, it will be shown how the SADTU endeavoured to get these demands realised.

3.3 HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF SADTU'S CAMPAIGN FOR RECOGNITION

3.3.1 In 1991

At the launching of SADTU in Johannesburg on the 6th and 7th October 1990, the National Congress resolved to campaign for its recognition (SADTU Commemorative Journal, 1991: 11). SADTU Regions were mandated to negotiate for recognition with various education departments in their respective jurisdictions. Northern Transvaal Region, thus, had to negotiate for recognition with Venda, Gazankulu and Lebowa bantustans. SADTU's recognition posed a challenge to education departments' provisions, which stipulated that teachers could only be organised into professional associations. For example, in terms of the LED ACT no 6 of 1978, SADTU could not be granted statutory recognition. The ACT does not provide for teachers to belong to trade unions.

> "Teachers shall be guilty of misconduct if they, otherwise than at a meeting convened by an association recognised by the Ministers under Section 22 of the ACT, publicly criticise the administration of any department; they attempt to secure the intervention, through any person who is not in the employment of the Department, in relation to his position and the conditions of service, unless it is done to obtain redress of any grievance through the Legislative Assembly" (Lebowa Government Gazette Notice no 19, vol 7, no 257, 1978.09.15: 19).

SADTU Northern Transvaal Region sent a delegation to peacefully negotiate for recognition with the LED authorities. The LED would not accede to the request by SADTU. On the other hand, TUATA - an adversary to SADTU - was afforded opportunity to consolidate its organisation and formal constitution (TUATA, Sept 1991: 3).

The Northern Transvaal Region of SADTU tried all conventional ways to get recognition but failed. Realising the futility of its conventional tactics, the Northern Transvaal Region of SADTU decided to challenge the provisions of the LED ACT

47

of 1978. The SADTU members started to associate with political structures and trade unions (New Nation. July 03, 1992). For instance Northern Transvaal SADTU Region was supported by NECC SANSCO, COSAS, COSATU, ANCYL ANCWL CIVICS, SACP ANC and NOTRAPSU in 1991 in sympathy with the Dr C.N. Phatudi College lecturers. The behaviour of teachers indicated public defiance of the LED's stipulations and disrespect of the departmental officials. Hereunder were some of the incidents of defiant behaviour manifested by SADTU teachers:

- Polokwane Branch of SADTU protested against LED's attitude towards SADTU by demanding the scrapping of Workbooks and Daily preparation books (Sowetan, May 1990:4);

- SADTU members in the Konekwena Circuit threatened to remove the Circuit Inspector (Konekwena Circuit Principal's Council: 30/05/91);

- On 10/06/91 at a meeting held at Seritarita, the Mokopane SADTU Branch threatened to disband the Mahwelereng Circuit Principals' Council: 10/6/91);

- On 26/08/91 the Bolobedu SADTU Branch brought schooling in the Bolobedu Circuit to a halt. The Circuit Offices were stormed, records seized and inspectors shouted at (TUATA Sept 1991: 26).

- The C N Phatudi College lecturers ignored the LED's instruction to evacuate the Departmental houses during a dispute between the college staff and students (Report by Mokopane SADTU Branch Chairman at the Vaaltyn Combined School Committee Meeting held at Mmadikana:29.09.91).

- In the Sekhukhune, Nebo and Zebediela circuits, SADTU members were charged with misconduct by the LED because of their defiant misbehaviour (N Tvl Region: Press statement to Northern Review: December 09, 1991)

Consequently some of the SADTU members were victimised and harassed by the LED authorities (SADTU- Northern Tvl Region: FAX to the Chief Director - Lebowa)

In the meantime SADTU National Committee had organized a National Day of Teachers Action for the 7th August 1991 to press for recognition (The Star. August 08, 1991). SADTU members throughout the country "chalked down" and attended

marches, rallies and pickets.

Furthermore SADTU Northern Transvaal Region staged 'sit-ins' as from the 26 August 1991 in order to stop the LED from harassing SADTU members. The 'sit-ins' culminated into a march and a rally scheduled for the 16/09/91 at Lebowakgoma stadium demanding inter alia:

*   Payments of salaries of:

    -   two (2) principals in the Zebediela and two (2) teachers in the Konekwena circuit for January and February 1991;

    -   Some teachers in the Konekwena circuit for the date 23 - 30 May 1991;

    -   three (3) Naphuno College lecturers; and

    -   forty-two (42) Dr C N Phatudi College lecturers.

*   Constitution of commission of inquiry out of National and Regional formations to investigate issues related to teacher salaries;

*   Suspension of all arbitrary transfers of teachers (SADTU Leaflet: We March and Rally: Lebowakgomo Stadium: 16/09/91).

The outcome of this was that an agreement was signed between SADTU and the LED regarding the abovementioned issues on the 23rd September 1991 (See Annexure D). Consequently SADTU members terminated their 'sit-ins'.

At its first National Congress meeting held on the 11th and 12th October 1991 in Johannesburg, SADTU congress resolved to ask SADTU structures to embark on various forms of action to pressurize education authorities to recognise the union.

3.3.2   <u>In 1992</u>

SADTU N. Tvl Region held its Regional Conference on the 13/04/92 at Hotel Orinocco in Potgietersrus. The conference was attended by various branches as according to Constitution clause 11.2 which states that the Regional Conference shall consist of representatives appointed by each Branch committee within the Region.

Each Branch shall be entitled to one representative for every 100 paid up members or part thereof in the Branch (Constitution Booklet, 1990-1991: 15). The theme of the conference was: "Unionise for Democratic Professionalism".

On 14/04/92 the National SADTU Secretary, Randall van der Heever, outlined SADTU's position on the matter of recognition. In his address at Orinocco Hotel he stated that SADTU is having a de facto recognition and it is imperative to engage the national Ministry on a de jure recognition. Mr Randall van den Heever pointed out that he had met the LED Minister, Mr M J Mahlangu, and the two discussed lengthily the question of evaluation and inspections. He argued that the current system of inspection was designed to supervise and promote apartheid education, and that it was used to harass and to victimise the teachers. Therefore inspections should be suspended until a democratic form of inspection and evaluation have been thoroughly negotiated and developed. SADTU strongly believed that there was a need for effective and democratic control of education where the inspection process would be for the enhancement of education.

On the next day, 14/03/94, the conference discussed, in a closed session, the objectives and implementation of campaigns. The campaigns were meant to raise the level of consciousness amongst the SADTU members; to consolidate SADTU membership and to enhance active participation (see Chapter 5) and to improve working conditions of teachers. The following campaigns were to be left to the discretion of the Branches. Those campaigns were related to important documents subsidised by the Department (ET 281 - chapter 5, p. 34). The provision of those school requisites were announced in departmental circulars:

* Workbook i.e. scheming and daily preparations of work are supposed to be done by teachers and submitted to the principal once a week for endorsement.

* Time-Book: It is customary that teachers should sign their time of arrival at and time of departure from school every day.

* Log-book: This is an important administrative document recording important occurrences of a school. Excellent performances and bad behaviour of both staff and students are recorded in this book.

*   <u>Leave forms</u>: These forms are supposed to be completed by teachers who go on leave (Lebowa Government Gazette Notice no 19, vol 7, no 257: 1978.09.15)

*   Attendance of refresher courses, and participation in subject committees of the circuits.

SADTU should show strong opposition to inspections, principals, councils and their subsequent substructure, Lebowa Sports Association (LSA).

The conference took, among others, the following resolutions:

*   The LED should stop unilateral and arbitrary transfers;

*   The LED should discontinue to deduct salaries of SADTU teachers who were involved in strike actions;

*   SADTU should discuss with its attorneys on the mechanisms and forms of pressure which could be embarked upon by the union to pressurise the LED authorities to grant recognition.

Immediately after the Orinocco Hotel conference, the Bolobedu SADTU Branch members refused a panel of inspectors, led by Mr M S Moloto, permission to conduct inspection at Masalanabo High School (Sowetan, June 29, 1992:4). The Naphuno College lecturers, also were alleged to have instigated other SADTU members to defy inspectors (Leb. Times June 26, 1992: 1).

On 30/04/92 SADTU General Secretary, Mr Randall van der Heever issued a circular to Regions and Branches informing them about "SADTU's TWO DAYS OF ACTION" due in May, 1992. He requested all SADTU members to withdraw their services at work as to signal to the Departments of Education their desire to have the union recognised. The Branch Executive Committees in N Tvl Region planned marches coupled up with picketing to their respective circuits offices on the 21/5/92. On the 22/05/92 all branches would be attending a regional rally at Lebowakgomo (Mokopane SADTU Branch Regional Conference Report:13 to 14/03/92). The focus of the campaign was on:

*   the victimisation of SADTU members by the LED authorities;

*   the unilateral restructuring of education by the Government in the period of transition;

*   the non-recognition of SADTU.

In the meantime two NAPHUNO SADTU members were suspended by the LED. The Naphuno SADTU declared war of words with the LED (Sowetan June 23, 1992:5). The Naphuno teachers threatened to close down all the schools in that area. In retaliation the LED threatened to charge the teachers with misconduct and also to withhold their salaries.

The N Tvl SADTU region executive council held a meeting at Seshego on the 20/6/92 (Sowetan, June 23, 1992: 5). They resolved to ask their members not to resume teaching after the winter holidays. The decision followed the suspension of the two SADTU members in the Naphuno area (Sowetan, June 25, 1992: 4).

On 23/6/92 a meeting between the LED and SADTU was called at Lebowakgomo to iron out the differences that originated due to Naphuno issue. The meeting failed to take place because the SADTU delegation was barred from entering the LED Head office premises (Sowetan June 25, 1992: 4). This incident angered SADTU delegation. Thus the N Tvl SADTU Region Secretary, Mr Benny Boshielo, said:

>   "Education Officials were not even prepared to talk to SADTU to arrange another date. The nation must know that we have exhausted all peaceful avenues in dealing with Lebowa and now we are left with only one option of implementing our programme of action" (Sowetan, June 26, 1992:4).

The result was that N Tvl SADTU Region issued out a statement in support of the Naphuno Branch to declare war against the LED, namely to bring schooling to a halt and to evict principals and inspectors form schools in retaliation to the dismissal of the two SADTU members in the area (Lebowa Times, June 26, 1992: 1).

The LED authorities and N Tvl Region SADTU executive held a meeting at Ranch Motel on Tuesday the 7th July, 1992. The N Tvl Region SADTU executive

indicated that they sought a de facto recognition of the union only by the LED for the purpose of getting access to the departmental structures and stop order facilities. SADTU delegation made it clear that it was aware that they could not obtain a de jure recognition as education Acts in South Africa then had no provisions for recognition of teachers' unions. The two parties agreed that:

* SADTU National Office would finalise its agreement with the DET.

* SADTU National Office would sent the final agreement with the DET to LED for their considerations.

* Further discussions on this issue between the two parties would only be held after the LED shall have received and studied the contents of the final agreement with the DET (Minutes of the Ranch Motel meeting between the LED and SADTU: 7/7/93).

Meanwhile R van den Heever had issued out a circular to Regions and Branches, dated 23/7/92 with regard to a proposed general strike planned to coincide with the Mass Democratic Movement - ANC, SACP, COSATU, NECC, COSAS and SANSCO - on the 3rd tot the 7th of August 1992 (Van den Heever: 1992). The proposed programme was as follows:

* SADTU decided to embark on a two days total stay-away on the 3rd and 4th of August 1992.

* From the 5th to the 7th all members would have to go back to their schools to hold meetings with parents, students and sympathetic principals, around issues affecting teachers and students.

This programme would be undertaken to press for the following demands in Lebowa:

* Immediate reinstatement of the dismissed SADTU members in the Zebediela Circuit;

* Immediate and unconditional lifting of the suspensions of SADTU members in the Naphuno Circuit;

* The return of all transferred and seconded SADTU members to their former schools;

* The withdrawal of all charges of misconduct and intimidation against SADTU members in the Bolobedu Circuit;

*   LED to stop deducting SADTU members salaries; and

*   the immediate recognition of the union. (N Tvl Region SADTU Leaflet on Mass Action).

The fact of the matter was that the LED authorities only admitted verbally to get the demands realised, but practically that never happened. In order to compel the LED to commit itself, in writing, to SADTU recognition, SADTU N Tvl Region declared the 21 to 25 September 1992 to be a Week of Action (SADTU Mokopane Branch - Annual Report 1992). If the LED failed to comply with the demands, SADTU members would withdraw their labour indefinitely from work as from the 6/10/92. (Memo of Demands to the LED: 25/09/92)

On 28/09/92 SADTU N Tvl Region submitted a petition and memorandum of demands to the LED Minister, demanding inter alia, that:

*   Suspensions of SADTU members be withdrawn;

*   Transferred SADTU members be returned to their former schools;

*   Dismissed teachers from their posts be reinstated.

These demands were to be responded to by the LED. Failure to respond before the 2/10/92 SADTU threatened to call for an indefinite strike due with effect from the 6th October 1992.

On the same date, N Tvl SADTU Region delegation and the LED met at Holiday Inn - Pietersburg. Here the issue of recognition was resolved. The two parties agreed to sign the recognition agreement on the 5/10/92. The SADTU proposed that the recognition agreement be signed on a clean slate. This meant that the LED should solve all long pending and outstanding issues of transfers, dismissals, suspensions and charges of misconduct and intimidations on SADTU members (Boshielo, B. 1992: Fax). The LED could not comply with the SADTU's demands. The SADTU called for a general strike which commenced on the 06/10/92. The LED took SADTU to court on the 17/10/92 on charges of having declared a general strike by teachers and lecturers in the service of the LED. The court ordered SADTU to show cause on the 3rd November 1992:

*   Why it called for an illegal strike;

*   to actively promote the cessation of the said strike by all means at its disposal;

*   to pay the costs of the application (Court Order of the Supreme Court of SA: Northern Transvaal Provisional Division: Case No 20835/92).

The Court verdict necessitated a reconciliation of SADTU and the LED. The two parties entered into an agreement on the 19/10/92 in Pietersburg that SADTU would adhere to the terms of the Court order, while the LED would agree to the temporary reinstatement of and the lifting of suspensions on SADTU members as from the 20/10/92.

3.4   LEBOWA DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION'S (LED) REACTION TO SADTU'S DEMANDS

The aim of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU) is to unite teachers and educationist and to work for a non-racial just and democratic education system in a free democratic South Africa (SADTU Constitution Booklet, 1991:2). To get this aim realised, SADTU had to campaign for recognition of the union (par 3 above) through its various regional and branch structures. Thus negotiations for recognition by Northern Transvaal Region of SADTU in Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda.

LED had adopted an open-door policy to give organisations and individuals freedom to air their views and grievances, and had treated the marches of and meetings with protestors as part of the educationally accepted processes of communication, consultation, consensus, comprehension, co-operation and coordination (LED, Annual Report, 1990:20). But LED could not allow freedom of expression and association to degenerate into intimidation, school disruptions, lawlessness and violence (Chief Minister's Speech: Makgoebaskloof Hotel: 1991.07.25). Consequently the LED reacted against teachers who contravened the department's stipulations or defied departmental officials. LED employed various ways to punish or reprimand defiance by teachers:

*   Three SADTU members attached to Zebediela and one in the Bohlabela

circuits have been dismissed by the LED in 1991 (Bosheilo, 1992: FAX Report);

* The LED charged certain Bohlabela Circuit principals with misconduct for failing to submit names of teachers who absented themselves from work during strikes (Boshielo, 1992: Fax Report);

* LED charged SADTU members with misconduct for alleged disloyalty and insubordination in the Bochum, Naphuno and Mogodumo circuits. Such teachers were transferred to other schools and others were suspended (Boshielo, 1992: Fax Report);

* Deductions have been made from the salaries of certain SADTU members in the Zebediela and Konekwena circuits and C N Phatudi College of Education lecturers (SADTU N Tvl Region Leaflet: We March and RAlly: Lebowakgomo: 16/09/91).

The dismissals, transfers and suspensions, charges of misconduct and deduction made on teachers salaries by the LED aggravated matters (SADTU N Tvl Region: Petition & Memo of Demands to Minister of DNE). Realising the increasing defiant behaviour of SADTU members, LED tried to channel their angers and energies into more legimate and less disruptive forms of political behaviour by offering incentives to the union leaders or by co-opting others. Thus the constitution of a <u>Commission of Inquiry into the education Crisis in Lebowa</u> under Kgoshi M M Marishane, included teacher organisations, LED Officials, Civic associations, SRC's, School committees, community leaders and the Magoshi (LEB Times, Aug 24, 1991: 1). The LED believed that there should be a single non-racial education department for all in the country. That should remove all the imbalances and disparities in the education system. Another striking example is the appointment and the inclusion of two SADTU members in the <u>monitoring committee</u> to monitor the implementation of the agreement signed on the 23rd September 1991 in order to stop a week old strike (LED & SADTU Agreement: 23 September 1991 - Annexure D).

The LED held a number of meetings with the wider public in order to rob SADTU of the public support. <u>Addressing Officers of Education on the 25 August 1991 at</u>

Magoebaskloof, The chief Minister of Lebowa, Mr N M Ramodike could not understand why should teachers allow themselves to be shaken by the winds of change South Africa is going through to the extent that they put down their tools by staging 'sit-ins' and 'chalk-downs' in the name of the struggle against Apartheid. Is this not tantamount to extinguishing the educational fire we need for a liberated South Africa? He further appealed to all educationists in Lebowa not to lose sight of the primary purpose of education. He condemned SADTU by saying that Lebowa is now sitting with a new and disheartening danger of the minority teachers who refuse to teach and who are busy imposing their will and leadership on the majority of teachers and intimidate them to stage 'sit-ins'.

Attempting to win the confidence of the Mashashane parent body, the LED Minister, Mr M J Mahlangu, appealed to them not to allow their children to be used as political pawns by SADTU members (LEB Times, July 3, 1992:2). He further warned that teachers who absented themselves from work for 14 days would automatically have dismissed themselves. The LED could not afford to pay its employees for no work done. Reiterating what Mr Mahlangu had said, the chief Minister said that the homelands' attitude towards such teachers would be "chalks down, cheques down" (Sowetan, July 1, 1992: 4).

Regarding group leaders and groups that were more disruptive or who spurned concessions offered by the LED, (such teachers) were singled out for more arbitrary police action or for more formal legal harassments through congregational investigation or through courts. For example, the LED charged four (4) Bolobedu and two (2) Naphuno SADTU members with intimidation related to inspections (Boshielo, 1992: Fax). The Bolobedu members appeared in Ga-Kgapane magistrate court on the 24/08/92 and 18/09/92, while the Naphuno teachers appeared in the Lenyenye Magistrate Court on the 25/08/92 and the 17/09/92 (A Petition and Memo of demands to the LED Minister: 28/09/92).

3.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The above discussion presents an analytical development of a teacher protest movement in Lebowa during period, 1989-1992, in terms of history, recognition and reaction of the government to the activities of the protesting teachers.

Originally all teachers belonged to a traditional professional organisation called TUATA. TUATA co-ordinated the professional activities of its members and sought to advance its members interests by polite lobbying of the Department of Education and Training (DET) in general and the LED, in particular. Some characteristics features of TUATA were, inter alia, opposition to strike and putting teachers interests second to those of pupils.

In the 1980's, NOTTU, i.e. NEUSA'a offshoot, was founded in the Northern Transvaal. NOTTU was a progressive teacher organisation, whose members behaved differently from the Tuatans. NOTTU was a militant teacher's union, members of which were highly politicized. They wanted to transform education radically. They sought to destroy Apartheid education and everything that was related to it. A case in point, here, was the scrapping of workbook systems in 1990 (Sowetan, May 10, 1990: 4). NOTTU nurtured strike action and placed the interests of teachers first at the expense of the pupil. NOTTU was, therefore, diametrically opposed to TUATA's views. Vadi (1992: 50) argues that a teacher in the 1980's, was either a member of a union or a professional association. Belonging to both was impossible.

Since its formation in October 1990, the South African Democratic Union has emerged as an attractive alternative to the traditional professional teacher association. SADTU intended to blend professionalism and unionism although its activities emphasized more union-related matters than professional issues. SADTU conceives professionalism and unionism as two sides of the same coin. That is why Randall van den Heever (Vadi, 1992: 50) contends that unionism and professionalism are not mutually exclusive concepts that are necessarily opposed to each other. SADTU tries to harmonise the traditional professionalism practised by TUATA on the one hand, with the radical attitude of the militant progressive teacher organisation (e.g. NOTTU) on the other hand. Thus SADTU seeks, to use Mao Tse Tung's words

58

(Hoogeveldt, 1978: 167-169), 'to walk on two legs'. For instance, SADTU drafted a professional code of conduct which defines a member's relationship with and responsibilities to the employer, the student, the parent and to a fellow teacher (See Annexure E). This professional code of conduct stipulates minimum standards of professional conduct of teachers. Any SADTU member who is alleged to have violated the standards of the profession and the provisions of the code, may be subject to disciplinary actions by the union and/or the education ministry. In addition, SADTU has embarked on professional development projects as Teacher Appraisal project (Annexure F). Parallel to these teacher development programmes, SADTU embarked on several forms of mass action in defense of their members' interests. For example, in September 1991 SADTU's Northern Transvaal Region had actively supported the strike by Lebowa teachers in solidarity with Nine [9] Dr. C.N. Phatudi College of Education lecturers. Similarly, SADTU has successfully campaigned against the LED's victimization and harassment of politically active SADTU members in Lebowa (Vadi, 1992: 50).

SADTU (N. Tvl Region) struggled for recognition by the LED. To accomplish this, SADTU engaged in campaigns of different forms. The LED minister claimed that the existing legal provisions did not allow for the recognition of a teachers' union such as SADTU. Through pressure from SADTU a *de facto* recognition was offered by the LED to SADTU while negotiations for a national collective bargaining mechanism were being entered into by the South African government and SADTU National body.

It must be indicated that the LED insisted that errors are redressed through official channels of communication, which have proved to be ineffective. The result was that individual teachers suffered harassment and intimidation (e.g. salary cuts, transfers, suspensions, etc.) by the statutory power. In the 1990's a new awareness among the protesting teachers arose viz collective actions. Teachers in collective actions took the forms of mass action such as chalk down, go slows in schools and defiance against bureaucratic inspectors. Initially the LED, in retaliation, applied the principle of 'no work no pay'. Despite such harsh retaliation by the LED, the protesting teachers continued with their collective actions. Ultimately LED bureaucrats were compelled to heed the grievances of the protesting teachers.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONDITIONS UNDERLYING TEACHER COLLECTIVE ACTIONS

4.1   INTRODUCTION

In paragraph 2.3.4 above Popenoe defined social movement as a non-institutionalized effort to change society through collective action. Wallace & Wolf (1980: 122) consider change as a pervasive and structural aspect of social life. Education - occurring within the confines of social life - has to undergo change as well. In South Africa, the existing structures and vested interests, material constraints, the interplay of competing ideologies and the processes of negotiations produce compromises between the proponents of different ideologies. Such negotiations may take the form of political manipulations, whereby the interest groups bring pressure to bear on the political authority, which involves the initiation of change by members of the teaching profession (Archer, 1984).

The position of anyone of the different education actors is determined by the following factors (McGregor and McGregor, 1992: 7):

*   distribution and the extent of control over the key resources of power, wealth and expertise;

*   accessibility of the political centre to influence;

*   the extent of decentralization of control in education.

These factors interact with the competing ideologies in the society to determine the nature of education system change. This, then, implies that change in education is contingent on the interaction of agents of change, the structure and ideologies. To analyze social change requires a thorough examination of the system itself and the broader social context which shapes it and is shaped by it (McGregor and McGregor, 1992: 18).

In this chapter attempts will be made to explore how history and the main features

of the education system and the broader societal context contributed towards the contemporary teacher collective actions.

Education in South Africa has always been a major focus of the grievances of the African people. The reason for this is the realization that education is a powerful weapon. Depriving a people access to proper education is tantamount to denying them their right to be human. Accessibility to education would have enabled them to participate meaningfully in a modern socio-economic environment. Injustices committed by the White South African regime can be traced in the history of educational development.

The current crisis in education can be directly attributed to the different education systems, adopted during apartheid era. Apartheid education started with the introduction of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. Bantu Education emphasized pure academic tuition at the expense of technical and commercial skills (Van Aardt, 1994: 26). Dickie-Clark (1979) argues that many careers based on technical and commercial curricula were closed to blacks because of job reservation legislation, policies and practices. The following are some of the legacies of Bantu Education Act of 1953:

* different standards of schooling for Blacks and Whites.
* White education was conceived as superior to black education.
* The education facilities of Blacks were hardly conducive to learning, and
* White pupils' funding was much higher than that of Black pupils.

These legacies made it impossible for many Blacks to receive proper education and therefore they were unable to compete favourably for more senior jobs on an equal footing with their white counterparts. The legacies of Apartheid Education became - with the course of time, of course - questionable amongst the disadvantaged and victims of Apartheid.

In this chapter an attempt will be made to examine existing conditions in which a teacher protest action could take root. The discussion will be approached from different points of view: Socio-political, educational, administrative and financial.

61

4.2   SOCIO-POLITICAL CONDITIONS:

The socio-political conditions will emphasize the structural conduciveness and strain as suggested by Smelser (1962). Structural conduciveness and strain are insufficient to cause a collective behaviourial episode to occur. Thus Smelser (1970: 14) contends that many determinants or necessary conditions must be present for any kind of collective episode to occur. In this regard Justice Cillie (1980: 578) in the Commission for the 1976 Soweto riots commented that socio-political conditions were undoubtedly a factor which, together with so many others, helped to create a state of mind in which rebelliousness could be easily stirred up. Jakkie Cilliers refers to structural conduciveness as " ... opportunity structures for collective behaviour in a community. These not only refer to racial or ethnic or class composition of that society, but may also refer to situational conditions such as geographical location and outlay of a particular area, the composition of the inhabitant population, the extent of unemployment, ..." (1989: 177) Structural strain, according to Smelser (1962: 51) refers to a condition of ambiguity to the adequacy for a given end. He further views strain as an impairment of relations among social elements and consequently inadequate functioning of the components of action (1962: 47).

In order to determine the presence of structural conduciveness and strain and their contributions to the events of teacher collective behaviour, the following factors will be examined:
*   Apartheid Education and its aftermaths.
*   Bantu Authority Act and ethnicity.
*   Marxist ideology and its impact.
*   The effects of the Freedom Charter on teachers.
*   Colonialism and occurrences in the neighbouring independent Black States.

4.2.1   Apartheid Education and its aftermaths:

Apartheid means segregation or discrimination. This implies social processes which

result in certain individuals or social groups being kept apart with little or no interaction between them (Marshall, 1994: 469).

Education in our country has been instrumental in dividing people, whereas it is known to be a uniting factor. Apartheid education has basically been divided into 4 departments corresponding well with racial groupings: Houses of <u>Assembly</u>, <u>Delegates</u> and <u>Representatives</u> and Department of <u>Education and Training</u>. The Department of Education and Training is further divided into satellite departments in the Homelands of <u>Venda</u>, <u>Gazankulu</u>, <u>Lebowa</u>, <u>Kangwane</u>, <u>Kwandebele</u>, <u>Bophuthatswana</u>, <u>Qwa-Qwa</u>, <u>KwaZulu</u>, <u>Ciskei</u> and Transkei. Dr Mandela in his inaugural speech at the launch of SADTU in Johannesburg on 6 December 1990, commented that there are 14 departments in one country (SADTU Commemorative Journal, 1990: 4).

In chapter 3 (i.e. Case history of teacher protest movement) above it has been indicated that the South African teaching corps is divided along racial lines, e.g. ATASA (Blacks); UTASA (Coloureds); TASA (Indians) SATA and SAOU (Whites). Manning (1991: 97) argues that apartheid education espouses a heterogenous nature of teaching populace. Various teacher organisations have different expectations. Often within an interest group there are various individuals with conflicting demands or ideas.

4.2.2 <u>The Impact of Bantu Authority Act and ethnicity on African Teachers:</u>

In terms of this Act the total Black population has been classified in accordance with ethnic differences (Wiechers, 1989: 9). A special constitutional dispensation was devised to divide the Blacks into ten (10) traditional homelands or Bantustans. This implied an ethnic classification of Blacks and subsequently, an ethnic distribution of schools. Resultantly teachers were automatically to be distributed as such. This magnified the whole problem of ethnicity.

ATASA's policy has been that of non-ethnicity. Consequently, Mr R L Peteni, the

Vice President of ATASA has once commented that his organisation does not believe in isolation, and even if Bantustans became a reality, we would like to communicate with each other without difficulty" (TUATA, vol 1, no 7, 1972: 5). The Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu, Dr M.G. Buthelezi, also stressed that there is nothing really Sotho, Xhosa, Tswana, Venda, Pedi or Zulu about Black problems of education in South Africa (TUATA vol 1, no 7, 1972: 9). Mandela (1989: 48) argues that through Bantu Authority Act and similar measures the African people were being broken into small tribal units, isolated from one another. The result was that teachers were classified and categorised ethnically. These classifications and categorisation of teachers ethnically, would prevent the rise and development of a national consciousness among them; that is, would be fostering a narrow and insulated ethnic outlook (Mandela, 1989: 48). In this disposition teachers would have very little or no means of expressing their grievances. Such means were closed off for ATASA except through memoranda and petitions, most of which went unheeded.

Because black people were supposed to find a political and economic future in the Bantustans, the flow towards the white cities was restricted to the utmost (Wiechers, 1991: 9). As a matter of fact, a Black was not allowed to remain for more than 72 hours in a black township outside the homelands, unless he had been born there or had worked there and lawfully resided there for at least 15 years. This was an influx control measure instituted to curb the flow of Blacks into urban areas. The regulation provided, inter alia, that no Black had the right to seek work where he wanted to or of the kind which he desired; all work-seekers had to go through a Labour Bureau; and employers had to make monthly endorsements in their employee's passbooks (Brooks, 1968: 97). The regulation did not please teachers.

ATASA noted with deep concern the inconvenience caused to teachers and pupils by the application of influx control regulations and wished to recommend that teachers accepting posts in urban areas be exempted from the application of such regulations, because education, according to them, knows no boundaries (TUATA vol 1, no 7, 1972: 5).

4.2.3 Marxist ideology, conflict theory and their impacts:

Marxism is an ideology which owes its origin from the conception of society that history progresses through contradictions within a system, requiring periodically a more or less violent reorganisation or synthesis, and stresses unification of opposites, relativity of truth, etc.

The Marxists regard economic forces as responsible for the class structure of society; and history is essentially the history of economic classes, their rise and fall, dominance and exploitation. Each period contains the seeds of its down-fall. Capitalism, for instance, became economically restrictive; it is also forced to bring into existence an ever growing propertyless proletariat organized on a mass scale, which will eventually seize power and, in turn, dominate society.

Marxist ideologies align themselves with the following assumptions as suggested by Spencer and Inkeles (1982: 558) that:

*   every social system is, at every moment, subject to the process of change i.e. change is ubiquitous;
*   every social system displays, at every moment, dissensus and conflict, i.e. conflict is ubiquitous;
*   every element in a social system renders a contribution to its disintegration and change;
*   every social system is based on the coercion of some of its members by others.

The above-mentioned assumptions had a direct bearing also on conditions in Lebowa during 1989-1992 period. This was a period of transition throughout the country. Teachers demanded educational transformation (LED Annual Report, 1990: 4). This state of affairs generated conflicts between the LED authorities and the teachers. For example, issues at Naphuno College and Masalanabo High School where teachers showed utter disrespect and disloyalty for authority. Teachers joined forces to pressurise the LED for changes. The LED retaliated by victimising and harassing teachers by way of transfers; dismissals; suspensions; etc.

Marxists share the above assumptions with conflict dialectal theorists e.g. Dahrendorf (Timasheff and Theoddorson, 1976: 2790281). Like the Marxists, Dahrendorf stress conflict as a source of social change. He (Wallace and Wolf, 1990: 122) maintains

65

that conflict and change are pervasive and structural aspects of social life. Societies are always in a state of conflict over scarce resources. One such a resource is power (Dahrendorf, 1968: 138). Dahrendorf (Popenoe, 1990: 93) views society as an arena in which there is a constant struggle for power in societies. He believes that those with power will pursue their interests, and those without, will pursue theirs. Their interests, therefore, are necessarily different. Sooner or later balance between power and opposition shifts, and society changes. It is therefore clear that opposing interests have in them seeds of conflict and competition. Thus, conflict is the greatest creative force of human history.

Imbued with the marxist ideology, progressive teacher-organisations mentioned (in par 3.2.2) above attempted to overthrow the existing order. SACS (1989-1990: 196) - through the mouth of Mr Mandela - maintained that the liberation of the working class from the joke of subordination and exploitation cannot be effected by reforms, as reactionaries and the liberals often advise, but by revolution. One must therefore, be a revolutionary and not a reformist.

The Apartheid regime consequently banned all revolutionary movements by introducing restrictive laws and similar measures to suppress all forms of democratic dissent. State terror against the oppressed became the order of the day. Alas, repression elicited the militancy of the people.

In 1990 many political movements were unbanned, political prisoners were released and many political exiles returned home (South Africa). This created a new political climate throughout the country. In Lebowa the political climate created, added a dimension in which marches were staged by students, teachers and community members to hand over petitions for demands at educational institution, in particular at Head Office and Circuit Offices (LED Annual Reports, 1990: 20).

4.2.4 Colonialism and occurrences in the neighbouring independent Black States:

South Africa is not an isolated island. The country is part of Southern Africa, sharing borders with Mozambique in the North-eastern; Zimbabwe in the north, Botswana and Angola in the northwestern.

Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola have replaced the old oppressive orders by liberation movements, namely Frelimo in Mozambique, MPLA in Angola and

66

ZIMLA in Rhodesia. The new rulers are members of the liberation movements - revolutionary organisations - who engaged in armed struggle against colonial empires. In Mozambique and Angola, for example, the protracted nature of war which increasingly involved Portugal in financial liability, eventually reached the extent where certain members of the Portuguese armed forces considered a political solution to be essential. Their dissatisfaction led to a military coup in Portugal. Consequently Frelimo and APLA - the most powerful of the nationalist organisations - in Mozambique and Angola respectively came to power. Power (as mentioned under 4.2.3) is one of the scarce resources over which societies and groups are constantly in struggling. In this case the powerful colonial empires pursued their own interests different from those without. In due course balance between power of the colonial empire, and opposition of the liberation movements shifted, and the societies changed.

The policies of the Frelimo, MPLA and ZIMLA were to follow a system of scientific - socialism and adherence to typical Marxist-Leninist principles. These are manifested in four properties, viz

*   the exceptional role of the party-elite;

*   the totalitarian nature of the ruling party;

*   pursuit of socialist ideology; and

*   faith in the innate historical mission of the party.

The historical mission - to which the liberation movements avowed - has been set forth in seven theses that may be summarised as follows (African Institute Bulletin, vol 8, 1977; 211):

*   A definite connection exists between the liberation struggle against colonialism and class struggle,

*   the class-struggle was waged and eventually won by the workers;

*   the worker in the liberated state creates a new man, one free of subservience;

*   the worker similarly creates a vanguard party of the worker-peasant alliance, guided by the scientific ideology of the proletariat;

*   development of agriculture, industry and heavy industry destroys imperialistic domination;

*   the revolution forms part of the world revolution of the world proletariat; and finally,

*   the party and the masses are committed to the building of a people's democracy.

67

The happenings in Mozambique, Angola and Rhodesia must have had an impact on the Blacks in South Africa. Blacks became convinced that the minority White Regime could be tackled head-on and be overcome. Callinicos and Rogers (1977: 157) contended that the victories in Mozambique and Angola by the Frelimo and MPLA respectively, helped to instill in Black South Africans the confidence that their white rulers could be taken-on and be beaten. Testifying to the Cillie commission (1980:580) Helen Suzmann echoed the same sentiment that the occurrences beyond our borders in Mozambique and Angola and Rhodesia have not escaped their (Blacks) notice.

Liberation movements in South Africa consider freedom struggle as a racial class struggle in which all whites are capitalists and oppressors; and all Blacks as the oppressed and workers (SACS, 1989-1990: 197). The racial class struggle suggests a dislocation or disjointedness of the constituent parts of and their inadequate functioning in the attainment of goals. The fact is that some of the parts may be deprived of the rights and others privileged. Such a state of affair may arouse discontentment. Oommen (1990: 30) confirms this by the following quotation:
" … they may be deprived in terms of wealth, power or privileges or all of them."

4.2.5   Freedom Charter and its effects on African teachers:

The Freedom Charter was first made known to the South African population - known as the Congress of the People - on June 26, 1955 at Kliptown in Johannesburg. A few years thereafter it was adopted as an underlying constitution of the ANC. The non-racial ANC became popular among all population groups. Grobler (1988: 113) argues by the mid-fifties the time had come that the activities of all the people had to be given a clear political and ideological content. The people decided that a document in the form of the Freedom Charter would be their political programme - a blueprint for future South Africa. Resultantly a larger number of protest leaders

- including Mandela - were apprehended on charges of treason in 1956. Nelson Mandela, personally, wrote that (Grobler, 1988: 113) the charter was a revolutionary document. The opening paragraph of the Freedom Charter states in categoric terms that: "South Africa belongs to all inhabitants in it, black and white" (Grobler, 1988: 112). Therefore no government could justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people. The Freedom Charter is divided into ten sections, each of which is headed by a demand. Demands are expression of a strain, a deprivation or discontent in a social system. Hereunder are the ten points of the Freedom Charter as outlined by Motlhabi (1983: 96):

* The people shall govern!
* The national groups shall share in the country's wealth!
* The People shall share in the country's wealth!
* The land shall be shared among those who work it!
* All shall be equal before the law!
* All shall enjoy equal human rights!
* There shall be work and security!
* The doors of learning and of culture shall be opened to all!
* There shall be houses, security and comfort!
* There shall be peace and friendship!

The concluding paragraph is a pledge: <u>These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty</u>.

The contents of the Freedom Charter - the researcher so believes - may be paraphrased as follows in order to manifest the ANC's aims:

* the unification of all people in SA in the struggle against discrimination;
* to safeguard the interests of Africans in general;
* to strive for franchise rights for all adults in a democratic South Africa; and
* to support the demands for independence of all Africans and other nations of the world.

Of what significance is the Freedom Charter to contemporary teachers? In 1983 the United Democratic Front (UDF) - an offshoot of ANC was established (Republic of South Africa Official Year Book, 1990-1992: 43). Welcoming all members of all population groups, who endorse the principles of the Freedom charter, the UDF had aimed at objecting against the government's constitutional plans. The following organisations affiliated to UDF:

* SANSCO: South African National Student's Congress
* NUSAS: National Union of South African Students
* COSAS: Congress of South African Students
* COSATU: Congress of South African Trade Union

Of special concern for this investigation is COSATU.

On the 2nd to the 8th April, 1988 all teacher organisations attended a seminar outside the boundaries of South Africa in Harare with the sole intent of forming a National Teacher Unity Forum. Participants present agreed that:

* ANC and the Freedom Charter will provide the necessary guidance; and
* COSATU will facilitate the establishment of the Teacher Unity (SADTU: Commemorative Journal, 1991: 2, 12).

The following teacher organisations have been part of the Unity process and were as such expected to sign a Unity agreement on the 30 September 1990 (Teacher Unity Agreement Document: Draft no 3: 1,4).

* ATASA: African Teachers' Association of South Africa
* NEUSA: National Education Union of South Africa
* UTASA: Union of Teachers' Association of South Africa
* TASA: Teachers' Association of South Africa
* MATU: Mamelodi Teachers' Union
* ELPTU: East London Progressive Teachers' Union
* ECTU: Eastern Cape Teachers' Union

* WECTU: Western Cape Teachers' Union
* DETU: Democratic Teachers' Union
* EDASA: Education for Democratic & Aware South Africa
* PTL: Progressive Teachers' League
* PTU: Progressive Teachers' Union
* TTA: Transvaal Teachers' Association
* NTS: Natal Teachers' Society

The significance about the abovementioned teacher organisations was to draft a working document and to initiate a discussion between the associations and their affiliates on what ought to be attended to in concluding an unity agreement (Teacher Unity Agreement, 1990: 1).

Because of the influences exerted by the Freedom Charter, the role played by COSATU and separatism practised in the country, the teacher organisations agreed to establish a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic body of teachers. This became known as the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU). SADTU adopted the following document as a Draft Teachers' Charter.

DRAFT TEACHERS CHARTER

1. Teachers shall have the right to job security tenure. The employment of teachers should be free from any form of discrimination on the grounds of race, sex, religion, political opinion or class.
2. Teachers shall have the right to unionise, collective bargaining, organisation and recruitment.
3. Teachers shall have the right to freedom of association and political expression.
4. Teachers shall have the right to a contractual relationship with employers. Appointments should be public.
5. Parent-Teacher-Student Associations (PTSA) and Parent-Teacher Associations (PTA) should be established in order to share control of the schools with

community or curriculum, budget allocation and to resist privatisation and elitist education.

6. Teachers shall have the right to control any form of media directly relating to education.

7. Teachers shall have the right to professional development.

8. Teachers shall have the right to affirmative action in order to secure the rights of women teachers. Sexism in schools must be abolished. This includes all forms of sexual harassment.

9. Teachers shall have the right to a living wage.

10. Teachers shall have the right to work in a healthy and safe environment as well as the right to adequate teaching resources.

11. Teachers shall have the right to appeal to a tribunal or industrial court as well as a say in the appointment of the members of the tribunal or industrial court; as well as participation therein.

12. Teachers shall have the right to teach or work in the institutions of their choice.

It is important here to mention that all the twelve points of the Draft Teachers' Charter, are enshrined in the objectives and aims of SADTU. These are, according to the SADTU constitution (1990: 2-4; Vadi 1993) the following:

* To strive for democratisation of education and to fight bureaucracy, hierarchy and favouritism in the institutions.

* To strive for a single educational department.

* To strive for a free, universal and compulsory education system.

* To strive towards an educational system quantitatively and qualitatively appropriate the needs of the learner, the community and a democratic society.

4.3 BANTU EDUCATION IS INFERIOR - A GENERALISED BELIEF

Most of the factors hereunder originated as a result of the introduction of Bantu Education in 1953. Education received by whites was superior to Black education (Van Aardt, 1994: 26). It became a generalised belief that Black education is inferior.

A generalised belief originates when the source of strain is identified, certain characteristics are attributed to the source, and certain responses to the strain are specified as possible and appropriate (Smelser, 1976: 16). From 1948 to 1991 the policy of Apartheid in South Africa enforced the segregation of Whites and non-Whites in marriage, area of residence and employment, in public and private services (Gordon, 1993: 469). The South African Government introduced Bantu Education most probably to marry the education system to the Apartheid system (Feit, 1967: 158). The Bantu Education is characterised by poor provisioning of educational facilities, appalling working conditions for teachers in terms of salaries, accommodation, workloads, etc., and limited participation in decision-making powers (LED Annual Report, 1990: 20). This section examines how the generalised belief, that Bantu Education is inferior, underlie teacher collective actions. The discussion will centre around demographic, financial, administrative, etc. conditions.

4.3.1 Demographic factors:

The following issues will be discussed:

a. Pupil - teacher ratio;

b. Pupil - classroom ratio;

c. drop-out rate and repeaters;

d. St 10 results and

e. literacy.

4.3.1.1 A high pupil-teacher ratio

According to DET (1989: 216) and SAIRR (1990: 795) the pupil-teacher ratios of the four racial groups in South Africa in 1988 was as follows:

TABLE 1: Pupil:teacher ratios according to racial groups (1989)

White	Indian	Coloured	Black
17:1	20:1	23:1	38:1

(SAIRR, 1990: 795, 825, 829).

Note that the ratio for Blacks is more than twice the ratio of Whites .

The Department of Development Aid (1987) reports that the average black Pupil-teacher ratio for 1986 has been 44,2 for the Selfgoverning territories against 37,5 for the rest of the RSA. This showed a difference of 6,7.

In 1987 the Lebowa average pupil-teacher ratio for primary schools has been 44,3 against 38,2 for secondary schools (Dept of Development Aid, 1987). From 1980 to 1991 the Lebowa pupil:teacher ratios have been as follows:

TABLE 2:   Lebowa Primary and Secondary Schools Pupil:teacher ratios (1980-1991)

Year	Primary	Secondary
1980	58:1	39:1
1986	44:1	38:1
1990	41:1	36:1
1991	39:1	33:1

(DBSA, 1990: 105; LED Annual Report, 1991: 41)

The above pupil-teacher ratios are unacceptable because an acceptable ratio, according to UNESCO stipulations, is 25:1. It will be noted that the abovementioned ratio's in Lebowa ratios include unqualified teachers who need to be replaced by qualified teachers (LED, Annual Report 1991: 43). Consequently we may rightly say that Black teachers are overloaded. This implies a need for the creation of additional teaching posts. This will bring about improved working conditions for teachers in terms of workloads.

4.3.1.2   A high Pupil:classroom ratio

In 1986 the average pupil:classroom ratio in self-governing territories was 62,5 as compared to 43,6 for the rest of the RSA (DET 1986: Dept of Development Aid, 1987).

From 1980 to 1991 Lebowa pupil:classroom ratio's were as follows:

TABLE 3:   Lebowa Primary and Secondary Schools Pupil:classroom ratios (1980-1991)

Year	Primary	Secondary
1980	67:1	50:1
1986	67:1	62:1
1990	61:1	63:1
1991	61:1	64:1

(DBSA, 1990: 105; LED Annual Report 1990 & 1991)

The above pupil:classroom ratio's reflect a severe classroom shortage. This suggests an immediate need for more classrooms. According to UNESCO's stipulation an acceptable ratio is 35:1. If the LED intends to achieve this stipulation, the number of classrooms should be doubled.

These pupil:classroom ratio's illustrate further that the quality of education for Blacks have suffered for a long time, and the necessary infrastructure for the future provision of quality education for the black pupils has not been established (Van Aardt, 1994: 33). Observing the conditions under which black education is going on, Dr Wollheim (Horell, 1963: 55) once wrote that the conditions are appalling, the buildings in most cases consist of tin shanties or wattle daub huts in which crammed two to three times the number of pupils which the room could hold.

4.3.1.3   A high drop-out rate and repeaters

Except for the Black children, school attendance has been compulsory between the ages of 7 and 16. Blacks leave schooling at any stage or time as they wished. Non-compulsory attendance gave rise to a high drop-out rate among the black pupils. Tony Manning (1991: 98) maintains that more than 20% of the Black pupils leave schools without having passed sub std A; only 55% passes std 4 and only 15% passes std. 10. In contrast to this, 73% of the white pupils pass std 10.

The following diagrams attempt to illustrate the composition of white and black enrolments as in 1988 (HSRC 1990: 166-167).

FIGURE 1: COMPOSITION OF BLACK PUPIL ENROLMENT, 1988
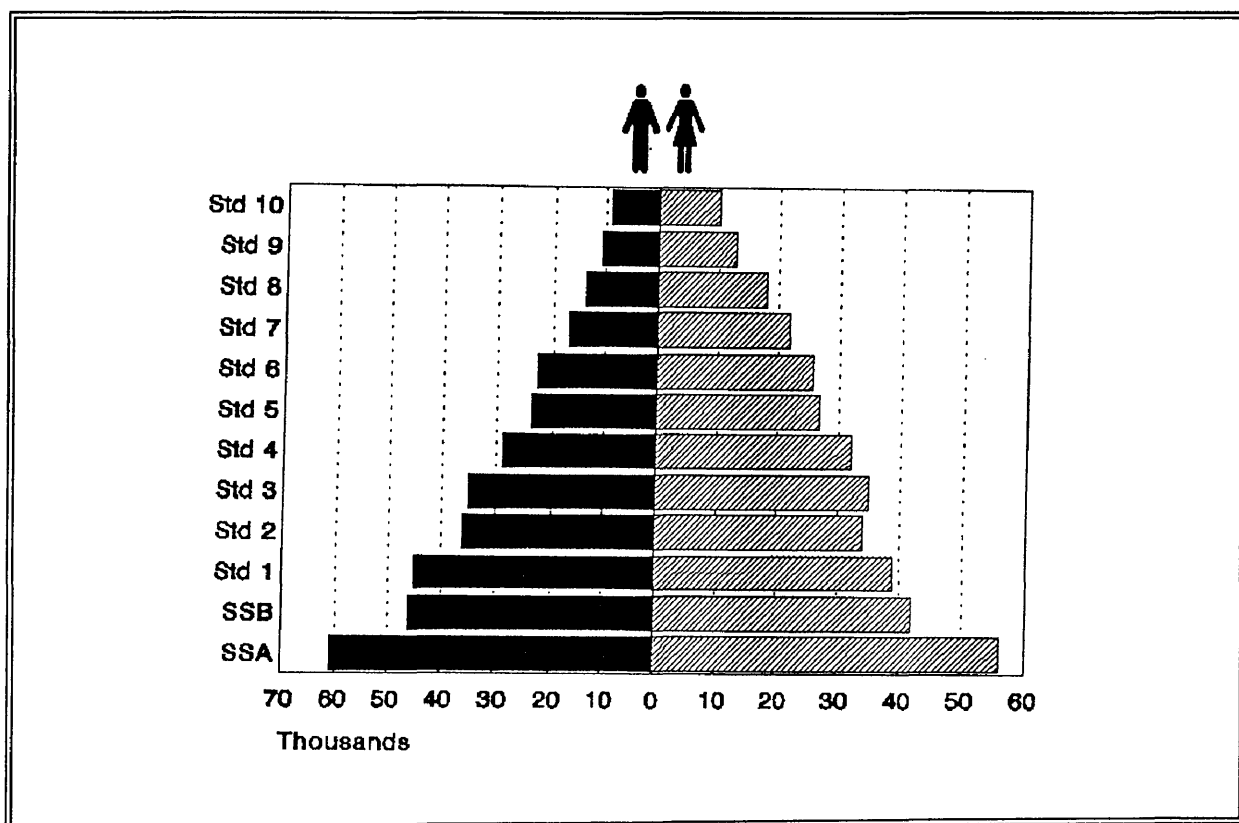
(HSRC, 1990: 166)

The above diagram indicates a proportionately larger number of pupils in the lower standards. This phenomenon can be ascribed, inter alia, to the large number of repeaters, the

outflow of pupils from, and the back flow of some pupils to schools.

FIGURE 2: COMPOSITION OF WHITE PUPIL ENROLMENT, 1988
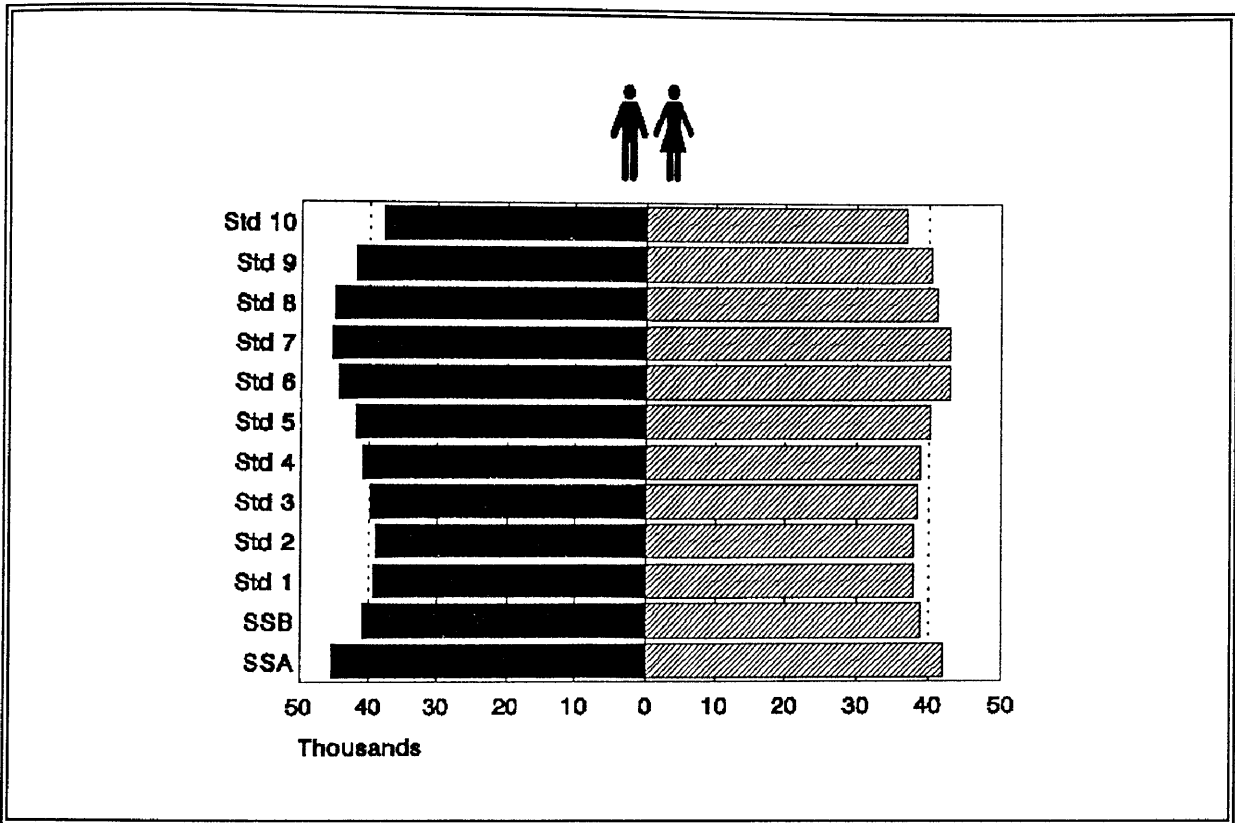
(HSRC, 1990: 167)

The higher percentage of pupil enrolment in the junior secondary phase than in the senior primary phase may be due, inter alia, to a reduction in the birth rates since 1977.

Lebowa drop-out rate in 1991 may be represented by the following statistical numbers:

TABLE 4:   Lebowa schools drop-out rate according to type in 1991

	Primary	Secondary	Total
Initial enrolment	625 336	341 233	966 569
No. wrote exams	584 972	315 078	900 050
No. dropped-out	40 364	26 155	66 519

(LED, Annual Report, 1991: 39, 41 & 42)

77

The statistical figures above indicate that 66 519 pupils dropped-out from schools, most probably, because black education is inferior.

Furthermore, the repeaters for Lebowa schools, according to type and standard in 1990, were as follows:

TABLE 5: Lebowa schools repeaters according to type, standard and sex (1990)

STANDARD	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
Sub-standard A:	1 210	697	1 907
Sub-standard B:	1 604	846	2 450
Standard 1:	5 903	3 109	9 012
Standard 2:	4 991	2 733	7 724
Standard 3:	4 938	2 845	7 783
Standard 4:	3 572	2 334	5 906
Standard 5:	2 997	2 175	5 172
Primary total:	25 215	14 739	39 954
Standard 6:	4 580	3 779	8 359
Standard 7:	3 962	3 849	7 811
Standard 8:	3 669	3 728	7 397
Standard 9:	3 676	4 105	7 781
Standard 10:	11 464	14 937	26 401
Secondary total:	27 351	30 398	57 749
GRAND TOTAL:	**52 566**	**45 137**	**97 703**

(LED Annual Report, 1990: 103)

Repeaters in 1991 were 67 536 and 87 609 for primary and secondary schools respectively. That totalled to 155 145 (LED Annual Report, 1991: 121). This suggests that there has been 57 442 repeaters in 1991, of which 27 582 and 29 860 were from

primary and secondary schools respectively.

4.3.1.4 Poor Std 10 Results

In the following tables the statistics will indicate and support the generalized belief that Bantu Education is inferior. In 1988 the std 10 pass rates in South Africa were as follows:

TABLE 6: Std 10 - Pass rates according to racial groupings in 1988

White education	Indian Education	Coloured Education	Bantu Education
96%	93%	72,7%	40,7%

(DET, 1989: 216)

The pass percentage in respect of Blacks is 55,3% worse than the white percentage.

Table 7 on the next page illustrates the pass percentages of Lebowa std 10 results during the period between 1982 to 1988:

* Although from 1982 to 1988 the number of candidates who wrote std 10 increased by 33 852, only 5 896 managed to obtain Matric exemption out of 43 188.

* Only one candidate during this period obtained an A-pass during the 1987 examinations.

* During this period the number of candidates who failed increased by 14 940.

TABLE 7: Lebowa: Department of Education summary of standard 10 examination results from 1982 to 1988.

1982	NUMBER ENTERED	NUMBER WROTE	PASS MATRIC	PASS SENIOR	TOTAL PASS	FAIL	F	EE	E	D	C	B	A
		9336	944	3706	4650	4686	2219	1375	643	368	38	7	-
AVERAGE%		100.0	10.1	38.7	49.8	50.2	23.8	14.7	6.8	3.4	0.4	0.1	-
1983	9506	9088	1001	3878	4879	4209	3028	1487	740	342	41	4	-
AVERAGE%	100.0	95.6	11.0	42.7	53.7	46.3	33.3	16.4	8.1	3.8	0.4	0.04	-
1984	11275	10956	1466	4688	6154	4802	2738	1803	1919	513	70	11	-
AVERAGE%	100.0	97.2	13.4	42.8	56.2	43.8	25.0	16.5	9.3	4.7	0.6	0.1	-
1985	15000	14479	1605	5328	6933	7546	2903	2147	1116	663	98	6	-
AVERAGE%	100.0	96.5	11.1	36.8	47.9	52.1	20.1	14.8	7.7	4.6	0.7	0.04	-
1986	21210	20281	1728	6756	8484	11797	3685	2676	1368	669	78	8	-
AVERAGE%	100.0	95.6	8.5	33.3	41.8	58.2	43.4	31.5	16.1	8.0	0.9	0.1	-
1987	33043	31585	4814	12310	17124	14461	6655	5337	3055	1883	181	12	1
AVERAGE%	100.0	95.6	15.2	39.0	54.2	45.8	21.1	16.9	9.7	8.0	0.6	0.04	0.003
1988	43262	43188	6840	16722	23562	19626	8685	7656	4603	2393	216	9	-
AVERAGE%	100.0	99.8	15.8	38.7	54.6	45.4	20.1	17.7	10.7	5.5	0.5	0.02	-
AVERAGE%	IMPROVED	-	5.7	-	4.8			3.0	3.9	2.1	0.1		-
	DECLINED		-			4.8	3.7					0.08	-

(LED - EXAMINATION SECTION, 1982-1988)

4.3.1.5   A low literacy rate

Literacy is defined by Wedepohl (1984: 5) thus: "A person is literate when he has acquired essential knowledge and skills which enable him to engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning in his group and community and whose attainment in reading, writing and arithmetic make it possible for him to continue to use these skills towards his own and community development."

Bhola (1984: 10) regards literacy as "a way of preparing man for social, civic and economic role. Reading and writing should lead not only to elementary general knowledge but to training for work, increased productivity, a greater participation in civic life and a better understanding of the surrounding world and should open the way to human culture".

Illiteracy is a common phenomenon in South Africa, particularly among the Blacks. In education, for example, more than 50% of Black teachers were considered underqualified - i.e. with less than 3 Years teachers' certificates - in 1988. This may be illustrated by the following figures on racial basis:

TABLE 8:   Illiteracy according to racial groups in 1988

White Education	Indian Education	Coloured Education	Bantu Education
0%	2%	45%	52%

(DET, 1989: 216; SAIRR, 1990: 795, 825 & 829)

The fact of the matter was that the admission requirement for teachers training among the blacks was std 8 against std lO for the whites. This was an indication that Bantu education was inferior.

Resultantly, there is a pronounced shortage of well-qualified black teachers. According to Van Aardt, (1994: 33) by 1991 only 3,4% of all black teachers had

81

degrees, and 30% of all black teachers did not have a matric qualification. Literacy in Lebowa, according to DBSA (1985), has been as follows:

TABLE 9: <u>Level of Literacy in Lebowa (1985)</u>

Level of literacy	Lebowa % qualifications according to standard
% unknown	41,5%
SS-A to std 7	46,9%
Between stds 7 and 9	9,2%
Std 10 and higher	2,4%

(Department of Development Aid, 1990: 8)

This means that less than half (46,9) of the Lebowa population was qualified up to primary level. Only 11,6% of the population had secondary and higher qualifications. The qualifications for a greater percentage of the population is unknown.

In Table 10 below we attempt to indicate the qualifications of primary and post-primary (secondary) teachers in Lebowa as in 1990:

TABLE 10: LEBOWA TEACHERS ACCORDING TO QUALIFICATIONS IN 1990

	Without std 10	Std 10 + prof.	Degree + prof.	B.A.Hons or B.Ed	M-Degree	Total qualified	Unquali-fied	GRAND TOTAL
PRIMARY SCHOOLS	3 783	8 997	74	7	-	12 861	1 820	14 681
POST-PRIMARY SCHOOLS	16	7 220	1 078	268	37	8 619	320	8 939
TOTAL	3 799	16 217	1 152	275	37	21 480	2 140	23 620
%	16,1	68,7	4,9	1,1	0,1	90,9	9,1	100
	84,8	6,1						

(LED Annual Report, 1990: 108 & 110)

The above statistics support the generalised belief that Bantu Education in Lebowa is inferior. Only 6,1% of Lebowa teachers in 1990 had degrees whereas 84,8% possessed matric or lower qualifications, while 9.1% were without profession.

4.3.2 Physical conditions

With regard to provisioning of physical facilities Kallaway (1992: 32) maintains that the distribution of resources has been fixed in favour of the whites. Blacks are experiencing the most deprived education of all groups. This fact is supported by Dr Dhlomo, then Minister of Education - Kwa-Zulu, - addressing UCT-Conference on "Curriculum Innovation in South Africa" (on the 14-16 Jan, 1981) when he said: "African education is in short supply of everything except pupils".

There is a great shortage of physical facilities in Lebowa Education Department. LED, Annual Report, (1991: 43) reports the following inadequate supply and poor provisioning of facilities: <u>Classrooms and furniture, libraries and library facilities, basic education media and equipment and books</u>.

Schools are <u>not fenced</u> and are not provided with <u>water</u>. No attempt is being made to help the communities to find water in the form of boreholes. School physical environments are like deserts because it is difficult to do tree-planting or gardening.

Sporting facilities are in a horrible state. Pupils have no playgrounds. This has been left in the hands of the principals and communities to organise scrapers to clear up playing grounds.

The condition of toilet facilities in the schools is not satisfactory. Education has to happen in a healthy environment. Toilet facilities can be a health hazard in the schools.

4.3.3 Administrative conditions

Selfe (1990: 12) reports that Bantu Education has 14 departments. This state of affairs in Bantu Education produced administrative chaos. The many departments resulted into extensive white and black bureaucracies in education. The growing machinery and state control of education, in addition to the other 'little empires' (Malherbe,

1977: 14) has aggravated problems of bureaucracy with its attendant evils of poor communication, wastage of funds, inefficiency, inflexibility and conservatism. Hereunder follow some of the examples of misuses and mismanagement of funds in Lebowa:

*   The De Meyer Commission revealed two key figures of the LED as possible culprits in the irregularities that have resulted in the misuse of State funds (Sowetan, June 2, 1989: 1)

*   Mr P W Botha, then the State President, launched a one-man commission to investigate appropriation of the Lebowa Revenue Fund. The Decker Commission also demanded that the then Minister of Finance in Lebowa to pay back R22 474,34 of a R140 000 loan granted to him by the Lebowa Development Corporation (LDC) (Financial Mail, vol 112, no 9, of June 9. 1989: 48).

*   Three senior Lebowa Education Department officials, one of them, the chief Education planner, have been suspended following allegations of misuse of funds, amounting to more than R5 million (Sowetan, Sept 26, 1989: 1).

*   In the "City Press" (Nov 19, 1989:2) the De Meyer Commission inquires about R6 million book profit of Bookshop owned by Head of the LED.

*   On pages 1 and 2 of December 1st, 1989 issue of "Lebowa Times", it has been reported how the De Meyer Commission revealed R15 million misappropriation of funds in the LED.

*   Sowetan (Dec 5, 1989: 2) reported that the Pietersburg Banks dishonoured salary cheque vouchers for Lebowa teachers and other officials of the Lebowa government due to insufficient funds.

*   "Mirror" (June 15, 1990: 6) recorded an announcement by the then LED Minister to the Legislative Assembly that books worth R3 million were concealed at various places in Lebowa such as circuit offices, community halls, magistrates courts, as well as in showgrounds.

4.3.4 Financial conditions

The budgetary vote allocated for education determines the quality of education a child

85

will receive. This implies that inadequate financing for education ensures inadequate availability of basic facilities for effective learning to occur. From Apartheid education disparities, inequalities and inadequacies ensued. Van Aardt (1994:33) asserts that the per capita expenditure (PCE) on white pupils is substantively higher than the per capita expenditure (PCE) on black pupils.

* Addressing ATASA Annual Conference - East London: 03.01.90 on Manpower Curriculum Development and the role of education, Prof W L Nkhuhlu quoted the per capita expenditure (PCE) (excluding capital expenditure) for 1986/87 financial year for racial groups as follows:

TABLE 11: <u>Per capita Expenditure of Pupils according to racial group during 1986/1987 period</u>

White pupil PCE	Indian pupil PCE	Coloured pupil PCE	Black pupil PCE
R2 299	R1 714,03	R887,08	R368,56

(Nkhuhlu, 1990: 22)

This statistical data reflect the following:

- The difference between white and black per capita expenditures was R1930-00 in favour of a white pupil;
    - The black PCE makes only 16% of white PCE;
- Black per capita expenditure is the lowest among all racial groups.

* Increased per capita expenditure on primary and secondary education (including capital expenditure) for both black and white pupils during the 1980/81 to 1986/87 financial years period were, according to Grobbelaar (1989), as follows:

TABLE 12:   Comparison of PCE between White and Black pupils from 1980/81 to 1986/87

	White	Black
PCE including capital expenditure	From R1 027-00 to R2 508-00	From R176-00 to R477-00
Increased by	R1 481-00	R301-00

(Grobbelaar, 1989: 9)

The statistical information reflects that:

- R477 is 19% of the white pupil PCE.

- R301 (Black PCE increase) is 20% of the white PCE (R1 481-00).

* Du Plessis et al (1990) compiled the following comparative education statistics in 1989:

TABLE 13:   Comparative Racial PCE statistics in 1989

	White Education	Indian Education	Coloured Education	Black Education
PCE inclu= ding capital expenditure	R3 082-00	R2 227-01	R1 359-78	R764-73

(McGregor and McGregor, 1992: 22)

The statistical data reveal that:

- Black Education PCE (R764-73) is 25% of the White Education PCE, i.e.

White Education PCE is 75% more than the Black Education PCE.

- The sum total of Indian and Black Education PCE's is less than White Education PCE by R90-26.

- The sum total of Coloured and Black Education PCE's is less than White Education PCE by R957-54. This difference is more than Black Education PCE by R192-81. The disparities are rather severe.

* The financing of education in Lebowa has ever since been problematic. Lebowa bantustan is not self-sufficient and self-supportive. Lebowa Legislative Assembly receives money from the South African government, but a greater percentage of the budget for education is only enough for payments of teachers' salaries. The following table will illustrate the Lebowa Legislative Assembly's budgetary vote towards education for 1984/1985 to 1989/90 financial years.

TABLE 14: Lebowa Legislative ssembly Budgetary Vote towards education: 1984-1989 Financial Years

Financial year	Total budget	Amount voted for salaries	Salaries as % of total budget
1984/85	91 251 000	81 337 730	89%
1985/86	130 523 000	122 763 690	94%
1986/87	205 303 000	182 127 500	89%
1987/88	341 448 000	346 353 550	72%
1988/89	453 350 000	319 426 434	70%
1989/90	573 527 970	418 089 073	73%

(LED, Finance section: 1990).

We observe from the statistics that teachers' salaries consume a lion's share of the budgetary vote each financial year. Very little amounts remain to cater for the provision of such essential facilities as classrooms, laboratories, libraries, teaching and learning aids. This is confirmed by TUATA (vol 3, no 5, June 1962) that "schools were forced to go for months without the necessary record books (scheme and preparation books, registers, etc). Chalk was constantly in short supply. Parents were forced to pay many taxes and levies towards additional tax, school fees, education levies, private teachers funds, building funds, etc".

4.3.5 Educational conditions

I have already mentioned that Bantu Education gave rise to educational neglect of generations of black pupils. I further argued that a situation was created where blacks were not taught commercial and technical skills, but received only pure academic tuition. That is clearly demonstrated in the following figure where a number of first Bachelors degrees were compared by way of careers and population groups (1976-

1987) by the Human Science Research Council in 1990:

FIGURE 3: <u>The number of first Baccalaureus Degress by career and Population group:</u>
<u>1976-1987</u>

Thousands
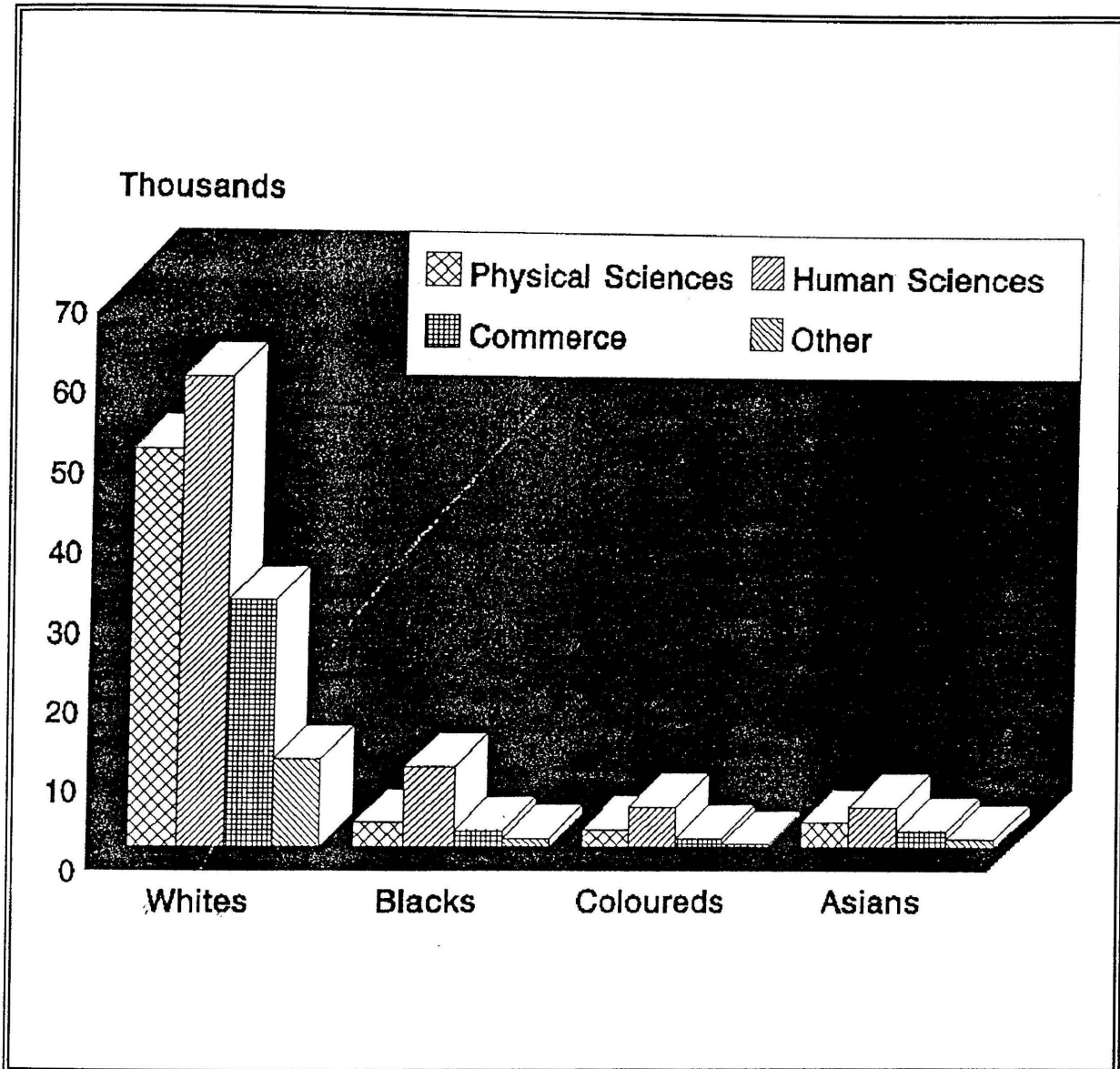
(HSRC, 1990: 162)

* Less than 5000 physical sciences (i.e. less than 10%) careers were produced among the blacks as against 50 000 white careers in Physical Sciences.

* 60 000 White social sciences careers were produced against only about 10 black careers.

90

*   About 2 500 black commercial careers were produced against 35 000 white.

In the same vein LED secondary schools provide tuition mostly in the humanities (social sciences). Very few schools offer subjects in the natural sciences due to shortage of adequately qualified science, mathematics and technical teachers; and lack of science equipment. Commercial subjects also are offered at few schools. The whole Lebowa has one technical and one agricultural high school (LED, Annual Report,1990: 27-28).

4.4   SUMMARY

This chapter discussed the conditions underlying teacher collective actions. The argument centred around a generalised belief that Bantu education is inferior. A generalised belief, according to Spencer and Inkeles (1982: 492) is a kind of shared ideology, a system of meaning that calls for certain responses. In the same light Smelser (1962: 51) maintains that a generalised belief identifies the source of strain, attributes certain characteristics to this source, and specifies certain responses to the strain as possible and appropriate. Generalised beliefs are one stage in the total value-added process by which the occurrences of episodes of collective behaviour are accounted for (Smelser, 1962: 80). Fundamental to the explanation of Smelser's theory of collective behaviour is the concept of <u>strain</u>. Strain is a condition of ambiguity as to the adequacy of means for a given end (Smelser, 1962: 51). Furthermore Smelser (1962: 47) regards strain as an impairment of the relations among social elements, and consequently inadequate functioning of the components of action. The significance of generalised beliefs are therefore:

*   to transform an ambiguous situation into an absolute potent general threat;

*   to reduce ambiguity by positing absolutely efficacious general facilities;

*   to involve agents or objects perceived as a general threat or obstacle. They restructure mobilization for motivation of organised actions, and are responsible for scapegoating and in extreme cases, mob violence.

*   to envision the reconstitution of a threatened normative structure. That leads

to formation of norm-orientated movements such as SADTU. SADTU is geared towards transformating the education system. In its endeavour to achieve this goal, SADTU stimulated the formation of a counter-movement of teachers called NAPTOSA (TUATA, September 1991: 10-12).

* to envision reconstruction of a threatened value system. This leads to the formation of value-orientated movements e.g. political, religious, revolutionary, nationalistic, secessions, etc.

A generalised belief identifies a source of strain of a particular component of action. For instance, value-orientated beliefs arise when alternative means for reconstructing the social situation are perceived as unavailable. The unavailability is evidenced:

* among the politically disinherited people: South African Non-Whites are without franchise. They possess no facilities whereby they may be enabled to reconstitute the social situation. Such a group ranks low in wealth, power and prestige or access to means of communication;

* when the aggrieved group prevented from expressing its hostility that would punish the group responsible for the disturbing state of affairs; and

* when the government is inflexible i.e. when it is displaying rigidity for reform by groups in the population.

Beliefs may also be norm-orientated. In South Africa education and training of the Blacks under apartheid is characterised, among other, by the following features:

* the system is fragmented along racial and ethnic lines. The education system is divided into 14 departments. (SADTU commemorative Journal, 1991: 5).

* there is a lack of access or unequal access to education (See FIG 5 and Tables 11, 12, 13).

* there is a high illiteracy rates (See Tables 8 & 9), there is a lack of an effective educational system (compare the pass rates in Table 6 and See Table 7 - Summary of the LED Std 10 examination results) and the working conditions of teachers were appalling, for example, high teacher;pupil ratios (Tables 1 & 2) high pupil: classroom ratios (Table 3). All these were indicative of the fact that people and communities were denied their own

cultural expression.

Once the generalised beliefs has crystallized, the response to the strain become collective because the aggrieved group share a common definition of the situation. Hence the formation of resistance and liberation movements such as the ANC, PAC and BCM, in the case of the component of value, and teachers' and students' movements such as SADTU and COSAS in the case of norms. For example, conditions of work and employment for African teachers in South African has been limited to demands for normative change. Any disharmony that prevailed between the normative standards and the social conditions provided the basis for the modification of normative structure. Education Acts in South Africa prohibited teachers to bargain collectively. That led to the formation of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU). SADTU threatened to alter the normative order.

On the other hand it should be noted that norm-orientated movements such as SADTU can be interpreted as a form of more inclusive value-orientated movements, such as ANC, PAC, etc., of the same period. To use Smelser's (1962: 119) words, 'the adherents to norm-oriented movements justify their programme in terms of higher values of a society. Conversely it is impossible to justify the aims of a movement in terms of the values of a society if those values are, by themselves, problematic. Bantu Education was rejected because it formed part of Apartheid as a system of domination.

In the following chapter we will address how the collective belief of teachers were transformed as well as mobilization and participation in SADTU collective action.

93

CHAPTER FIVE

TRANSFORMATION OF COLLECTIVE BELIEFS, MOBILIZATION AND PARTICIPATION IN THE SADTU

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter it was indicated how structural factors, i.e. discontent, hardships, etc - facilitated the formation of social movements. This chapter attempts to examine how discontent was generated among teachers and how teachers became convinced that movement participation is an effective way of redressing grievances (Klandermans, 1992: 3). Our approach will be such that the protesting teachers in Lebowa behaved in accordance with a perceived reality. The approach takes into account mediating processes through which teachers attributed meaning to events and interpreted situations. Grievances were to be used as such and utilized tactfully by self-conscious actors. The concepts of mobilization and participation will form the pivot of the whole discussion.

Mobilization, for instance, is an attempt by a movement organisation to win participation, i.e. persuading people to support the movement by material and non-material means (Klandermans, 1984: 584). Participation in social movements (Klandermans, 1988: 176) takes place in the context of:

* the formation of mobilization potential. This means that the movement organisation must win attitudinal and ideological support;

* the formation and activation of recruitment networks. This implies an increasing of the probability that people who "belong" to the mobilization potential will be reached;

* the arousal of the motivation to participate in order to influence favourably the decisions of the people who are reached by mobilization attempts, and

* the removal of barriers to participation i.e. increasing the probability that people who are motivated will eventually participate.

The efforts of a social movement organisation to mobilize support have two different ends: **Consensus and action mobilisation.**

* **Consensus mobilisation** is a process through which a social movement organisation tries to obtain support for its viewpoints (Klandermans, 1988: 176). Consensus mobilisation bears resemblances to the spread of generalised beliefs (Smelser, 1971). Consensus mobilisation has to do with the propagation of the views of the movement. According to Gamson et al (1982: 15) consensus mobilisation refers to the process of replacing a dominant belief system that legitimises the status quo with an alternative belief system that supports collective action for change. Turner (1969) stresses the importance, for mobilisation, of defining the situation as unjust.

* **Action mobilisation** is a process by which an organisation in a social movement calls up people to participate (Klandermans, 1984: 586). Action mobilisation has to do with the promotion of participation in activities organized by the movement. Action mobilisation, in Gamson's (1975) terms, activaties commitment while consensus mobilisation creates commitment.

This chapter emphasises deliberate attempts of SADTU to mobilise consensus among the protesting teachers. First, consensus mobilisation will be treated under frame alignment processes, namely **frame bridging, frame amplification and frame transformation,** and willingness to participate. Next I will discuss how four group processes, namely **consciousness-raising, collective empowerment, polarisation** and **collective decision-making,** create a willingness to sacrifice personal welfare for a collective cause. Following will be a section that addresses the question of how consensus is mobilised and of what strategies and tactics are used. I will show how the characteristics of SADTU, messages, channels and audience influence the success of consensus mobilisation.

5.2 FRAME ALIGNMENT

By frame alignment, Snow et al (1986: 464) refer to the linkages of individual interpretive orientation, such that some set of individuals interests, values and beliefs and social movement organisation activities, goals and ideology are congruent and complementary. We may paraphrase the definition of frame alignment as the conjunctions of individual and social movement organisation interpretive frame works. According to Goffman (1974: 21) the term, 'frame', denotes **schemata of interpretation** that enable individuals to locate, perceive, identify and label occurrences within their life spaces and the world at large. Snow et al (1986) maintain that by rendering events or occurrences meaningful, frames function to organize experience and guide action, whether individual or collective. Viewed in this manner it becomes self-evident that frame alignment is a necessary condition for movement participation.

According to Snow et al (1986: 467 - 476) there are four types of frame alignment processes: **Frame bridging, frame amplification, frame transformation and frame extension.** For this purpose the first three will be discussed.

5.2.1 Frame bridging

Frame bridging refers to the linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem. Such bridging can occur at the organisational and individual level. A case in point for bridging at an organisations level has been the invitation of a range of South African teacher bodies to Harare in April 1988 by the All African Teachers' Organisation (AATO) and the World Confederation of Organisation of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP) to discuss the matter of teacher unity in South Africa (Moll, 1989: 69 - 70). The Congress of South Africa Trade Union (COSATU) also convened a meeting subsequent to the Harare proposals to facilitate unity talks. The outcome of such meetings was that unity talks had taken shape by the end of 1988 in Western Cape

96

and Natal; while in 1987 regional teacher unity structures were established in Eastern Cape and Transvaal.

At an individual level frame bridging involves the linkage of a social movement organisation with what McCarthy (1986) has referred to as unmobilised sentiment pools or public opinion preference clusters. Sentiment pools are aggregates of individuals who share common grievances and attributional orientations, but who lack the organisational base for expressing their discontents and for acting in pursuit of their interests. For these sentiment pools, collective action is not preceded by consciousness or frame transformation, but by being structurally connected with an ideologically isomorphic social movement organisation. The protesting teachers in Lebowa shared common grievances against the LED. Through SADTU, the protesting teachers spoke with a single resonant voice on the issues that affected them (Mseleku, 1990: 2).

5.2.2 Frame amplification

Frame amplification refers to the clarification and invigoration of an interpretive frame that bears on a particular issue, problem or set of events (Snow et al, 1986: 469). Because the meaning of events and their connections to the SADTU teachers' immediate life situations were shrouded by indifference, deception of fabrication (structure) by others and ambiguity or uncertainty, support for participation in movement activities was frequently contingent on the clarification and reinvigoration of an interpretive frame. Thus two varieties of frame amplification were identifiable: **Value** and **belief amplifications.**

5.2.2.1 Value amplification

This refers to the identification, idealisation and elevation of one or more values presumed basic to prospective constituents but which have not inspired collective actions for any number of reasons. SADTU teachers preferred a democratic education system against Apartheid education because that system has been supported

by a lack of opportunities for expression due to a repressive authority structure. Apartheid has never been - to use Turner & Killian's words (1972) - challenged and threatened. In terms of Snow et al (1986: 469) if these impediments to value articulation and expression were operative, then the recruitment and mobilisation of prospective teachers will require the elevation of values relevant to democracy.

5.2.2.2   Belief amplification

Bem (1970: 4) conceives beliefs as referring to presumed relationships between two things or between something and a characteristic of it. This may be examplified by such presumptions as: **Capitalists are exploiters (SACS, 1989/90: 197)** and **Bantu Education is inferior**. Whereas value amplification (in 5.2.2.1) refers to the goals that the movement seek to attain or promote, belief amplification can be construed as ideational elements that cognitively support or impede action in pursuit of desired values.

From the study of frame alignment, micromobilisation, and movement participation (Snow et al, 1986: 464 - 481) it appears that to effect successful mobilisation and participation the Lebowa SADTU teachers had five kinds of beliefs:

*   beliefs about the seriousness of the problem, issue or grievance in question;

*   beliefs about the locus of casualty or blame;

*   stereotypic beliefs about antagonists or targets of influence;

*   beliefs about the probability of change or efficiency of collective action; and

*   beliefs about the necessity and propriety of standing up.

Snow et. al. (1986) contend that the nature of action toward any object is contingent, in part, on beliefs about that object. Participation in SADTU activities to change institutional practises in the LED was given a positive articulation between beliefs about the object of action and the nature of that action. The relationship between beliefs and lines of action was antithetical or contradictory. Consequently, SADTU teachers realised participation in protest movement activities as dependent on the amplification of the foregoing beliefs.

98

The efforts of SADTU teachers to mobilise all teachers to oppose the continuance of apartheid and Bantu Education provide a graphic example. Apartheid education has been used to foster the stereotypes (Brookes, 1968: 57); it has been used to inculcate a sense of superiority among Whites, while preparing Blacks for certain categories of jobs only. The entire apartheid framework has distorted the thinking and behaviour of the Blacks. The struggle for a democratic future has meant freeing the Blacks from apartheid ideology (SADTU Commemorative Journal, 1990: 5). SADTU committed itself to democracy, unity and non-sexism. Apartheid was consequently portrayed as a significant threat to the development of the Blacks. Effective mobilisation required thus a more negatively evaluated target of opposition. All LED structures i.e. Principals' councils, school committees, Student Representative Councils, Lebowa School Sports Association, etc., LED officials and non-collaborating principals provided examples of such a target.

Principals' Council, in particular, was targeted by SADTU because it represented the lowest level of the LED's top-down administrative management hierarchy. Membership to Principals' Council was obligatory to all headmasters of schools, i.e. all principals automatically became members by virtue of the appointment into this portfolio. In fact the LED argued this view from the premise that principals teachers were in control of schools and the staff thereof (Lebowa Government Gazette, 1986: 3). The principals' councils allied with the LED, upheld the LED's status quo and nurtured the oppresive and dictatorial activities of the LED in particular, and apartheid system in general. The role of principals' was to coordinate the affairs of Circuits with schools (teachers and pupils). The Principal's councils facilitated the dissemination of information from Head Office to schools.

Further beliefs about the probability of change or the efficacy of collective action propose that social action is contingent on anticipated outcomes (Klandermans, 1984). SADTU teachers believed that collective action was efficacious, i.e. namely that change was possible but that it would not happen automatically, without collective action (Snow et al, 1986: 470). To bring the LED to its knees (SADTU N-Tvl Leaflet: We March and Rally: Lebowakgomo Stadium) SADTU members acted

collectively and believed that change was necessary but it should be initiated by themselves. The SADTU members believed that they did not only have a right, but a responsibility to tell the LED authorities when they have gone against their wishes. Optimism about the outcome of SADTU collective action would thus enhance a probability of participation; pessimism would diminish it.

Beliefs about the necessity refer to the beliefs about the instrumentality of one's own efforts in pursuit of some movement objective (Snow et al, 1986: 471). Such beliefs are often of the "If-I-don't-do-it-no-one-will" kind and thus rooted, in part, in pessimism about the prospects of other potential participants taking up the sword. SADTU members were more pessimistic about non-SADTU members' willingness to make active contributions and therefore believed that if they wanted something done, they would have to do it themselves.

5.2.2.3   Frame transformation

Frame transformation refers to "the redefinition of activities, events and biographies that are already meaningful from the standpoint of some primary framework, in terms of another framework, such that they are now seen by the participants to be something quite else" (Snow et al, 1986: 474). According to Goffman (1974: 45) what is involved is a systematic alteration that radically reconstitutes what is for the participants that which is going on. The programmes and values that the teacher protest movement (SADTU) promoted, however, did not resonate with, and appeared antithetical to the conventional practices of the LED. SADTU members nurtured new values; old meanings and understandings were jettisoned (discarded) and erroneous beliefs were reframed in order to garner support and secure participants. That implied that the normatively accepted structure of the LED should be viewed as problematic, unjust and needing reparation. The protesting teachers viewed the LED as needing overhauling either in part or as a whole to make it congruent with the teacher protest movements's frame.

Transformation of beliefs in the LED was a necessary phenomenon that sought

100

dramatic changes in the status quo and the treatment or activities of teachers. In this context Gamson et al (1982: 15) refers to the process of replacing a dominant belief system that legitimises the status quo with an alternative mobilising belief system that supports collective action for change. For instance, for many years TUATA teachers believed that through the organisation, change could be effected and finally Apartheid could be done away with. Many memoranda to the authorities of education were written by teachers, but no appropriate and adequate responses to their grievances were received (TUATA vol 6, no 1, 1964; TUATA vol 6, no 1, March 1979). It, therefore, became sociologically axiomatic that some new tactics were necessary to bring about change. New militant teacher organisations were established to reframe the norms of education. In the Northern Transvaal, the Northern Transvaal Teachers' Union (NOTTU) was established.

5.3 EXPECTANCY-VALUE THEORY: THE WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE

Expectation-value models in Psychology comprise such concepts as attitudes, motivation, choice and decision. The motivation for a certain behaviour is a function of the expectation that it will yield certain outcomes and the values of those outcomes (Mitchell, 1974). Klandermans (1984: 584) regards expectancy-value theory as a rational-choice theory. He maintains that participation in a social movement is the result of rational decision processes whereby people weigh the **costs** and **benefits** of participation. He goes on to say that a person will participate in a social movement if he knows the opportunities to participate, if he is capable of using one or more of those opportunities, and if he is willing to participate (1984: 585).

The key elements of this theory are **expected** outcomes (expectations) and the **value** of these outcomes. Klandermans points out that even if the value of an outcome is very high, it will not motivate individuals as long as they do not believe that the outcome can be produced by their efforts. Rational-choice frame becomes useful in so far as it provides a device for the systematic analysis of a variety of beliefs, expectations and attitudes that are related to social movement participation.

The elements of value and expectation are well spelt out in the explanation of the willingness to participate. This explanation will be done with the aid of a distinction between **collective** and **selective incentives**.

5.3.1 Collective benefits and participation

Every social movement has goals. The goals of social movements are collective goods. Collective goals are produced precisely because people are aware that the collective good would never be produced if everyone sat back and waited for someone else to do something (Schwartz, 1976). The object of SADTU was to obtain a collective good, namely to reform the LED, in particular, and to overthrow Lebowa bantustan government in general (SADTU N-Tvl Region Leaflet: Down with Ramodike). SADTU members strove for the downfall of the LED and to go forward with their demands for a single democratic education department in South Africa. That would be a collective good for all. Therefore the participation of every SADTU member was necessary to contribute to the probability of this success.

The individual contribution to the probability of success introduces us to the fundamental issue, namely, that persons have to decide to participate in a social movement at a point when they do not know whether others will participate. Although people don't know what others will do, they have expectations regarding the role they are supposed to play. Successful role-expectation is important in motivating people to participate in social movement activities (Oberschall, 1980). The expectation that participation helps to produce collective good is categorised by Klandermans (1984: 585) as follows:

* expectations about the number of participants;

* expectations about one's own contribution to the probability of success; and

* expectations about the probability of success if many people participated.

These expectations combine with the values of collective good to produce the expected collective benefits of participation.

5.3.2 Selective Incentives and Participation

Participation in social movement activities may be selective, rewarding or punishing only to those who participate. For example:

*   The incidence of the two SADTU Naphuno Branch members earned approval and support of the Northern Transvaal Region of SADTU who declared a war of words with the LED (Sowetan, June 23, 1992: 5).

*   Kone-Kwena Branch of SADTU gained prestige by threatening to remove the Konekwena Circuit Inspector from his office (Konekwena Circuit Principals'Council meeting minutes: 30 May 1991).

*   It was also an heroic act for the Mokopane Branch of SADTU to attempt to disband the Mahwelereng Circuit Principals' Council (Mahwelereng Circuit Principals' Council meeting minutes: 10 June 1991).

Some of the examples of selective punishing incentives were the following:

*   The SADTU Northern Transvaal Region Deputy - chairperson, Mr Thobejane, reported on the 9 December 1991 the intimidation, harassment and discharge of certain teachers in the Zebediela, Sekhukhune and Nebo circuits by the LED (Press Report to Northern Review; SADTU Mokopane Branch: Regional Conference Report, 1992: 2 (4.4).

*   Teachers in the Nebo Branch of SADTU were subjected to repression, viz, by being harassed, intimidated, dismissed and charged with misconduct for being activists (Nebo SADTU Memo of demands to the LED: 25 September 1992).

*   The Assistant General Secretary of SADTU Northern Transvaal Region, Mr N J Buthelezi, reported harassment, victimizations, transfers, dismissals and charges of misconduct by the LED in the Bolobedu, Bohlabela, Naphuno, Phalaborwa and Zebediela circuits. Those harassments continued unabated and consequently contributing to the decline of SADTU teachers' morale (SADTU N Tvl Region: A Petition and Memo of Demands to the LED Minister: 28 September 1992).

It is worth mentioning, here, that stay-aways and strikes occurred in this territory. Going on strike depended on each teachers' decision. Some teachers lost their salaries, for example:

*   two (2) principals and two (2) teachers in the Zebediela and Konokwena circuits respectively sacrificed their income for a group cause. This was also the case with three and forty-two lecturers of Maphuno and C N Phatudi colleges of education respectively (LED and SADTU Agreement: 23 September 1991).

Teachers decided to participate actively in the 1991 and 1992 strikes because they believed that collective action would be successful; that mass action would materialize and that the LED authorities would be pressurized to respond to their demands.

5.4 GROUP PROCESSES IN RECRUITMENT AND COMMITMENT TO A TEACHER PROTEST MOVEMENT IN LEBOWA

Group processes are effective in explaining recruitment and commitment in protest movements. The following discussion provides an explanation of recruitment and commitment to a Lebowa teacher protest movement. It emphasises how four group processes, namely **Consciousness raising, collective improvement, polarisation and collective decision-making,** create a willingness to sacrifice personal welfare for a collective cause.

5.4.1 Consciousness-raising

Potential recruits are not likely to join a protest movement unless they develop an ideological commitment to the group cause and believe that non-institutional means can further that cause. Consciousness-raising involves a group discussion where such beliefs are created or reinforced. Consciousness-raising occurred among Lebowa teachers who realised that they had a problem of common concern, viz Apartheid policy and its tentacles. This problem could not be solved through routine political

processes. Teachers under the leadership of Mr Kganakga attended a meeting of various teacher organisations from the 4 to 8 April 1988 in Harare. At this meeting the teachers were conscientised to abide by the principle and practice of non-collaboration with all structures of Apartheid System (Moll, 1989) and to commit themselves to the realisation of people's education in South Africa. Lebowa bantustan and the LED were not to be collaborated with. The LED was conceived as a bureaucratic, hierarchical and oppressive structure that teachers should work against. In the same way the "Lebowa Times" (May 11, 1990) reported the meeting of teachers in Mahwelereng near Potgietersrus, discussing moves to form a single body to protect and promote the rights of teachers as workers and professionals. In this meeting the movement activists tried to convince the potential recruits that - to use Hyslop's words (1989: 94) - institutional means or political lobbying by TUATA, has been unsuccessful and that morally committed individuals must fight for their cause.

Consciousness-raising is facilitated in non-hierarchical, loosely face-to-face settings that are isolated from persons of power (Hirsch, 1990: 245). Hence the Harare meeting in Zimbabwe (See Chapter 2, p 23) and the Orinocco Hotel meeting in Potgietersrus, where the discussions went on under closed doors on the 14 March 1992. The intention was to raise the level of consciousness of the SADTU members and to enhance active participation (See Chapter 2, p 16). According to Hirsch (1989), in such havens people can easily express their concerns, become aware of common problems and begin to question the legitimacy of institutions that deny them the means for resolving those problems.

It has already been mentioned that Northern Transvaal Teachers' Union (NOTTU) was founded in 1989. NOTTU was a loosely structured organisation comprising predominantly of black teachers. That organisation was non-hierarchical, non-bureaucratic and had no resources other than its member's labour. NOTTU tried to convince the teachers that blacks were facing injustices under Apartheid, that the homeland governments collaborated with the Apartheid government and that they (homelands) were accomplices in apartheid policy. Consequently, black teachers

should not collaborate with any apartheid structures. The result of NOTTU's extensive organizing work was that a large number of teachers became aware of the oppressed state of the Blacks in South Africa, the call for non-collaboration by anti-apartheid activists, and the intransigence of the LED authorities.

5.4.2 Collective Empowerment

Collective empowerment is the real test for the movement at the actual protest site where all involved see how many are willing to take a risk associated with challenging authority (Hirsch, 1990: 224). If large numbers are willing to sacrifice themselves for the movement then the chances of success seem greater (Hirsch, 1990: 48). Moll (April 1989: 187) provides numbers of teachers willing to sacrifice themselves for the movement as follows: ATASA in 1988 claimed 65 000 membership, the UTASA has 25 700 members, TASA had registered 8 600 teachers, the emergent militant unions and leagues, e.g. NEUSA, had a combined membership not exceeding 5 000". In the same vein the following quotation holds true: "In terms of membership strength SADTU represents 100 000 teachers ..... It is expected that with dedicated recruitment campaign, SADTU can grow into one of the biggest organisations ever seen (SADTU Constitution Booklet, 1990: 1).

The Northern Transvaal Region SADTU leadership convinced its followers to participate in protests against the LED because of its presumed ability to accomplish its goals. The tactics used to attain the goals - strikes, sit-ins, picketing, rallies, demonstrations - were more easily viewed as powerful because they were highly visible, dramatic and disrupted normal institutional routines. The rallies held throughout the country (The Star, August 7, 1991) and at Lebowakgomo Stadium on 16 September 1991 (SADTU Leaflet: We March and Rally) to quote but a few, were intended to call the attention of the SADTU teachers to the intransigence of the LED. Large numbers of teachers attended these rallies, that were coupled with demonstrations, probably because they believed they would result in the destruction of the LED. The plans and tactics employed, it is assumed, would lead to the symbolic arrest of the SADTU leadership and hard-core supporters of the LED's

divestment. The intention was to draw the media coverage to dramatise the continued fight for divestment. Present at such rallies was the SADTU Northern Transvaal Regional General Secretary, Mr Benny Boshielo, who motivated and educated members so as to produce quality members (Mokopane Branch of SADTU - Report 1992). At such rallies SADTU members chanted anti-apartheid and pro-divestment slogans such as:

DOWN WITH RAMODIKE AND HIS GOVERNMENT!!
DOWN WITH THE LED'S AUTHORITIES!!!
VIVA SADTU!!!
FORWARD WITH ONE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT!!!!
AWAY WITH PRINCIPALS' COUNCIL!!!!

Teacher collective empowerment is a reaction to the long existing disempowerment that resulted due to apartheid education. Prof Mawasha, addressing teachers at the 86th TUATA Conference (TUATA Conference Journal: 25 September 1992: 5) spoke of the following as signs of disempowerment thus: "Blacks have been subjected to generations of inferior education; unqualified and underqualified teachers; overcrowded classes that made teaching impossible; fundamental pedagogues that straight-jacketed African teacher-trainers ..."

Traditionally and structural-functionally teachers have been disempowered in the hierarchical, bureaucratically organized LED's system. SADTU showed signs of active resistance to the disempowerment. Through collective bargaining and lobbying, teachers challenged the top-down model of the LED bureaucratic education system. Through collective bargaining SADTU teachers were empowered to protect themselves against the LED's victimisation and harassment.

5.4.3 Polarisation

Teacher protest actions challenged the LED in such a way that institutional tactics did not because the protesters automatically questioned the rules of the decision-making

107

game. The employment of non-routine methods of influence also meant that there was uncertainty about the LED's response. The outcome of such protests was unpredictable escalating conflict. The escalating conflict led to political polarisation between the LED and SADTU. Consequently the LED and SADTU saw the conflict in black and white terms. In such cases, Kriesberg (1973: 170 - 173) argues that each side uses increasing coercive tactics and develops high levels of mistrust and anger toward the opponent. For example:

*   the LED suspended, transferred and dismissed some SADTU members unilaterally, (SADTU Northern Transvaal Regional Memorandum of Demands to the LED: 25 September 1992).

*   SADTU Northern Transvaal Region staged 'sit-ins' throughout Lebowa territory on 26 August 1991 (SADTU Northern Transvaal Leaflet: We March and Rally: Lebowa Stadium - 16 August 1991).

*   Defiance - The Days of Action in May 1992 organized to pressurize the LED to recognise SADTU (Mokopane Branch: Regional Conference Report, on 13 - 14 March 1992).

*   SADTU threatened to evict principals and inspectors from schools and to bring schools to a halt (Lebowa Times, June 26, 1992: 1).

*   SADTU refused a panel of inspectors permission to conduct inspections at Masalanabo school (Lebowa Times, June 26, 1992: 4).

*   SADTU members stormed the Bolebedu Circuit Offices, seized the records and shouted at the inspectors (TUATA, September 1991: 26).

*   SADTU teachers withheld their labour from 21 - 25 September 1992 (SADTU Northern Transvaal Region Memorandum of Demands to the LED: 25 September 1992).

*   SADTU called an indefinite general strike as from 6 October 1992 (Court Order of the Supreme Court of South Africa Northern Transvaal Provincial Division: Case no 20835/92).

The consequences of polarisation between SADTU and the LED included, inter alia, that:

*   it strengthened the commitment of SADTU members to the organisation's

108

ideology. Teachers saw SADTU's principles as more right while those of the enemy (i.e. the LED's) as more wrong. Coleman (1957) asserts that this makes compromises and negotiations less likely. Commitment to SADTU's principles kept the teachers together in the movement,

* it created a crisis. The escalation of coercive tactics by the LED authorities resulted in the demotivation of teachers and demobilisation of the movement as individual participants access the potential negative consequences of continued participation. Because the SADTU members were well-conscientised and collectively empowered, they responded positively strong to the threats of the LED. Under such circumstances Edelman (1971) argues that polarization can have a strong positive impact on participation,

* it developed a willingness to continue to participate despite the personal risks involved because individual teachers believed that the costs of protest would be collectively shared,

* it also created antipathy (a strong dislike) between SADTU members and the LED and its structures and authorities. The protesters accepted the argument of their loved fellow activists and less likely accepted those of their hated enemy (i.e. the LED). For example SADTU members disregarded the LED Minister, Mr M J Mahlangu's call to resume duties after strikes and sit-ins, but responded positively to the instruction of their leadership to do so.

5.4.4 Collective Decision-making

Collective decision-making motivates continued commitment of movement participants. Movement often have group discussions about whether to initiate, continue or end a given protest (Hirsch, 1990: 26). Hirsch further argues that committed protesters may feel bound by group decisions made during such discussions, even if those decisions are contrary to their personal preferences. Participation in a protest, therefore, is often the result of a complex group decision-making process, and not the consequence of many isolated, rational individual decisions. For instance SADTU Northern Transvaal Region members took a collective decision at Seshego meeting on 20 June 1992, not to resume teaching after winter

holidays (Sowetan, June, 23, 1992: 5). At two respective meetings prior to the 1991 and 1992 strikes for its recognition, SADTU members took collective decisions.

In the cases mentioned, a serious attempt was made to reach a consensus among the SADTU members. One of the main questions was whether to continue the protest. Such a discussion was initiated by the executive committee of the region because they were committed to democratic decision-making and they understood that the SADTU rank and file would be more likely to continue the protest if they participated in a collective decision to do so. During the first weeks of teachers' stay-away strike, the consensus was to continue the strike. By the third week though, some of the protesting teachers began to feel that the protest should be ended. Teachers thought the LED would act harshly, but that did not happen.SADTU teachers had stayed too long at home without reporting for duties. That dulled the sense of crisis among the teachers. A mood of lethargy (uninterestedness) hit; and it became an unpleasant everyday or tiring task to stay-away from work. A feeling among SADTU teachers developed that it was futile to stay out at home.

In the face of declining participation, long and heated discussions were held about ending the protests. Proponents of the continuing action argued that protesters ought to honour their commitment to stay-away from schools until their demands were met. Those who advocated ending the protest argued that their action was to the detriment of the Black child and that stay-away was no longer effective. SADTU members, resultantly, decided collectively to officially end up the protest.

5.5   HOW IS CONSENSUS MOBILISED?

The previous sections treated consensus mobilisation which involved a wide range of changes in views and attitudes. This section will concentrate on techniques for mobilisation. The following is a list of techniques that SADTU employed in its collective actions: public speeches; letters of opposition; slogans; posters; leaflets; pamphlets; newspapers and journals; radio and television; organising public events featuring well known intellectuals and political figures; organising congresses, teach-

110

ins, hearings; chanting freedom songs; organising dramatic events such as marches, demonstrations, pickets, etc. From this enumeration it is clear that techniques vary according to the intended audience; the general public, sympathisers or target institutions. For SADTU, the intention has been to get mass-media attention, raising public awareness or winning public support for its cause. I will, therefore, endeavour to discuss the effectiveness of SADTU in mobilising consensus in terms of the characteristics of the source of information, the message and the channels employed.

5.5.1 SADTU as a force of information

The basic characteristic of a source of information of a social movement organisation is credibility. SADTU took a serious trouble to build up credibility. Although the factors of expertise, sacrifices and identification with the audience, according to Klandermans (1988:185), promote credibility, SADTU realised other factors that could contribute to its credibility : attractive and prestigious persons speaking on its behalf; and dramatic events putting SADTU in the right. For example:

* At a conference held in Potgietersrus on the 13/04/92 SADTU National Secretary, Mr Randall van den Heever was invited to address a gathering about the questions of evaluation and inspections. He argued that the inspection system was intended to promote apartheid education, and thus employed to harass and victimise the teachers. He concluded by saying that inspections should be for the advancement of education (SADTU Conference minutes : Orinocco Potgietersrus : 13/04/92).

* During the total stay-away (A week of Action from the 21 to 25/04/92) the Mokopane Branch executive took it upon themselves to extend their invitations to various structures. The SADTU Regional Secretary also made a pitch-up at the gathering. He conscientised the teachers about SADTU's objectives (SADTU Mokopane Branch Annual Conference Report, 1992).

* Addressing the officers of Education in Hazyview, the Lebowa Minister of Public works, Kgosi L M Mokoena, called for the establishment of the Parents-teachers students Associations (PTSA). The PTSA's were structures

recommended by SADTU. The minister argued that such structures would help to create unity in the struggle to solve the problems of education in Lebowa, and to revive the moral of teachers. His observation was that teachers were dissatisfied with their working conditions (Leb. Times : August 1990 : 15).

SADTU's dramatic events, such as rallies, demonstations and picketing throughout Lebowa teritory strongly increased its credibility. For instance:

* Local incidents, viz, threats by Bolobedu (Sowetan June 29, 1992: 4), Naphuno; (Lebowa Times, June 26, 1992:1) and Konekwena (Circuit Principals' Council meeting minutes) SADTU branch members to respective inspectors, added credibility to SADTU.

* A march to the Polokwane Circuit Offices to demand the scrapping of Workbooks and Daily Preparation Books was dramatic, because it went through the streets of Seshego Township. Singing freedom songs, the marchers held aloft banners of ANC, SACP and AZAPO (Soweton, May 10, 1990:4).

* There has been some further dramatic marches coupled with demonstrations to different LED circuit offices that earned SADTU credibility from or in various branches throughout the region.

The weight of SADTU's credibility depended on the context of consensus mobilisation. In Klandermans terms (1988:185) credibility always counts - all the more so because the goals and means of a movement organisation are, by definition, controversial. Opponents and competing organisations challenge the arguments of the organisation and advance a great many counter arguments. For example:

* SADTU's opponent, TUATA, never supported SADTU in its campaigns against the Lebowa government. TUATA conceptualised themselves as espousing professionalism within the confines of ethnic education departments. TUATA was completely opposed to strike activity by teachers and claimed to put the child first (Vadi 1990:3). On the contrary Vadi argued that SADTU's main aim was to represent the material and political interests of the teachers.

112

According to the Vice President of TUATA, Mr P M Mehlape, while address the Pietersburg East District Rally of the teachers' organisation at Turfloop, SADTU tended to neglect curriculums, the relevance of the educational content and the quality of education. To him, teachers became workers first and professionals afterwards (Lebowa TImes, June 22, 1992:4). Mr Mehlape's view was in line with one of the aims of the National Professional Teachers' Organisation of South Africa (NAPTOSA) viz: "To ensure that the interest of each child should in no way be harmed by actively involving the child on behalf of the educators in any act of resistance or collective action (TUATA Sept, 1991:12).

* The PAC Regional Publicity Secretary, Mr Kgopa, slammed SADTU action plans to bring education to a halt after Winter vacations in 1992. He complained that that would be a threat to the oppressed African people and would ensure an irreparable damage to the black children. THe secretary went on to call on SADTU to differentiate between a labour and a political matter, and not to politicise issues that result from their failure to address labour matters. (Lebowa Times, July 10, 1992).

* Lebowa government and SADTU were on a collision course regarding the LED's principle of "No work, no pay" applied on teachers who absented themselves from work, in response to the threat by SADTU Northern Transvaal Region not to return to classes when schools re-opened at the end of July, 1992 (Lebowa Times, June 26, 1992:1).

On controversial issues SADTU realised that high credibility is better in fostering consonant beliefs than transforming discrepant beliefs. Credibility of SADTU among non-adherents has been too low. SADTU realized that indirect ways could promise some success. Thus a recourse to indirect means could be the only alternative available. Examples abounded:

* A meeting was held between SADTU, Northern Transvaal Public Servants Union (NOTRAPSU) and NEHAWU to discuss problems experienced by public servants in the region, notably Lebowa. The meeting agreed to present a common memorandum containing the following demands:

113

-   Stop-order facilities for membership fees;

-   Meetings during working hours;

-   Access to facilities such as faxes, phones etc;

-   Leave days for union officials at all levels: e.g. school, branch, regional and national; and

-   Establishment of dispute resolution mechanisms (Minutes of SADTU Regional Committee Meeting at Giyani : 25/07/92).

*   A meeting with Azapo was held to establish working relationship between these organisations in terms of the education crisis in Lebowa territory. The two organisations agreed in principle on the following:

-   that in protecting its members against Lebowa government, SADTU has a right to embark on industrial action when all possible negotiating avenues have been exploited;

-   that before embarking on any action, SADTU should thoroughly consult with the broader community throughout the liberation movement; and

-   that AZAPO would stop attacking SADTU in the press, (see 5.1 p.20 above) instead communication channels should be opened to deal with points of difference (SADTU and AZAPO meeting minutes).

*   A meeting was held between SADTU and Lebowa Government officials on the 7 July 1991, to discuss SADTU's recognition and the teachers' queries and problems. The two parties agreed that:

-   LED would not commit itself in signing for recognition until DET shall have done so;

-   LED would withdraw suspensions of certain teachers eg Mr Mangena of Naphuno; and

-   LED would withdraw the transfer of Mokgobi, also of Naphuno.

At a conference held at the university of Venda on the 8 August 1992 the following persons were amongst those invited to speak on People's Education.

-   **Mr G Mashamba (UNIN)**

    Speaking on <u>conceptualising People's Education</u> he charged the teachers with a task of interpreting the syllabi in context, if not,

making some amendments with the aim of empowering our students politically.

- **Prof G.M. Nkondo** addressed the conference on <u>Politics of transformation.</u> For him transformation must not merely degenerate to modifying the status quo, but must reflect a total change (SADTU N Tvl Region : People's Education Convention : UNIVEN - 8/8/92).

5.5.2 <u>Sadtu's message, goal and milieu</u>

SADTU's message is the unification of all teachers and educationalist, and to work for a non-racial, just and democratic system of education in a free and democratic South Africa. It shall observe and act in accordance with the spirit and principle of democracy in all the union's activities (SADTU Constitution Booklet, 1990-91:2).

SADTU's goals were inter alia (Vadi, 1993:4):

* to seek and to maintain itself as a union of teachers to be recognised by the education authorities and to this end, to negotiate on behalf of its members to advance their individual and collective interests by entering into collective bargaining relations with the education authorities;
* to eradicate discrimination based on gender, sexism and the sexual harassment of teachers and pupils;
* to foster an esprit de corps among educators and to promote and maintain high standards of ethical conduct, professional integrity and professional efficiency in the promotion and maintenance of standards of tuition; and
* to plan educational change and development, and to conduct research into educational questions.

In order to change the attitude of the people SADTU made it clear that its message was understandable to the people. To facilitate the comprehension, cognisance was taken to align the content of the message with the nature of the campaign. For instance if frame bridging (5.2.1 above) is involved, SADTU explained the frame or goals and means, along with the request for its support. In the case of frame

115

amplification (see 5.2.2 above) SADTU would attempt to link its frame to the supposed interest and values of the intended audience and called on the audience for support. If the frame transformation is involved (see 5.2.2.2 above), SADTU argued that apartheid policy was unjust, that Lebowa regime was blame-worthy for espousing apartheid policy, and that changes could be brought about.

Mazur (1981) asserts that messages of movement organisations show striking similarities irrespective of the source they stem from. Such similarities are due to the unavoidable dynamics of proponents versus opponents and challengers versus establishment. Such unavoidable dynamics implies a division of the social setting into two sectors: supportive and antagonistic sectors. Klandermans (1992:4) calls such a social setting a multi-organisational field. A multi-organisational field is "the total possible number of organisations with which the movement organisation may establish specific links" (Klandermans, 1992:4). In this case Lebowa territory constituted a multi-organisational field in which numerous organisations interacted by forming conflicting and alliance systems.

*   **Supportive sector:**

Supportive sector constituted SADTU's alliance system, consisting of groups and organisations that supported SADTU, such as ANC, COSATU COSAS, SACP, NECC, SASCO (R v/d Heever, Circular to Regions and Branches : Proposed SADTU Programme of Action : 3 to 7/8/92, dated 23/7/92), NOTRAPSU and National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (NEHAWU) (Minutes of SADTU N Tvl Region at Giyane on 25/7/92) ANCYL, ANCWL and Civic Assocaitions (MS Moloto : Bolobedu Circuit's reaction to the memorandum submitted to it by the Bolobedu Interstructural Forum on 18/9/92, dated the 23/9/92).

Hereunder are some of the supportive messages to SADTU by its allies:
"ANC has been committed to certain basic principles : democracy, unity and non-sexism, which are the principles of any democratic system. Organisations like SADTU are appropriate expression of the struggle against apartheid. They are also a means through which teachers entrench their opposition to apartheid" (Nelson

116

Mandela : <u>Launching of SADTU</u> : on the 6/7 October 1990 - SADTU commemorative Journal : 1991:5).

In the same context COSATU General Secretary, Jay Naidoo, said the following when answering the question - "What are your views regarding the relationship between your organisation and SADTU?" We think SADTU should be an affiliate of COSATU now and in future. If progress in our society is to take place at all levels, consistently and logically, then there needs to be a formal permanent and established ralationship between the two organisations. (SADTU News : Launch Programme, 6/10/90 : 3).

SADTU also said: "We however make no apologies for the close alliance that we have with COSATU and NECC in the process of forging teacher unity in South-Africa."

*   **Antagonistic Sector:**

Kriesi (in Klandermans, 1992:5) defines antagonistic sector as "the organisation's conflict system, consisting of representatives and allies of the challenged political system, including the countermovement organisations". Following are some of the organisations constituting SADTU's antagonistic sector, namely : Lebowa government the LED and its bureaucrats and all statutory bodies, principals' council, TUATA and NAPTOSA.

- Because of the defiant campaigns orchestrated by SADTU members, the LED harassed and victimised them. Realising the LED's attitude towards teachers, SADTU demanded resignation of certain LED authorities (SADTU N Tvl Pamphlet : <u>Down with Ramodike).</u>

- The Lebowa Chief Minister, Mr M N Ramodike, condemned SADTU's struggle against apartheid by staging <u>chalk-downs and sit-ins.</u> He labelled SADTU members as a disheartening danger of minority teachers who refused to teach and intimidated the majority of the teachers to stage sit-ins (Ramodike, MN Addressing Cabinet and Principals at Lebowa-Kgomo on the 3/9/91 : 7).

117

-   The fact that Principals and inspectors were evicted from schools and circuit offices respectively in retaliation to dismissals and suspension of SADTU members in the Naphuno area (Lebowa Times, June 26, 1992:1) was an indication of differences that prevailed between the LED and SADTU.

It was in such a multi-organisational field that social construction of meaning (message) took place. SADTU's grievances were aired and interpreted, and the opponents were identified, strategies were chosen and justified, and the outcome evaluated.

5.5.3 Channels used by SADTU

According to Snow et al (in Klandermans, 1988:188) social movement organisation use two channels for information dissemination, promotion and recruitment : face-to-face and mediated channels. Both channels may be private or public, for instance:

*   Private face-to-face channels, ie door-to-door leafleting or petitioning, social networks, etc;
*   Public face-to-face channels, ie petitioning on sidewalks, participation in public events, staging events for public consumption;
*   Private mediated channelled, ie mail, telephone, etc;
*   Public mediated channels, ie mass media (radio, television and newspapers).

Snow et. al. go further to argue that face-to-face channels are known to be more effective than mediated channels in mobilisation campaigns.

SADTU used both face-to-face and mediated channels to disseminate information, to promote its viewpoints and to recruit audience for its support. With regard to face-to-face channels, for example, SADTU proposed a week of action (from the 3 to 7 Augusts, 1992). SADTU N-Tvl Region, its branches and site committees were urged to canvass support of teachers in accordance with the following programme (R v/d Heever - 23/7/92):

*   On Monday and Tuesday, the 3rd and 4th August, teachers were to stage

118

complete stay-aways, with participation in branch rallies, meetings, pickets and demonstrations;

*   On Wednesday, the 5th August, teachers were to return to their respective schools to occupy and picket principals' offices; and

*   On Thursday and Friday, the 6th and 7th August, teachers were to discuss educational issues and problems of their respective schools.

SADTU also found widespread networks of local branches which ties to the local organisations to be very successful in the mobilisation of consensus. An exciting example is the tie between SADTU Bolobedu branch and other local organisations such as ANC, ANCYL, ANCWL, FAWU, SACCAWU, NEHAWU, SASCO, NOTRAPSU, COSAS and CIVIC associations, to form the Bolobedu Interstructural Forum. This forum supported SADTU teachers against the Bolobedu Inspectorate on the 18/09/92 (M S Moloto - Response to the Memorandum from Bolobedu Inter-structural Forum -dated the 23 September 1992). Furthermore, the N-Tvl Region of SADTU called for support of NECC, COSAS, COSATU, ANCYL, ANCWYL, CIVICS, SACP, ANC and NOPTRAPSU, in its demands for a single education department (SADTU N-Tvl Region Leaflet : Down with Ramodike!!). In the Mogodumo circuit, student-groups supported SADTU in its campaign against inspections (Lebowa Times, May 22, 1992: 1 & 3).

Furthermore SADTU held several face-to-face contacts with the LED to streamline ist policies, aims, objectives and activities, and to negotiate on behalf of its members (eg Ranch Motel and the Pietersburg Holiday Inn Meetings held respectively on the 7th July 1992 and 28 September 1992.

A number of memoranda and petitions were submitted to the LED. These submissions were accompanied by marches and demonstrations staged by SADTU teachers. Such marches and demonstrations were well supported by teachers : some of them were the following:

*   Memoranda of demands to Konekwena Circuit Inspector on 29 March 1990.

*   To National Education Department Minister by the Northern Transvaal Region of SADTU - dated 16 August 1991.

*   To the LED Minister by SADTU N-Tvl Region on 28 September 1992.

5.6   SUMMARY

The discussion of this chapter centred around transformation of collective beliefs, mobilisation and participation of teachers in a protest.   The variant forms of mobilisation were distinguished as : <u>consensus and action</u> mobilisation. With regrad to consensus mobilisation SADTU's effort to drum up support for its views and aims was explained.   Regarding action mobilisation SADTU concerned itself with activation of teachers who already supported its movement goals and activities. In the language of Mc Carthy and Zald (1977:1221) consensus mobilisation involves the generation of adherents whereas action mobilisation refers to the process of turning adherents into constituents. The discussion of mobilisation was done with the aid of <u>frame alignment</u> and group processes, namely <u>consciousness-raising, collective empowerment, polarisation and collective decision-making.</u>

Firstly I attempted to clarify understanding of adherent and constituent mobilization by analysing frame alignment with regard to SADTU. I stated that the frame alignment could be decomposed into three related but not identical processes : <u>frame bridging, frame amplification and frame transformation.</u>

*   Frame bridging : SADTU reached out for other organisations (see items 5.5.2 above) that often were difficult to distinguish from conventional interest group.

*   Frame amplification : SADTU arose from among the teaching populace that was segmentally organized in relation to the dominant power structure (eg Lebowa government) and constituted, as a result, a substructure of resistance and contention.

*   Frame transformation : SADTU members had system-transforming goals or aspiration in the sense that they sought total change of the Lebowa Education Department.

<div align="center">120</div>

Next, I elaborated on recruitment in, and commitment to teacher protest movement in Lebowa. I analysed group level political processes, viz : consciousness-raising, collective empowerment, polarisation and collective decision-making. Such group processes increased group solidarity among SADTU members. That solidarity enhanced teachers' commitment to the cause and their belief in the non-institutional tactics that furthered that cause. In other words commitment could be understood through the analysis of how group processes led participants to a willingness to sacrifice self-interest in pursuit of a valued good using non-institutional tactics. SADTU's organised activities were crucial in raising teachers consciousness about the apartheid issue and the need for non-institutional means of influence to achieve the Lebowa bantustan's destruction.

It has been made clear that SADTU members were not just isolated individuals with preferences for destruction nor a set of confused, irrational, insecure people - as the breakdown theorists eg Le Bon (1960) etc. believed; rather they were teachers who have been convinced by SADTU meetings that apartheid was evil, that the destruction of Lebowa bantustan, in general and the LED, in particular, would help SADTU and Non-SADTU members alike, and that such a destruction could be achieved through protest. The solidarity of SADTU members increased after the LED's escalation of the conflict because group identification among the protesting teachers was already strong enough so that they could respond to the LED's threats as a powerful group rather than as powerless individuals. Thus the protesting teachers remained at this risky protest probably because of the democratic decision-making processes used by the group.

Contrary to the group processes, I discussed SADTU's mobilisation and participation in terms of expectancy-value theory. The expectancy-value is a rational-choice theory. From a rational choice perspective SADTU proved less adequate in accounting for recuitment and commitment. Although rational-choice perspective neglected group processes, it suggested that decisions about whether to join or stay at a protest were based largely on isolated individual cost/benefit calculations. Collective and selective incentives were discussed. Expectations about the behaviour

121

of others were introduced as an important expansion of expectancy-value theory to make this framework applicable to protest participation.

In order to mobilise consensus SADTU employed a wide array of techniques to garner its credibility and to make its message comprehensive. To disseminate its message, to secure commitment of the participants to its activities and to call for support, SADTU used face-to-face and mediated channels.

CHAPTER SIX

THE IMPACT OF SADTU COLLECTIVE ACTIONS IN LEBOWA

6.1   INTRODUCTION

The period 1989-1992 in Lebowa was characterised by marches, chalkdowns, school boycotts, eviction of principals and related events. Lebowa Education Department (LED) Annual Report (1991:44) maintains that the mentioned years would go on record as a period of unrest in Lebowa schools and that the major unrest were sparked by teachers themselves.   The unrest stemmed from the discontent of SADTU teachers in the situation they found themselves in Lebowa (See Chapter 4 - Underlying conditions for teacher protest movement).   What disturbed teachers was their distance from the centre of the system.   The teachers saw themselves as deprived of power and privileges.   The teachers, therefore, organized themselves into a protest movement that would bring about a change in the Lebowa established social order.   The protest movement was, - in Oomen's (1990:30) words, - an attempt to move from the periphery of the system to the centre.   The protesting teachers were thus making conscious efforts to mitigate their deprivation and to secure justice; or alternatively, they were creating organisational devices to fight the evils of the Lebowa Government and to redress their grievances.   In simple terms, SADTU teachers wanted to be heard, to be listened to, and to be spoken to by the LED authorities.

What were the consequences of such unrest, upheavals, disturbances and disruptions of teachers? Teacher collective actions - characterised by unrest and disruptions of the education process- had a great impact on Lebowa government in general and the LED in particular.   Teachers occupied leading class positions in the Lebowa community. Their position in the education system is complex. They are employees of the LED. To the principal, they are subordinates; to other teachers, colleagues. To the students, teachers should complete a list of roles, including that of a disciplinarian, confidant, and parent substitute. Above all, teachers should be

knowledgeable persons who transmit knowledge. Lebowa Government's responses to the disruptions varied, depending on the situational conditions. Piven and Cloward (1977:27) contend that ordinarily, during periods of stability, governmental leaders have three rather obvious options when an institutional disruption occurs:

* they may ignore it; or

* they may employ punitive measures against the disrupions; or

* they may conciliate them.

Piven and Clowd (1977:28) further argue that protest movements do not arise during ordinary periods; they arise when large-scale changes undermine political stability. It is this context that gives the aggrieved hope that authority can be tested and makes insurgency possible. It is this context, once more, that makes political leaders somewhat vulnerable to protests by the aggrieved group.

This chapter therefore has as its central problem an assessment of the effect of teacher collective actions on the conventional and institutionalised functions of the Lebowa government. Special attention will be paid to the impact of SADTU collective actions on:

* Lebowa Government;

* the LED's official duties;

* Pupils' performances at school;

* Parents; and

* other teachers, teachers' organisations and teaching profession.

6.2 EFFECT OF SADTU'S COLLECTIVE ACTIONS ON LEBOWA GOVERNMENT

This section attempts to demonstrate how SADTU collective actions effected a change in Lebowa government's attitude towards the union, improvement of teachers' working conditions and the provision of facilities.

124

6.2.1 Lebowa government's attitude towards SADTU's recognition

SADTU campaigned for recognition of its union. The then existing Apartheid education regulations precluded the possibility of recognising teacher unions with full collective bargaining rights (Vadi, 1993:5). The various Education Departments provided for the recognition of professional teacher associations only. The Department of Education and Training (DET) Act no 90 of 1975 provided for the recognition of African teachers for the purpose of consultation. A similar provision existed in the LED Act no 6 of 1978. The Act did not provide for teachers to belong to trade unions (New Nation, 3 July 1992).

SADTU, through its disruptive campaigns, made the LED schools to be ungovernable. Realising the persistent volatile situation, the Lebowa government changed its attitude by offering SADTU a de facto recognition of it's union for the purpose of getting access to departmental structures and stop order facilities (Minutes of Meeting between the LED and SADTU: Ranch Motel - 7/7/92).

6.2.2 Closed-door policy culminated into open-door policy

Prior to 1990 the Lebowa Government practised a closed-door policy. The Lebowa Government did not heed the grievances of the teachers nor honour appointments with SADTU teachers (Sowetan, 26 June 1992:4). The government took decisions unilaterally without consultation with teachers on matters affecting them. For example teachers have been suspended (C N Phatudi, college lecturers), charged with misconduct (eg Messrs Moshobane, Mokgobi, Scgoa and Masedi of Bolobedu; Rabakane, Buthelezi and Ramaifo of Naphuno; Thobejane of Bohlabela), dismissed (Messrs madisha, Kekana and Manamela of Zebediala circuit; Mrs Koma of Bohlabela Circuit; Mr Kgomo, Mrs Muroa and Kgasago of Mogodumo circuit) and transferred (Messrs Maraka, Tjale of Bochum Circuit) without prior consultation with teachers.(Boshielo: A fax to the LED Chief Director - dated 30/9/92).

125

Due to unrest orchestrated by SADTU teachers the Lebowa government adopted an open-door policy towards an organisation such as SADTU. The LED Annual Report (1990:20) indicated that the government adopted the open-door policy to give organisations and individuals freedom to air their views and grievances, and that the LED treated the marches and meetings as part of the educationally accepted processes of communication, consultation, consensus, co-operation and co-ordination. Agreeing to the implementation and functionality of the open-door policy, the Lebowa Chief Minister once said that the dissatisfactions expressed by teachers belonging to SADTU are at present being attended to by the LED. SADTU and the LED will meet to solve the domestic or internal problems while the major problems and long term demands shall be addressed by the RSA. (Ramodike: Addressing Meeting of Cabinet and School principals at Lebowakgomo - 3 September 1991). The Lebowa Chief Minister further made it clear that instead of using an iron hand to contain the unrest, the government opened its doors for discussions, and indeed, relative peace was restored without tarnishing the image of the government and the legislative assembly (Ramodike: Addressing Legislative Assembly - 1991: 30).

6.2.3   No work, no pay principle diluted

SADTU differed with Lebowa legislative assembly on the issue of absence from work. For all teachers who stayed away from work in order to participate in teacher collective actions, the Lebowa Legislative assembly resolved to adopt the principle of no work, no pay (Sowetan, 1 July 1992:4). The attitude of the government towards such teachers -in Ramodike's terms - would be chalks down, cheques down. Reiterating this, the LED Chief Director, Mr S Rabothata, also maintained that the LED would not be drawn into corruption and misuse of public funds by paying teachers who were not on duty (Sowetan, 26 August 1993:4; Rabothata: Circular to SADTU dated 2 August 1993). In the same manner the LED minister, Mr M J Mahlangu warned that teachers who absented themselves from duty for 14 days would automatically dismiss themselves. The LED would not pay employees for no work done. (Lebowa Times, 3 July 1992: 2).

SADTU stood poised to launch an extensive resistance to the <u>no work no pay</u> <u>principle</u> until Ramodike announced that teachers whose salaries had been reduced for allegedly taking part in the protest marches organised by the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU) would be refunded (The Star, 2 September 1991:3; Ramodike's address: Cabinet and School principals: Lebowakgomo - 3 September 1991). Furthermore the Lebowa Legislative Assembly conceded to the SADTU demands that 3 Naphuno College lecturers and 42 Dr C N Phatudi College lecturers would have their salaries paid (Agreement between LED and SADTU on the 23 September 1991).

6.2.4   <u>Lebowa government's outlook on Education</u>

Initially the Lebowa government espoused the Apartheid education system. In consequence of SADTU's campaigns for the establishment of a democratic system, the Lebowa government embarked on the establishment of <u>one non-racial education</u> <u>system under a single ministry</u> in South Africa. That corresponded well with SADTU's aim as expressed in the SADTU Constitution Booklet (1990-1991:2). The government realised that in that way a balance in expenditure in education (Refer chap 4 (3.4) above - financial conditions) could be restored and thus be in a better position to redress the current disparities that put a black child at a disadvantage. The Lebowa Times (24 August 1990:1) reported Mr Ramodike's response to SADTU's demands thus:

"Lebowa is in total agreement with the demands and that it is imperative that there should be a single non-racial education department for all in the country. This should remove all the imbalances and disparities in the education system".

6.2.5   <u>Lebowa government conciliated SADTU members</u>

Initially the Lebowa government has shown a distinct reluctance to subject education to a democratic transition process. The Lebowa government has ignored the demand that transition in education should be debated by all major role players. In terms of SADTU News (vol 1, no 2, 1993:1) the traits of Apartheid - inequality and top-down

decision-making - were still in place. SADTU teachers campaigned therefore against such a state of affairs.

Realising the immense weight of SADTU campaigns, the Lebowa government would try to quiet disturbances and disruptions by making an effort to channel the energies and angers of the protesting teachers into more legitimate and less disruptive forms of behaviour, in part, by offering incentives to movement leaders or by co-opting them. Thus the appointment of a Commission to look into the education crisis under Kgoshi M M Marishane, the Minister of Economic Affairs, consisted of LED officials, teacher organisations; Civic associations; Student Representive Councils; School Committees, Community leaders and the "Magoshi" (Chiefs and Kings) (Lebowa Times, 24 August 1990:1). Another exciting example was the <u>constitution of the Commission of inquiry</u> concerning transfers, secondment and withholding of teachers salaries (Agreement between Lebowa Government and SADTU - dated 23/9/91). The commission consisted of four (4) members, two (2) of which represented SADTU to monitor the implementation of the agreement.

6.2.6   <u>Lebowa government resorted to legal systems and police</u>

SADTU and/or its members who were more disruptive or, who spurned the concessions offered, were reportedly singled out for arbitrary police action or for more formal legal harassment through congressional investigations or courts. For example:

6.2.6.1   In the <u>Supreme Court of South Africa</u> (Northern Transvaal Provisional Division) Case no 20835/92 in a matter between the LED (applicant) and SADTU (respondent) a court order was issued on the 17 October 1992 before the Honourable Mr Justice I Mohammed that a rule nisi issue calling upon SADTU to show cause on the 3 November 1992 or such other date as that Honourable court may determine why the following order should not be made:
* declaring the general indefinite strike by all teachers and lecturers in the service of the LED, called for by SADTU and which commenced

on the 6 October 1992 to be illegal;

* that SADTU be ordered actively to promote the cessation of the said strike by all means at its disposal;

* that SADTU be ordered not to promote or encourage the continuation of the said strike in any manner whatever; and

* that SADTU be ordered to pay the costs of that application.

What happened to this application? The court verdict necessitated a reconciliation of SADTU and the LED. The two parties agreed on the 19th October 1992 in Pietersburg that:

* SADTU would adhere to the terms of the Court Order; and

* the LED would temporarily reinstate and lift suspensions on SADTU members with effect from the 20 October 1992.

6.2.6.2   The <u>Thabammopo Magistrate</u> turned down SADTU's application to stage a march action. The magistrate stated that the march could not be allowed as it coincided with official opening of Lebowa Legislative Assembly. It might be disruptive (Lebowa Times, 22 May 1992: 1-3).

6.2.6.3   <u>Police and South African Defence Force (SADF)</u> had to stop a rampage when Bolobedu Circuit Offices were stormed, records seized and inspectors shouted at by members of Bolobedu Branch of SADTU on the 26 August 1991 (TUATA: Sept 1991:26).

6.2.6.4   <u>Four executive members of SADTU Bolobedu Branch were arrested</u> for alleged intimidation at Masalanabo High School. The arrests followed an incident when a panel of inspectors led by Mr M S Moloto was allegedly refused permission to conduct inspections at the school (Sowetan, 29 June 1992:4).

It would seem from all and examples that law and intruments, of control were on the side of the Lebowa Government, and prevailed. Significantly, a judge of the Supreme

129

Court, generally regarded as sympathetic to the freedom struggle, ruled against SADTU.

6.2.7   Provisioning of facilities by Lebowa government

The LED Annual Report (1990:20) reported that several marches to, and petitions received at Head Office which, inter alia, contained the following common demands:

*   provisioning of adequate teaching aids;

*   provisioning of adequate classroom, laboratory, office and library buildings;

*   provisioning of sitting accommodation, and

*   improved working conditions.

The result of those marches and petitions of teachers was the provision of improved educational facilities for use by children at schools. The government planned to erect additional classrooms from part of the R102 million made available by the South African Government to Lebowa for the elimination of classroom backlog (Ramodike, 1991:31). In order to improve the quality of work, the Lebowa government decided to restructure the current circuit system with the result that the sixteen (16) existing circuits (See chapter 2, Introduction) would be delimitated into fifty-seven (57) manageable circuits grouped into 5 regions.   This would serve to improve communication between circuit offices and schools and would take services nearer to the affected communities (Ramodike, 1991: 31).

6.3   THE EFFECTS OF TEACHER COLLECTIVE ACTIONS ON THE LED'S OFFICIAL DUTIES

In Chapter 2 it was indicated that education in Lebowa was administratively structured from Head Office to schools through circuits. It was mentioned (in Chapter 1) that top-down management, i.e. from the Minister down to principals through the Secretary, directors and inspectors, was in place. These officers manage education at different levels (LED Annual Report, 1990: 2-15). The Minister and the secretary are at the head of the department operating from Head Office. Directors

130

are heads of Head Office branches. Inspectors manage affairs of schools at regional and circuit level. Subject Advisors are important officers responsible for the management of certain particular subjects. Principals are heads of schools. The said officers performed the LED's official management duties. This is a typical line-management structure.

Management, according to Paisey (1981: 3), is the universal and unavoidable personal and organisational process of relating resources and objectives. Paisey (1981:3) maintains further that educational management is the particular process of relating resources to objectives required in organisations which explicitly exist to provide education. Bush (1988:1) also asserts that educational management is a field of study and practice concerned with the operation of educational organisations.

Prior to 1989 the LED's officers, namely inspectors, subject advisors and principals, freely functioned to conduct regular class visits, to give guidance to inexperienced staff members, to evaluate staff, to control tests and examinations and to be responsible for discipline in the circuits (inspectors) and schools (principals). The principals, subject advisors and inspectors as instructional leaders, have, in Genck's (1983: 3) words, accepted responsiblity for performance, organizing teachers, maintaining teamwork and achievement of good results.

The year 1989 marked the beginning of many changes in the education of the Blacks. The Lebowa Education Department was also affected. Normal departmental duties of officers, i.e. inspectors, subject advisors and principals, have been interfered with by the numerous marches to, and sit-ins in the circuit office and/or Head Office, under the guise of agitating for the redressing of teachers' and educational problems. For example:

6.3.1   Inspections:

School inspections could not be conducted freely due to teachers resistance and reluctance. Teachers had no respect for authority accorded to officials of the LED.

131

TUATA (Sept 1991:26) reported how the Bolobedu Circuit Offices were stormed, the records were seized and inspectors shouted at by the Bolobedu SADTU branch members on the 26 August 1991. Minutes of the Konekwena Circuit Principals' Council (30 May 1991) reported how the Konekwena SADTU Branch members threatened to remove the Circuit Inspector from his office. On 10 June 1991 the Mokopane SADTU branch members temporarily paralysed the Mahwelereng Circuit Principals' Council (Minutes: Mahwelereng Principals Council meeting at Seritarita). Sowetan (29 June 1992:4) also reported that the SADTU teachers refused a panel of inspectors with permission to conduct inspection at Masalannbo School.

The above mentioned cases indicate that inspections and school visitation were virtually impossible; feedback on mid-year examinations failed, and processing of oral-work and year-marks could not be done. All that stemmed from Randall van der Heever's words that the inspection system practised in Lebowa was intended to harass and intimidate teachers, and it should, resultantly, be suspended until a democratic form of inspection and evaluation have been thoroughly negotiated and developed (See Chap 2.3.2).

6.3.2   The use of departmental documents/records

Certain documents supplied by the LED were considered important and indispensable for smooth management of schools. These were documents and records such as Work-book, Log-book, Time-book and Leave-forms. (See chapter 2.3.1). Sowetan (10 May 1990:4) reported how the protesting teachers in and around Seshego near Pietersburg, dumped their workbooks in the Polokwane Circuit Office yard. From that time teachers in almost all circuits rejected the use of these important documents. The attitude towards the said records was precipitated by the resolution taken by SADTU members at Hotel Orinocco - Potgietersrus Conference on 13 April 1992. At that conference branches were left with the discretion to campaign against or for the use of those documents. SADTU teachers ignored the use of workbooks with the result that school principals could not control and monitor the teachers' work. Teachers failed to record their times of arrival at, and departure from schools. They

132

further refused to complete leave forms in order to register their absence from work. Principals were powerless to force the teachers to heed the importance of these documents. Thus, a laissez-faire atmosphere prevailed in schools. The LED Annual Report (1990:19) maintains that if there is no follow-up, teachers tend to relax and ignore very important issues. The result was that the ordinary line-management functions were disrupted.

6.3.3 Cultural and Library Services

Teachers' collective actions had an impact on the activities organised by the LED. These activities could not take place because they were boycotted and hindered by SADTU teachers as they resisted authority. In most cases these activities have been cancelled or poorly attended. Some of the examples are the following:

6.3.3.1 Music

Music Education Advisor, Mr B M Popela, could only conduct three (3) courses in Nebo, Mogodumo and Bolobedu circuits out of 16 for the whole year 1991. Other courses failed because of problems in schools. Mr Popela reported that out of 627 High Schools in Lebowa only 15 took part in the TV2/3 music competitions, and only 16 in the Sowetan Music Competitions in 1991. (LED Annual Report, 1991:92)

6.3.3.2 Art and Museums

The LED Annual Report (1990:86) argues that Art exhibitions could not be organized in 1990 because of unrest at schools and colleges of education. That affected the Lebowa Annual Show adversely because most of the articles displayed at the show came only from primary schools. The LED Annual Report (1991:102) states that the Lebowa Art Advisor, Mr S Mabusela, gave guidance to all special schools and Colleges of Education although in most cases conditions at Colleges of Education were disruptive. Furthermore very few schools in Lebowa entered for the Lebowa Annual show.

6.3.3.3   Library Services

Two well programmed library courses scheduled for the 15-17 May 1990 and July-August 1990 to be held at Lebowa In-Service Training Centre aborted due to teachers defiant campaigns (LED Annual Report, 1990:85).

6.4   THE IMPACT OF SADTU's COLLECTIVE ACTIONS ON PUPIL PERFORMANCES

General performance of pupils in examinations showed a decline since the outbreak of chalk-down strikes in Lebowa.   The chalk-down strikes culminated in inadequate teaching and learning periods, accompanied by very little work recorded and uncompleted syllabi.   In addition, the LED Annual Report (1991:44) emphasizes that major unrests were sparked by teachers themselves.   The Report argues that the chalk-down strikes initiated by SADTU occurred at the most crucial periods when the pupils were about to write their examinations.

Table 15 hereunder attempts to illustrate the impact of SADTU collective actions on the performances of pupils in the St 10 examinations.   The illustration shows a comparison between pass and fail percentages of two periods, namely A(1985-1988) and B (1989-1992) periods.

TABLE 15: Comparison of LED Std 10 exam results (1985-1988 and 1889-1992) periodes)

PERIOD A (1985-1988)		
YEAR	PASS	FAIL
1985	47.9	52.1
1986	41.8	58.2
1987	54.2	45.8
1988	54.6	45.4
Total Average %	49.6	50.4
Difference		minus .8

PERIOD B (1989-1992)		
YEAR	PASS	FAIL
1989	36.0	64.0
1990	31.8	68.2
1991	31.8	68.2
1992	36.4	63.6
Total average %	34.0	66.0
Difference		minus 32.0

(Source: LED, 1985-1992: Std 10 Exam Results)

The above statistical numbers may graphically be represented as follows:

FIGURE 4: Lebowa Matriculation Results (Periods A & B) compared: Pass percentages per year.

Lebowa Matriculation Results Compared: Pass percentages per year
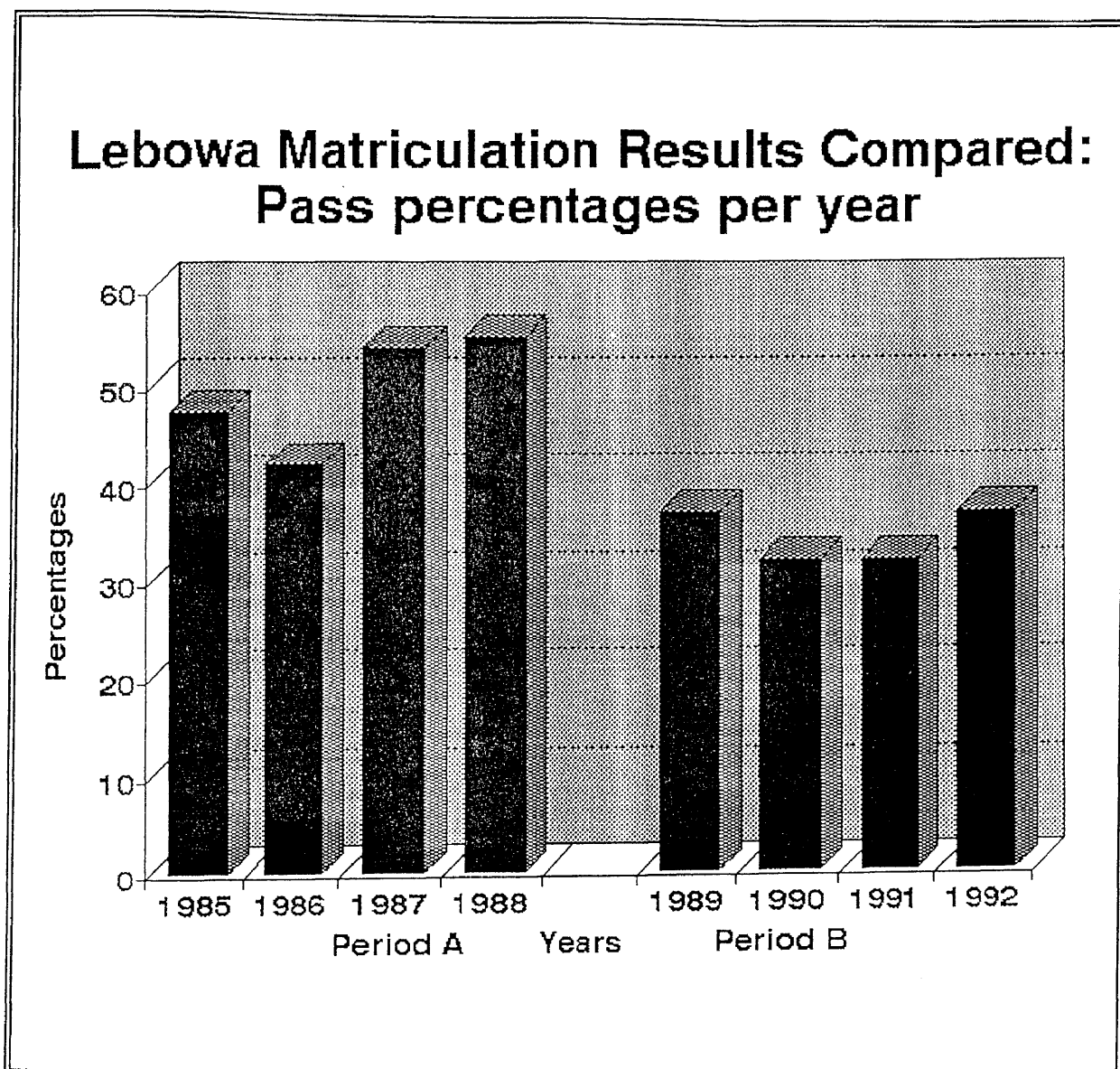
The above statistical numbers in Table 15 and Fig. 5 reveal that:

* The total average pass percentages for periods A and B are 49.6 and 34 respectively. This implies that the pass percentage decreased by 13.6 from period A (1985-1988) to B (1989-1992).

* Two years out of four, i.e. 1987 and 1988, under period A have their pass percentage viz, 54.2 and 54.6 respectively, exceeding the fail percentages, while each of the four years under period B have their fail percentages exceeding 60. In addition the pass percentages for each year under period A has been above 40%, but less than 40% for each year under period B.

In table 16 below the statistics indicate pupil performance in the STD 10 external

examination results declined or improved during the period 1988 - 1992 according to circuits.

TABLE 16   **DECLINE/IMPROVEMENT OF STD 10 - RESULTS (1988 - 1992) ACCORDING TO LED CIRCUITS**

	1988	1989			1990			1991			1992		
	Pass	Pass	Decline	Improved	Pass	Decline	Improved	Pass	Decline	Improved	Pass	Decline	Improved
1. Bakenberg	48.3	32.0	16.3	-	32.7	-	0.7	38.3	-	5.6	42.3	-	4.0
2. Bochum	51.8	36.0	15.8	-	34.7	1.3	-	28.0	6.7	-	41.3	-	13.3
3. Bohlabela	48.0	30.0	18.0	-	28.1	1.9	-	28.0	0.1	-	30.7	-	2,7
4. Bolobedu	47.3	33.0	14.3	-	24.9	8.1	-	25.2	-	0.3	27.0	-	1.8
5. Dennilton	54.2	37.0	17.2	-	31.5	5.5	-	26.8	4.7	-	35.1	-	8.3
6. Komekwena	58.2	44.0	14.2	-	38.6	5.4	-	33.2	5.4	-	45.7	-	12.5
7. Mahwelereng	50.1	33.1	17.1	-	24.5	8.5	-	31.1	-	6.6	30.9	0.2	
8. Mankweng	64.3	43.0	21.3	-	41.9	1.1	-	33.9	8.0	-	42.8	-	8.9
9. Mapulaneng	53.1	28.0	25.1	-	20.9	7.1	-	23.8	-	2.9	30.0	-	6.2
10. Mogodumo	69.6	43.0	26.6	-	40.0	3.0	-	39.5	0.5	-	46.9	-	7.4
11. Nebo	55.0	36.0	19.0	-	34.8	1.2	-	27.8	6.0	-	37.3	-	9.5
12. Polokwane	58.7	36.0	22.7	-	35.6	0.4	-	31.6	4.0	-	37.6	-	6.0
13. Ramokgopa	64.1	42.0	22.1	-	31.2	10.8	-	29.6	1.6	-	37.1	-	7.5
14. Sekhukhune	45.3	22.0	23.3	-	31.3	-	11.3	22.2	9.1	-	34.4	-	12.2
15. Thabina	54.8	36.0	18.8	-	22.8	13.2	-	25.7	-	2.9	26.3	-	0.6
16. Zebediela		47.0		-	43.6	3.4	-	37.0	6.6	-	47.1	-	10.1
LED	54.6	36.0	18.6	-	31.8	4.2	-	31.8	0.0	-	36.4	-	4.6

Source: (LED-examination section : 1988-1992)

A close study of the st 10 results (from 1988-1992) according to circuits in Lebowa reveal that:

* From 1988 to 1989 the pass percentages declined in all circuits.

* In 1990 only two circuits i.e. Sekhukhune and Bakenberg made an insignificant improvement of 0.7% and 9.3% respectively.

* In 1991 11 circuits out of 16 still showed a decline on the 1990 pass percentages.

* Although all circuits, except Mahwelereng, made an improvement on the 1991 results in 1992, the LED average pass percentage was still low [36.4]

* From 1989 to 1992 the LED average percentage pass has never exceeded 40%.

Table 17 indicates how teacher protest activities affected the std 10 external examination results according to regions.

TABLE 17:   Std 10 Average Pass Results (1989-92): Regions in order of merit

Position	Regions	Circuits	Circuit Average pass for period 1989-1992	Regional Average pass % for period 1989-1992
1	Central	Zebediela Mogodumo Mankweng Mahwelereng	43.7 42.4 40.4 29.9	39.1
2	Western	Konekwena Bakenberg Polokwane Bochum	40.4 36.3 35.1 35.0	36.7
3	South-Eastern	Nebo Dennitton Bohlabela Sekhukhune	34.0 32.6 29.2 27.5	30.8
4	Lowveld	Ramokgopa Thabina Bolobedu Mapulaneng	35.0 27.7 27.5 25.7	29.0
	LED Average pass percentage			34.0

(Source: LED, 1989-1992: Std 10 Exam Results - Regions)

The above table shows that:

*   Lowveld region was severely hit by the unrest with the result that three of its circuits ciz, <u>Thabina, Bolobedu and Mapulaneng</u>, obtaining less than 30% average pass during this period.

*   In the South-Eastern region, <u>Bohlabela</u> and <u>Sekhukhune circuits</u> were also heavily affected.   Resultantly, they obtained 29.2 and 27.5 respectively.

*   In the Central region, <u>Mahwelereng Circuit</u> suffered the negative impact of teacher collective actions heavily.

*   Performances of pupils in the std 10 examinations in the four regions has been far less than 50%, with an average percentage of 34% for the LED.

The LED Annual Report (1990:33) reports that the external 1990 Examination results gave a very poor picture which is a true reflection of the negative effects of disruption of academic programmes at Colleges of Education as a result of Chalk-downs, stay-aways and sit-ins as well as marches to Head Office and circuit offices. The 1990 external examination results at Colleges of Education in Lebowa were as follows:

TABLE 18:   Externally examined groups (completers) : 1990

1.   **Junior Primary Teachers' Diploma (J.P.T.D. 3)**

Colleges	No wrote	Distinctions	Ordinary Pass	Fail
1 Kwena Moloto 2 Mmamokgalake 3 Mokopane	28 71 70	- - -	12 (42.9%) 23 (32.4%) 20 (28.6%)	16 (57.1%) 48 (67.6%) 50 (71.4%)
Total	169	-	55 (32.5%)	114 (67.5%)

2.   **Senior Primary Teachers' Diploma (S.P.T.D. 3)**

Colleges	No wrote	Distinctions	Ordinary Pass	Fail
1. Dr CN Phatudi 2 Kwena-Moloto 3 Mmamokgalake 4 Mapulaneng 5 Mokopane 6 Sekhukhune 7 Modjadji	140 104 395 108 89 296	- - - - - - -	20 (14.3%) 44 (42.3%) 207 (52.4%) - 47 (43.5%) 49 (55.1%) 129 (43.6%)	120 (85.7%) 60 (57.7%) 188 (47.6%) - 61 (56.5%) 40 (44.9%) 167 (56.4%)
Total	1132		496 (43.8%)	636 (56.2%)

3.   **Secondary Teachers' Diploma (S.T.D. 3)**

Colleges	No Wrote	Distinations	Ordinary Pass	Fail
1 Dr CN Phatudi 2 Kwena-Moloto 3 Modjadji 4 Mokopane 5 Sekhukhune 86 Setotolwane	240 111 171 170 208 161	- - - - - -	70 (29.2%) 105 (94.6%) 133 (77.8%) 155 (91.2%) 117 (56.3%) 143 (88.8%)	170 (70.8%) 6 (5.4%) 38 (22.2%) 15 (8.8%) 91 (43.7%) 18 (11.2%)
Total	1061	-	723 (68.1%)	338 (31.9%)

(Source : LED Annual Report, 1990 : 33)

The statistical data in Table 18 indicate that in 1990:

*   No distinction pass was obtained in all groups (ie J.P.T.D, S.P.T.D. and

        S.T.D.).

140

*   S.P.T.D. total pass percentage (43.8) is lower than the total fail percentage (56.2) by 12.4.

*   The fail percentages (85.7) and (70.8) in the cases of S.A.T.D. and S.T.D. respectively for Dr CN Phatudi are rather high. This indicates that Dr CN Phatudi College was heavily affected by the disruptions.

6.5   SADTU'S COLLECTIVE ACTIONS ON PARENTS

Ideally the tripartite relationship among teachers, parents and students should be mutually supportive for effective education. Phil Molefe (TUATA, 1992:34) agrees that effective education can only be ensured through a collective and meaningful participation of the three principal parties, namely, teachers, learners and parents. This implies that the interest of the various stakeholders must be born in mind when educating and training the youth to become active productive citizens of the future. Significant about this, so believes Robin Lee (1993:24), is that benefits within a community could be derived from active participation of teachers, parents and pupils. Consequently, Dr Itotch (1990:13) has put it ccorrectly when he said: "education is the responsibility of the entire society".

The Catholic Institute of Education (CIE) (1989:3) regards education as a very important key to the future. The CIE (same page) further maintains that parents invest a lot of time and money in the education of their children. It is for this reason that Nkone and Makete (1992:11) contend that parents are and shall remain partners in education. Although their participation in education is crucial, it also involves costs and benefits. This is a responsibility that the parents need to accomplish. Parents have a responsibility to teach children good virtues such as self-discipline, respect of authority, etc. (TUATA, 1990:11). Parents should see to it that children attend school and apply themselves to their studies in a disciplined fashion. (D.E.T., 1979:2).

Education should be a shared responsibility. Resultantly, teachers should act as loco in parentis because schools in a certain sense are extensions of homes. Teachers should be entrusted with a task of educating the children because parents have confidence in them. Therefore teachers should not misuse this trust to further their own whims and wishes. If teachers and parents work together, everyone benefits - especially the children.

The primary objective of schools, therefore, is to equip every pupil with knowledge and skills so that pupils will be able to fulfill their potential and eventually be able to offer their service on the open market (D.E.T., 1989:27). On the same page, D.E.T. views the role of teachers as to care for the spiritual, mental, physical and cultural development of the child as a total human being. It is the teaching of values and norms which will enable the child to develop to maturity and to maintain acceptable standards of behaviour in society.

In education it is not the teacher himself who is of major importance, but the task of educating the child and of preparing the child for his future career. It is for this matter that teachers should render an unselfish service. Schoolwork must therefore be done with earnestness and thoroughness. Teachers should subject themselves to authority of those placed above them, but this should not prohibit teachers from offering positive and constructive criticism. (D.E.T. 1979:4). To offer positive and constructive criticism to the right quarter is to further the interest of the teaching profession. Katz (1993:14) sums it thus: "Both parents and teachers want the same thing for children namely, the best possible education, ... Because there is an undeniable link between parent involvement and achievement, teachers more then ever need to let parents know what they want and that they value their support".

The school cannot exist in isolation from the parents or community surrounding it. D.E.T. (1989:86) maintains that education is a partnership between teachers and

parents and the effect of the school alone cannot ensure academic performance and individual growth of the pupil. A combined effort is needed from the school, and the parents. To achieve this combined effort and to encourage greater parental involvement:

* teachers make contacts with as many parents as possible;
* schools organise at least one parents' day per year;
* schools invite parents to attend cultural activities day, talent shows, song and dance festivals and award ceremonies; and
* teachers establish involved, active and effective Parent-teachers Associations (PTA).

It should be mentioned here that parents in each Lebowa schools are respresented by a statutory body, namely School Committee Council. The most important function of this body is to establish, maintain and control community schools and to serve as liaison between the parents and the school (D.E.T., 1979:3). The School Committee Council is responsible for the appointment of teachers and signing of contract forms (LTS 1) thereof.

The emergence of SADTU in 1990 changed the circumstances. Politicised teachers revolutionised the existing relationships in education. SADTU teachers no longer performed their duty of educating and training children earnestly and thoroughly as entrusted by parents. Teachers' respect for authority has ceased (TUATA, 1991:26). Hostility towards authority emerged, and defiance was practised (e.g. two days of action in May 21 and 22 1992 and a Week of Action from 21 to 25 September 1992). Teachers threatened to bring schools to a halt (Sowetan, 25 June 1992:4). Teachers stayed away from classes, attending endless meetings (TUATA, 1991:25), and worst of all, doing the toyi-toyi (TUATA, 1992:31). Thus, no effective teaching took place while parents invested a lot of time and money in education of their children. This embarassed parents. Parents saw their children growing up in a strife-ridden society

in which education and principles like discipline, hard work and respect have been put aside in the quest for liberation (TUATA, 1990:11).

This state of affairs became a point of concern for the Lebowa authorities. Several meetings were summoned to address this issue, e.g. meetings of education officers at Makgoebaskloof on the 25th September 1991; principals at Lebowakgomo on the 03/09/91; and Head of institutions, school commitee and governing councils, community leaders as well as constituency representatives on the 15/10/92 at Lebowakgomo Civic Hall. Resolutions taken here, were to empower the parents to stand on their feet to revive the culture of learning and teaching in schools in their repective places.

However, when community leaders and school committee councils arranged meetings, very few parents attended, allegedly fearing the destructive and uncollaborating attitude of the protesting teachers.Some parents claimed that while they were concerned about their children's education, circumstances forced them to stay away because of lack of democratic procedures in most meetings. Protesting teachers forced their well packaged agendas on parents (Molefe, 1992:34). When parents disagreed with them, such parents were shouted down and even threatened. Logically parents could not endorse decisions they did not agree with. Protesting teachers would canvass "young comrades" to intimidated those who did not go along with their viewpoints. (Molefe, 1992:34). This is supported by the Principals' Council chairperson and a prominent resident of Mahwelereng Township in Potgietersrus area, Mr Motshudi, (in an interview) that it sometimes happened that when SADTU's demands were not met by the LED, intimidatory tactics and counter-productive measures were applied by SADTU members. When SADTU's appeals to other non-SADTU members were not heeded to, the SADTU members would use undemocratic means such as threats to people's lives and destruction of public property. Such measures were aimed at forcing non-SADTU members to support SADTU's course

of action, irrespective of whether they want or not.

This frightened, therefore, most parents. The parents' interest in school affairs began to dwindle. Parent-teacher relationships deteriorated. Such activities of SADTU were supported by student organisations such as COSAS and SASCO (Moloto, 1992:1, R. v.d. Heever, 1992:1, SADTU N-Tvl Leaflet).

Realising the intimidations, threats and the support SADTU members get from the student organisations, parents became powerless and hopeless. The powerless state of parents had negative effects on the education of their children. On top of the crippling effects of black education the actions of teachers' and students' organisations have disempowered or emasculated parents, adding to the limping state of the children's education (TUATA, 1992: 34). Parents seemed to have relinguished their authority over schools. No longer did they have the power to guide the behaviour of teachers and students (TUATA, 1990:11). This led to a situation wherein little interaction between schools and parents occurred. The protesting teachers took advantage of the 'paralysed' state of parents not to execute their professional obligations, with the result that pupils performed poorly in the examinations during the period 1989 to 1992 (see Figure 4 and Table 16 and 18).

6.6 THE EFFECTS OF SADTU'S COLLECTIVE ACTIONS ON TEACHERS' NUMBERS, TEACHERS ORGANISATIONS AND TEACHING PROFESSION IN THE COMMUNITY OR SOCIETY

6.6.1 Teachers' numbers

Since 1972, when Lebowa became a self-governing territory, all teachers affiliated to the Transvaal United African Teachers' Association (TUATA). The Lebowa core

statistical size of the teaching profession in 1989 was 24 922 (LED Annual Report, 1990: 1).

During the second half of the 1980's several developments gave impetus to a teacher unity process among teachers in this territory, namely:

* the establishment of the Northern Transvaal Teachers Union (See 3.2.3 above);

* an agreement among Lebowa teachers to participate in the teacher unity talks held in Harare in 1988 (Kganakga, 1990: 1 & 2);

* the acceptance of a single education system by the government (Ramodike, 1991: 31).

Monica Bot (1993: 13) maintains that this process led to the establishment of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU) in 1990. SADTU was joined by a significant number of teachers in Lebowa. It has been indicated in 3.2.3 above that affiliated SADTU membership in the territory for 1991 was 1813. Van de Heever (New Nation, July 3, 1992) estimated SADTU membership to be 5 000. This shows that TUATA membership was affected.

6.6.2 Other Teacher's organisations and bodies

Up and until 1990 the only non-statutory teachers' organisation operating in Lebowa was the Transvaal United African Teachers' Association (TUATA). For a long time the operations of this body in relation to operations of other bodies such as Principal's Councils, Departmental authorities, school committee Councils, Student Representative Councils, etc. have been harmonious. There has been a clear-cut line of demarcation of functions between the various bodies as regard their activities and neither infringed on the territory of the other.

146

The emergence of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU) in 1990, almost spelt a deathknell to Principals' Councils and school committees. SADTU viewed these bodies as puppets of the LED and for this reason demanded their dissolution. SADTU advocated for the establishment of non-statutory bodies such as Parent-Teacher-Student Associations to replace school committee and Principal's councils.

The establishment of SADTU in 1990 implied differences with its rival, TUATA, with regard to their attitudes and/or orientations. Unlike TUATA, which perpetuated ethnic and racial divisions, SADTU was non-racial and non-ethnic in nature. Historically, TUATA had taken up the task of challenging the situation in which the teachers found themselves working; but SADTU has been the one that has vigilantly campaigned for the rights of teachers (Mphahlele, L. 1993: 14). TUATA espoused a professional approach at the expense of unionism. They equated professionalism with being 'a-political' and serving the interest of the child (TUATA, 1991: 12). SADTU unionised for democratic professionalism. To SADTU, professionalism and unionism are two sides of the same coin (Mseleku, 1990: 2). In this regard the Northern Transvaal chairperson of AZAPO, Mr. Nkadimeneng (Lebowa Times, June 8, 1990: 5) contends that conditions shaping learning and teaching in a politicised education system, such as apartheid, cannot be ignored. Teachers should align themselves with a particular political philosophy. Curriculum change, for instance, used to take place outside the teaching profession. SADTU foresees that they are the ones who should make or break the success of a new curriculum since it is they who have to implement it.

6.6.3   Teaching profession in the community

It has been mentioned (6.5 above) that teachers, parents and pupils constitute a tripartite relationship for an effective education. The position and the duties of

teachers in the educational process is of the utmost importance. By joining the teaching profession teachers bound themselves voluntarily to act according to certain regulations. They should therefore subject themselves to the authority of those placed above them and render unselfish service that is expected of them (DET, 1979: 4). Teachers are, in most cases, parents who should belong to the community structures in a civil society. They should also affiliate to either teachers' associations (DET, 1979: 4). In the LED's hierarchy teachers occupied the lowest rung but were functionaries of the government and educational authorities by supervising, disciplining and preparing the future workers (pupils and students). The diagram (Figure 5) hereunder illustrates the position of teachers in relation to other elements of the social organisation and environment of the educational process.

FIGURE 5: Elements of social organisation and environment of the educational process
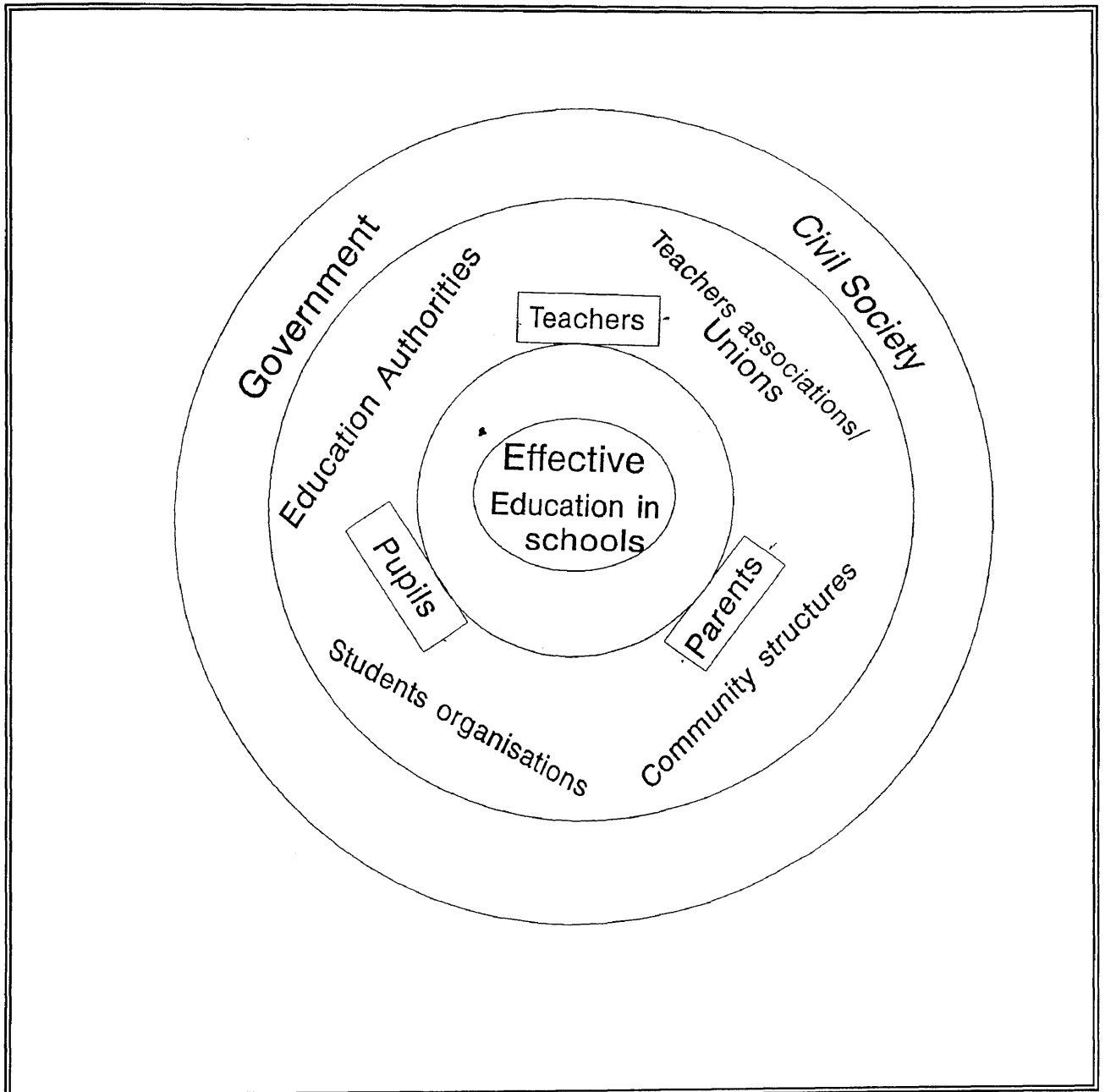
SADTU realised the integral position teachers occupy in the educational process. SADTU further observed that its collective actions could have strong repercussions on the Lebowa society from pupils up to the government. Thus schools were brought to a halt (Ramodike, 1991: Address); students/pupil morale to learn was lowered with the resultant poor results (See 6.4 above); parents' accountability through school management councils' weakened; principals; councils were paralysed (Mahwalereng

Circuit Principals Council: 1991: Minutes - 10 June), while respect for authority was thrown onto the rocks (TUATA, September 1991: 25-26). The teachers' collective actions made the high esteem accorded to the teaching profession to dwindle.

6.7   SUMMARY

This chapter discussed the impact of SADTU's collective actions in Lebowa during the period between 1989 and 1992. SADTU collective actions affected the Lebowa government, the LED's official duties, pupils' performance and parental involvement in the education of their children.

Lebowa government's attitude towards SADTU was initially negative. The government did not favour the recognition of SADTU. The government closed communication doors with SADTU. Through pressure from SADTU the government's closed-door policy culminated into open-door policy. The principle of no work, no pay also, was diluted. The government furthermore, conciliated SADTU members thus minimising its unilateral decision making and taking.

Normal official duties have been interrupted by marches to, and sit-ins at circuit offices. School inspections could not be freely done.

Due to SADTU's collective actions pupil performances have since declined. Pupil attendance also became irregular. Tables 15 to 17 above testify and support this state of affairs (see Figure 4 also).

SADTU's collective actions demotivated parents' involvement and aspirations. It is important that parents should take part in the formal education of their children. They should help in school projects and attend school functions at which they should lend a hand. This encourages teachers who will know that they are not alone in their

endeavour to educate the child. But if the parent-teacher working relations become strained, parents lose trust and confidence in the teachers. Resultantly, such relationship nomore remain supportive for effective education (Sowetan, 1992: June 7).

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 BACKGROUND

This study examined teacher protest actions in the Lebowa homeland during the period 1989-1992. The study focused on the conditions that led to or facilitated the outbreak of teacher collective actions, mobilisation and commitment of resources in such actions and the impact of those actions on the Lebowa government in general and the Lebowa education department in particular.

Lebowa, which means the North, was a self-governing territory situated in the present Northern Province of South Africa. The territory was one of the ten homelands created by the former apartheid government. Lebowa, together with other homelands, perpetuated the apartheid policy and its practices.

The Lebowa government comprised a number of departments, one of which was the department of education (LED). The LED bore some of the characteristics of an ideal-type bureaucracy as suggested by Max Weber (Spencer and Inkeles, 1982: 167) such as division of labour, hierarchy of authority, written rules and regulations, etc. From a functionalist viewpoint the LED performed a manifest function (e.g. transmission of knowledge) and latent functions (e.g. transmission of culture, promotion of social and political integration, maintenance of social order) and served as an agent for social change. The LED portrayed, therefore, the major features of education in functionally benign terms. In addition, the LED had 24 922 teachers, lecturers and instructors (LED Annual Report, 1990: 1) who served as its employees. Before the mid-1980's all the aforesaid teachers, lecturers and instructors were

members of the Transvaal African Teachers' Association (TUATA). TUATA was the only teachers' organisation officially recognised by the Lebowa government and the LED. TUATA followed the principle of hierarchy of authority and expected every teacher to adhere to the rules and regulations of the LED. Moll (1989: 63-64) contends that TUATA was founded on the discriminatory and oppressive principles of the South African government education system.

Towards the close of the 1980's some teachers started to question the status quo. A significant number of teachers ceased their membership with TUATA and formed the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU) that was launched in October 1990. SADTU membership increased to 1 813 in 1990 (see chapter 3). Though small in number SADTU managed to launch an organised demand for change. SADTU viewed the LED as an instrument of domination, that convinced the subordinate groups (such as teachers) of their inferiority, reinforced the existing social class inequalities, and discouraged alternative and more democratic visions of society. In this regard Christie (1986: 21) maintains that as long as there are inequalities in a social system, there exists a possibility of opposition in the subsystems. SADTU aligned itself with protest movements in the country to protest against apartheid policy and structures. Furthermore SADTU struggled to get its organisation recognised by the LED as a union of teachers to fight for their rights and interests.

7.2 SUMMARY OF TEACHER COLLECTIVE ACTIONS IN LEBOWA (1989-1992)

7.2.1 Statement of the problem

Black education must be viewed as a system in crisis. This has arisen because of a long period of historical neglect and different education systems adopted during the apartheid era. Apartheid education started with the introduction of the Bantu

Education Act of 1953 which became operative in 1955. The enactment of the Act created a situation in which Black education was being perverted to create bondage in a racial setting. According to Van Aardt (1994: 26) the Act emphasised pure academic tuition at the expense of technical and commercial skills. Van Aardt (1994: 26) further maintains that this situation brought along with it inferior education for blacks with the resultant low levels of available skills, high levels of illiteracy and critical high level manpower shortage in the South African market. According to the ANC (1994: 58) the apartheid education was characterised by three key features:

*   Lack of, or unequal access to education and training at all levels of the system. Vast disparities existed between Black and White provisioning and large numbers of people had little or no access to education and training;

*   Lack of democratic control within the education and training system. Students, teachers and parents were excluded from the decision-making process; and

*   fragmentation of the system along racial and ethnic lines.

The fragmented, unequal and undemocratic nature of education and training systems arose the perception that the education provided for the blacks denied them any semblance of equality of opportunities. That is why the protesting teachers demanded changes in the education system: equal access to education and training, equitable provisioning of resources and facilities in education, and full participative decision-making and management in schools.

This study described and analyzed the occurences and effects of teacher collective actions in Lebowa during the 1989-1992 period. The more specific questions concerned:

*   Conditions underlying teacher collective actions;

*   transformations of collective beliefs, mobilisations and participation in the SADTU collective actions; and

*   the impact of these actions in the Lebowa homeland.

154

7.2.2 Conditions underlying teacher collective actions in Lebowa

The following were some of the conditions that facilitated the outbreak of teacher protest actions:

* Poor or low status of technical and commercial skills (see Figure 3 in Chapter 4). Technical and scientific competence and vocationally orientated curricula could not be expected in many black schools (Van Aardt, 1994: 32). According to the LED Annual Report (1990: 27-28) Lebowa had only one technical and only one agricultural high school;

* A high Pupil-teacher ratio (see Tables 1 and 2) and overcrowded classrooms (Chapter 4, Table 3) that revealed appalling conditions under which teachers worked;

* A high drop-out rate and a high number of repeaters (See Fig. 1 & 2 and Tables 4 & 5) which indicated an educational neglect of multitudes of black pupils;

* the per capita expenditure on white pupils was substantively higher than that on black pupils (See Chapter 4 Tables 11, 12 & 13). The Lebowa budgetary vote towards education since 1984 up to 1990 (Table 14) has, each year, been just enough to cover salaries of teachers only. This led to poor provisioning of educational facilities such as teaching aids, books and stationary, classrooms, etc.

Other conditions were:

* the Lebowa government was intransigent, e.g. the Lebowa government did not want to recognise a teachers' union such as SADTU; practised closed door policy; applied the principle of no work, no pay when teachers absented themselves from work and espoused the apartheid education system; and

* Mismanagement of public funds by the Lebowa authorities. For example over R20 million was mismanaged and/or misappropriated by Senior officials of

155

Lebowa during the year 1989 (Refer back to Chapter 4.3.3).

7.2.3 Mobilisation and commitment for SADTU collective actions

The abovementioned conditions facilitated teacher protest actions because of the deep and widespread discontent. The discontent accounted for collective attempts to bring about change. Oommen (1990: 29) contends that no man can perform his duties adequately if he is deprived of his rights and privileges. Oommen argues further that deprivation is followed by protests by the deprived who organise movements to mobilise resources and commitment. Resistance and protest actions of teachers in Lebowa were a reflection of issues and conditions in the LED and the Lebowa government. Teachers were in conflict with the LED's bureaucracy because as mentioned (in Chapter 6.6.3) above, they occupied the lowest rung on the top-down management hierarchy of the LED's system. The system was characterised by gross disparities in the distribution of power. Teachers neither owned nor controlled the productive resources of the system.   The possession and command over these resources lay in the hands of the departmental officials, who upheld the LED's status quo, and espoused and nurtured the oppressive and dictatorial activities of the LED in particular, and the apartheid system in general.

Conflict over scarce resources is a permanent aspect of social life and a major source of social change. The social system is an arena in which there is a struggle for power. In the LED, education bureaucrats, and not teachers, wielded power. Teachers believed in power sharing. When the balance between power and opposition shifted, the aggrieved teachers started to demand changes in the LED's system. Power and opposition shifted because the levels of access to political institutions had begun to open up; Lebowa political alignments were in disarray; and the teachers were offered help from influential allies from within and without the system (Refer Chapter 5.5.2) and they developed a sense of efficacy. In the light of this teachers met to oppose the

156

authority of the LED. The teachers formed campaigns in terms of demands. For example, when the LED harassed and humiliated the powerless teachers by way of, inter alia, arbitrary transfers and charges of misconduct without fair hearings as at C.N. Phatudi College, Zebediela, Bochum and Konekwena circuits (Refer Chapter 3), teachers reacted in a collective manner to pressurise the LED for changes. Teacher collective reactions to harrassments, humiliations and transfers by the LED during the period under review (unlike before) were possible because this was a period of social change which made the prevailing social relations inappropriate, thus producing a strain between the new and old orders. Strain was generated within the aggrieved teachers, when discontent increased and had been widely spread, collective efforts to alleviate discontent occurred. The protesting teachers used unconventional tactics (see 3.3 above) to accomplish their goals which included:

*   strikes, i.e. the withholding of conventional activity in the established system. For example, SADTU members chalked down until their demands were met;

*   demonstrations, i.e. mass gathering in rallies or marches, often with some dramatic or symbolic display of demands. SADTU teachers held rallies and meetings at Lebowa-Kgomo Stadium and at the Orinoco Hotel in Potgietersrus. At these rallies speeches were delivered by prominent figures who conscientised SADTU members (consciousness raising) not to collaborate with all the apartheid structures (polarisation). It was again at such havens (places) where the protesting teachers could see how many were willing to take the risk of challenging authority (See 5.4.2 above - collective empowerment). Decisions were collectively made about what steps and procedures to follow in their attempt to oppose their enemy (collective decision-making);

*   coercion, i.e. the threatening of dire consequences while demands were being negotiated. These threats had been carried out when principals and circuit inspectors were evicted from schools and circuit offices respectively;

*   disruption of conventional activity, e.g. sit-ins in the principals' and

157

inspectors' offices.

7.3 EFFECTS OF TEACHER PROTEST ACTIONS

The effects of teacher protest actions could be traced from different viewpoints: political, educational and social.

7.3.1 <u>Political</u>

An analysis of teacher protest action manifests a recognition of the political problem of the powerless protesting teachers confronting the powerful LED's authority. Teachers should yield to the power of administrative officials. How did the powerless protesting teachers generate enough power to force the powerful authorities to yield to their demands? An attempt to answer this question will reveal possibilities of success and failure of the teacher protest actions. The protesting teachers were considerably successful in having certain reforms made in the Lebowa government practices. For example:

* the closed-door policy culminated into an open-door policy, which gave individuals and organisations freedom to air their views and grievances;

* Piven & Cloward (1979) once argued that the use of disruption tactics has been a powerful tool of a number of groups in the struggle to secure recognition of the political ends. In this investigation this was the case with the former Lebowa government that was totally opposed to recognition of a teachers' union. Recognition was demanded for the purpose of getting access to the departmental structures. But on the 7th of July 1992 at the Ranch Motel the Lebowa government granted the protesting teachers (SADTU) a de facto recognition. Furthermore, the LED and SADTU which, in the past, could never meet to solve problems of common interest, held meetings on the 23rd of September 1991 in Pietersburg; on the 7th of July 1992 at the Ranch

Motel; on the 19th of October 1992 in Pietersburg and on the 28th of October at the Pietersburg Holiday Inn (Refer back to Chapter 3 and 6).

* the Lebowa authorities tried to quieten disruptive force of protesting teachers by co-opting them in some positions of authority, thus minimising its unilateral decision-making. For example, the appointment of teachers, pupils and parents in the Commission of education crisis in Lebowa under Kgoshi M.M. Marishane (Refer to Chapter 6.2.5) was an outcome of pressure from teachers' actions.

7.3.2 Educational

Although protest actions of teachers were geared towards pressurising the LED's authorities to concede to the teachers' demands on the one hand, they also hurt the pupils on the other hand. This was evidenced in Tables 15, 16 & 17 in Chapter 6 above. Pupils failed the external Std. 10 examinations hopelessly during the period under review because the defiance campaigns launched by SADTU had resulted in all forms of authority being defied and rejected. The teachers refused to prepare their school work, while other teachers could come to school and leave as they wished (See fig. 4).

The result of teacher protest actions was also observed in the provisioning of improved educational facilities for use by children at schools. The government erected additional classrooms to eliminate backlog. To improve communication between the Circuit offices and schools the government restructured the then existing circuit system of 16 circuits into manageable 57 circuits (Ref. Chapter 6 above).

7.3.3 Social

SADTU realised that it had insufficient human resources to threaten the LED's

159

officials into yielding to teachers' demands. To enhance these resources SADTU forged alliances with other groups of similarly aggrieved persons such as the ANC, the ANCYL, COSATU, NOTRAPSU, NEHAWU and civil associations (See 5.5.2 above).

Teachers were conscious of the prominent role they played in the tripartite relationship for effective education. They were functionaries of the LED and the Lebowa government, who had to transmit knowledge and skills to the future generation. They further belonged to various community structures, teacher unions and associations (Refer 6.3.6 above). Their non-participation in education could bring education to its knees. This was evidenced in 1990 when SADTU teachers brought Lebowa schools to a halt.

7.4   A THEORETICAL DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEM

The explicit point of departure of this study has been the use of the social construction theory of Klandermans as an explanatory framework. Klandermans (1993: 1-3) conceptualises social movement in a broad way. His approach embraces the theories of his predecessors on social movements falling within the 1960's and 1980's period. The social construction approach is based on the classical model, which he called the breakdown theories e.g. Smelser (1962), through the Resource-mobilisation theories e.g. McCarthy and Zald (1973) and the political processes theories e.g. Tarrow (1989) to social construction of meaning. In terms of this theoretical framework an attempt will be made to discuss the stated problem (see 1.3 above) of this investigation.

SADTU collective actions were not an outcome of spontaneous or irrational behaviour. The protesting teachers never lost their ability to think rationally, neither did their minds, in Spencer and Inkeles' (1982: 493) words, function at a primitive

level, nor did they try to identify themselves with a particular leader. Their collective actions were a product of their experiences in the apartheid education system. The apartheid system denied them any semblance of equality of opportunity.

The teacher protest actions occurred when a significant number of teachers harboured grievances against the conditions in the established social order of Lebowa (See 7.2.1 and 7.2.3 above). The grievances were transformed into ideologies that permitted teachers to interpret the situation and focused their hostilities towards the LED's social order. Such ideologies focused on perceptions of injustices which, in this investigation, took the following forms:

*   <u>Relative deprivation</u>, which is a conscious feeling of a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectations and present actualities (Schaefer and Lamm, 1992: 615). In this form the protesting teachers were motivated by the hurt or disadvantage they had experienced in the apartheid education system;

*   <u>Social injustices</u>, in which teachers were motivated by the harm which they saw done to their fellow teachers. The availability of grievances or ideologies was, in this case, not a sufficient condition for the generation of a protest, but the protest was generated when the teachers' grievances were mobilised into collective actions. To achieve this, SADTU resorted to the process of resources mobilisation. According to Schaefer and Lamm (1992: 616) resource mobilisation is the ways in which a social movement utilises such resources as money, political influence, access to the media and personnel. For the purpose of this study resource mobilisation meant arousing commitment on the part of protesting teachers. Commitment did not mean just dedication to a cause, but the willingness to take risks or waste of a lot of time or endure inconveniences for the teachers' union. The inconveniences suffered by SADTU teachers were e.g. salary-cuts, charges of misconduct by the LED, transfers and secondment to other schools; and

*   <u>Incompatible visions</u>, in which SADTU teachers, on the bases of their

161

development through relative deprivation and social injustices, had come to believe that the entire Lebowa social order should be replaced.

To relieve themselves of these injustices SADTU teachers used unconventional tactics such as strike action, demonstrations, coercion and disruptions as indicated under paragraph 7.2.3.

Concisely put, the social construction of teacher collective actions in Lebowa proceeded from a significant transformation in the collective beliefs of teachers. The transformation occurred through the group processes namely, consciousness-raising, polarisation, collective empowerment and collective decision-making, that created a willingness to sacrifice personal welfare for a collective cause (See Chapter 5.4 above).

7.5   RECOMMENDATIONS

As a result of the findings and observations from this study the following suggestions and recommendations are proposed:

7.5.1 General

*   The former apartheid education system provided education on the basis of racial and ethnic lines. The system did not enhance, among blacks, individual capacity to contribute competently in the production of goods and services. This implied that black inferior education was perpetuated in order to preserve white dominance. It is therefore recommended that the first priority of education should be the deracialisation of the school system. This would abolish racial education and thus utilise education to develop in the young generation, a non-racial attitude, a common national identity, and common

162

loyalty. This would include the creation of one ministry of education as well as the equalisation of per pupil expenditure.

* Poor quality in primary education is a serious matter. The reason is that primary education is the only formal education most children can ever hope to receive; and it also determines the quality of all higher levels of education. Therefore primary education is crucial for every child irrespective of his/her race. It is therefore recommended that compulsory primary education be introduced for all. The introduction of compulsory primary education would lead to a substantial reduction of a high drop-out rate especially in black schools (See Figure 2 in Chapter 4). This phenomenon can be ascribed, inter alia, to the large number of repeaters, the outflow of pupils, and the back-flow of some pupils to schools.

* Appalling working conditions of teachers has been one cause that precipitated teacher collective actions. The government's attention is therefore drawn to the normalisation of the pupil-teacher ratios to tally with the Unesco stipulations of 25:1 for all racial groups. If this situation is impossible to attain, another solution would be to increase the pupil-teacher ratio in white education from the present approximately 20:1 to a 35:1 ratio. Although an equitable distribution will not be attained by this measure alone, it might remove an important source of dissatisfaction and reduce negative perceptions.

The phenomenon of appalling working conditions has been experience by many African countries. Addressing the Pan African Conference on Education in Accra, the President of WCOPT, Dr. Itotoh (1990: 12), pronounced that education in Africa has deplorably became sub-standard and that has led to massive retrenchment of teachers, mass retirement of older teachers, the stagnation or reduction of salaries, extra-large classes, dilapidated schools, lack of furniture, stationary and other facilities. A common tenet of governments in African states has been that every child has the right to education. That implied provision of free education, which was costly to undertake.

163

To solve the problem of unaffordable costs, the government would provide universal cheaper primary education and to be very selective in the admission of pupils into secondary schools.

*   Effective educational reform and meaningful political change are not mutually exclusive elements. These two elements are two sides of the same coin. All stake holders in education e.g. parents, teachers and students together with political and community leaders, need to be brought together into participation in the decision-making process at all levels of educational structure.

7.5.2   Empowerment of parents

The school cannot exist in isolation from the community surrounding it. Parents are and shall always remain active partners in education. The actions of teachers alone cannot ensure academic performance and individual growth of the pupils. A joint effort is needed from the teachers, parents and the community.

In order to achieve the combined effort and to encourage greater parental and community involvement, there is a great need for the establishment of statutory bodies such as parent-teacher-student organisation (PTSA) and parent-teacher-association (PTA). These bodies will serve as forums at which parents will be empowered to participate fully in the normalisation of the educational process. Admittedly the establishment of such forums may not readily solve the problem. Political, generational and structural sources of power conflicts between teachers and parents may still be endemic. For instance, teachers occupy a contradictory location in the bureaucratic educational organisation between the education authorities and the parents. The Forums - PTSA and PTA - and the empowerment of parents would make teachers and parents to belong to a similar social class. In fact serious conflicts do not often arise between people belonging to similar classes but to different cultural

groups. Teachers, on the other hand, would love to push their agenda through, while parents on the other hand, have the right to differ. Furthermore, parents are members of a community with underlying values and expectations. To be empowered, parents would need to be socially recognised, among others by the teachers who should respect the prevailing norms and rules of conduct. Political conflicts may also arise in the management of schools. This has been the prerogative of teachers. Now that parents have been empowered to have a say in the management, this may create a conflict.

Parental involvement and commitment will imply long term planning and investment which is so vital for the betterment and survival of the human race. In essence true participation implies sharing, be it ideas, material or power, not ruling out profits and risks. Needless to mention that they (parents) will, by the very actions, be exercising their democratic right. Parents should be empowered to share their concerns regarding questions on any aspect of the curriculum. The curriculum can be enriched by the parents' input.

7.5.3 Empowerment and professionalism

Teaching profession is an occupation of teachers. Joining this profession teachers receive certain benefits such as employment, status and prestige, protection, etc. from the public and the government. Acting in this way, teachers bind themselves voluntarily to certain regulations. The teachers subject themselves to the authority of those placed above them and render services as expected of them without questioning.

Nowadays the teaching profession needs to accept the responsibility for the development of its members. To attain this responsibility , it is therefore recommended, the government or the ministry of education should grant full recognition to teacher organisations. The said teacher organisations will strive for the

democratisation of education and seek to negotiate on behalf of their members by entering into collective bargaining relations with the educational authorities,

Furthermore, it has been observed (in Chapter 4.3.2, Table 10 above) that 84,8% of the Lebowa teaching force in 1990 possessed no degrees, 9,1% were unqualified, whereas 16,1% had only pre-matriculation qualifications (See Table 10 attached). This situation debased the teachers' morale, self-confidence and self-esteem in the execution of their duties in the teaching profession. This suggests a need for the boosting of those teachers' morale. Opportunities should, therefore, be created for the underqualified teachers to study part-time. Courses and workshops, organised in collaboration with teacher organisations, should be attended by teachers. These courses and workshops would cater for the particular needs of teachers. Such opportunities will enable teachers to make valuable contributions, which are so important in terms of teachers' self-esteem and commitment to the profession. The costs of improving underqualified teachers and attendance of courses and workshops by teachers would be born by teachers themselves and schools respectively. Teachers need to study in order to be properly equipped for their tasks.

7.6   CONCLUDING REMARKS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

It should be remarked here that the emergence of SADTU and their concomitant demands for involvement in educational management areas - which have hitherto been the prerogative of the authorities (i.e. Minister, directors, inspectors and principals) - has led to a serious conflict between the educational authorities on the one hand, and other stakeholders (i.e. teachers, parents and pupils) on the other hand. The source of this conflict appears to be misconceptions held by both parties concerning the nature and mechanics of participation. Educational authorities should not view other stakeholders' participation in management as an erosion of their authority over them. On the other hand, other stakeholders should not demand participation as a way of

166

attaining independence from control of authorities.

For that matter an indepth research is imperative to investigate teacher collective actions. Further investigation in this regard is necessary to throw more light on conflict and negotiation. The investigation will demonstrate that conflict is capable of effective management, if not resolution, by means other than coercion and force. That will be a lesson educational authorities, on the one hand, and other stakeholders on the other hand, need to learn if there should be prospects of improved education and lasting peace.

8.   REFERENCES

African Institute Bulletin, vol 8, 1977.

Althusser, L. 1971. *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus*. London. New Left Books.

Archer, M.S. 1984. *Social Origins of Educational Systems*.
London: Sage.

ANC. 1994. *The Reconstruction and Development Programme: A Policy Framework*.
Johannesburg: Umanyano Publications.

Apple, M. 1983. *'Curricular Form and Logic of Technical Control' in Ideology and 'Practice in Schooling*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Bem, D.J. 1970. *Beliefs, attitudes and Human Affairs*. Belmont : Brooks/Cole Publishing.

Bhola, H.S. 1984. *"Campaigning for literacy"*. Eighth National experience of the 20th Century, with a memorandum to decision-makers. UNESCO.

Boshielo, B. 1992. *A fax to the LED Chief Director*, dated 30 September.

Bot, M. 1993. Who is Who in teacher organisations? *Education for Economic Development*, vol. 2, October.

Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. 1976. *Schooling in Capitalist America*. New York: Basic Books.

Braverman, H. 1974. *Labour and Monopoly Capitalism: The Degradation of work in the 20th Century*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Brookes, E.H. 1968. *Apartheid: A Documentary Study of Modern South Africa*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Bureau of Information, 1989. *RSA Official Yearbook*. Pretoria: Government Printers.

Bush, T. 1988. *Theories of Educational Management*. London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd.

Callinicos, A. & Rogers, J. 1977. *South Africa after Soweto*. London: Pluto Press.

Carchedi, G. 1975. *On the Economic Identification of the Middle Class, Economy and Society*, vol. no. 1.

Carlson, D. 1987. 'Teachers as Political Actors: From Reproductive Theory to the Crisis of Schooling' in *Harvard Education Review*, vol. 57, no. 3, Aug. pp. 284-307.

Catholic Institute of Education News, No 3 (August). Yeoville: CIE.

Chafetz, J.S. 1988. *Feminist Sociology: An overview of Contemporary Theories*. Houston: F.E.Peacock Publishers, Inc.

Christie, P. 1986. *The Right to learn. The struggle for Education in South Africa*. Cape Town: Galvin and Sale (Pty) Ltd.

Cillie Commission, 1980. Report on commission of Inquiry into Riots at Soweto and elsewhere from June 16, 1976 to 28 February 1977. Pretoria: Government Printers.

Cilliers, J. 1989. 'Crowd dynamics: The value added approach? *South African Journal of*

Sociology. Vol. 20, no. 3, March.

City Press, November 19, 1982.

City Press, November 22, 1987.

Cole, S. 1969. *The Unionisation of Teachers: A case study of the United Federation of Teachers*. New York: Praeger.

Coleman, J. 1957. *Community conflict*. New York : Free Press.

Court Order of the Supreme court of South Africa N-Tvl Provisional division: Case No 20835/92.

Davies, J. 1962. "Towards a Theory of Revolution". *American Sociological Review*, 27: 5-19.

Dawson, C.A. and Gettys, W.E. 1948. *An Introduction to Sociology*. New York: Ronald Press.

DBSA. 1988. *Lebowa Government*. Midrand: DBSA.

DBSA. 1990. *Statistical Abstracts on Self-governing territories in South Africa*. Midrand: DBSA.

Department of Development Aid, 1987. *Statistical Abstracts on Self-governing territories in South Africa*. Pretoria: Government Printers.

Department of Education and Training, 1986. *Annual Report*. Pretoria: Government Printers.

Department of Education and Training, 1989. *Annual Report*. Pretoria: Government Printers.

DET. 1979. *Guide for Principals of Schools (ET. 281)*. Pretoria: Government Printers.

Development Bank of South Africa, 1985. *Lebowa Government*. Midrand: DBSA.

Development Bank of South Africa, 1990. *Lebowa Government*. Midrand: DBSA.

Dhlomo, O. 1981. *Curriculum Innovation in South Africa - UTC Conference*: 14-16th January 1981.

Dickie-Clark, H.F. 1979. The dilemma of education in Plural Societies. Hare, A.P., Wiendiek, G. & Van Boembsen (eds). South Africa: Sociological Analysis. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Dougherty, K. 1980. 'Professionalism as Ideology'. *Socialist Review 49*, vol 1, Jan-Feb, pp. 160-176.

Du Plessis, A. et al. 1989. *Education and Manpower Development*, 1988, no 9. Bloemfontein: University of OFS
Research Institute for Education Planning.

Edelman, M. 1971. *Politics and Symbolic Action*. New York : Academic.

Ehrenreich, B. & Ehrenreich, J. 1978. *The Professional-managerial class between Labour*

and Capital. Montreal: Black Rose.

Enslin, P. 1976. 'Do we need Associations or Unions?" *Perspectives in Education*, vol. 4, Part 1. pp.1-3.

Feit, E. 1967. *African Opposition in South Africa.* Stanford: Hoover Institute Press.

Financial Mail. vol 112. no 9. 1989.

Finn, D., Grant, M. and Johnson, R. 1977. *Social Democracy, Education and Crisis, Cultural Studies 10: On Ideology. Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies.* Birmingham University Press.

Gamson, W A. 1975. *The Strategy of Social Protest.* Homewood, III : The Dorsey Press.

Gamson W A, Fireman, B and Rytina S. 1982. *Encounters with unjust Authorities.* Homewood, III. : The Dorsey Press.

Gardiner, M. 1982. 'The NEUSA and the Role of Teacher Organisations in South Africa'. *Perspectives in Education,*
vol. 6, no. 2, September.

Genck, F.H. 1983. *Improving School Performance.* New York : Praeger.

Goffman, E. 1974. *Frame Analysis* : Cambridge : Harvard University Press.

Gould, J. and Kolb, L.W. 1964. *Dictionary of Social Sciences.* Great Britain: Tavistock Publications.

Grobbelaar, J.A. 1989. *The Demand for education and its economic implications*. Paper read at the DEMSA Congress held at the Oude Libertas Centre, Stellenbosch, 28 September.

Grobler, J. 1988. *A Decisive Clash? A Short History of Black Protest Politics in South Africa, 1875-1976*. Pretoria: Acacia Books.

Gurr, T.R. 1970. *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Harris, K. 1982. *Teachers and Class: A Marxist Analysis*. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Hirsch, E L. 1989. Urban Revolts : *Ethnic Politics in the 19th Century Chicago Labour Movement*. Berkeley, California : University of California.

Hirsch, E L. 1990. "Sacrifice for the cause : Group processes, recruitment and commitment in a student Social movement". *S.S.R.* vol 55 (April 243-254).

Hoogeveldt, A.M.M. 1978. *The Sociology of Developing Societies*. London: McMillan.

Horrel, M. 1963. *African Education. Some Origins & Developments*. Johannesburg: Institute of Race Relations.

HSRC. 1990. *South Africa's Demographic Future*. Pretoria: Human Science Research Council.

Hyslop, J. 1986. 'Teachers and Trade Unions'. *South African Labour Bulletin* vol. 11, no. 6, June-July, pp.90-97.

Itotoh, J. 1990. Education in Africa, *Tuata Vol. 4 No 2 (September)* Johannesburg : TWS Communications.

Jenkins, J.C. and Perrow, C. 1977. Insurgency of the Powerless: Farm Worker movement (1946-1972). *American Sociological Review*, Vol 42 (April): 249-268.

Kallaway, P. 1984. *Apartheid and Education. Education for Black South Africans.* JHB:Raven Press.

Katz, A.E. 1993. Parent involvement in American Schools. *Educamus Vol. 39. No. 1,* Pretoria : D.E.T.

Kganakga, M.J. 1990. *Harare Confrence Report* held on the 4th to the 8th April.

Khoapa, B.A. 1973. Black Community Programmes. *Black Review 1972.*

Klandermans, B. 1984. "Mobilization and Participation: Social Psychological Expansion of Resource Mobilization Theory". *American Sociological Review*, Vol 49: 583-600.

Klandermans, B. 1988. "Mobilization and Mobilization of Consensus" pp. 173-197 in *International Social Movement Research.* vol 1. From structure to Action : Comparing Movement Participation across cultures.

Klandermans, B. 1993. *When Times are changing: Social movements in Societies in Transition.* Amsterdam: Free University Press.

Konekwena Circuit's Principal's Council. 1991. *Minutes of Mgwanallela meeting* held on the

30th May.

Konekwena Circuit Principals' Council: *Minutes of Diakganya meeting*, dated 30 May 1991.

Kriesberg, L. 1973. *The Sociology of social Conflicts*. Englewood Cliffs : Prentice Hall.

Labour Bulletin Correspondent. 1988. Teacher Unity. *South Africa Labour Bulletin*. Vol 13 No. 7.

Lebowa Education Department. 1990. *Annual Report*. Lebowakgomo: Government Printers.

Lebowa Education Department. 1991. *Annual Report*. Lebowakgomo: Government Printers.

Lebowa Education Department. 1992. *Annual Report*. Lebowakgomo: Government Printers.

Lebowa Education Department. 1990. *Finance Section*. Lebowakgomo: Government Printers.

Lebowa Education Department and SADTU (N. Tvl Region). 1992. *Minutes of Ranch Motel meeting*. 7th July.

Lebowa Education Department and SADTU (N. Tvl Region). 1992. *Minutes of Holiday Inn (P/Burg) meeting*. 5th October.

Lebowa Education Service. 1978. *Government Gazette. Notice no 19 Vol 7, no. 257*, dated 15th September.

Lebowa Government Services. 1972. *Lebowa Government Gazette*. Lebowakgomo:

Government Printers.

Lebowa Government Dervices. 1978. *LED ACT no 6.*

Lebowa Government Service. 1986. *Lebowa Education Department*, Vol 7. Lebowakgomo: Government Printers.

Lebowa Times, December 1st, 1989.

Lebowa Times, June 8, 1990.

Lebowa Times. August 24, 1990.

Lebowa Times, August 24, 1991.

Lebowa Times, June 22, 1992.

Lebowa Times, June 26, 1992.

Lebowa Times, July 3, 1992.

LED and SADTU: Agreement, dated 23 September 1991.

LED and SADTU Agreement : 25 September 1992.

LED, 1982-1988. Summary of Std. 10 Examination Results. Lebowakgomo: Examination Section.

LED, 1985-1992. Comparison of 1985-1988 and 1989-1992 periods std. 10 results. Lebowakgomo: Examination Section.

LED, 1988-1992. Decline/Improvement of std. 10 results according to LED Circuits. Lebowakgomo: Examination Section.

LED, 1989-1992. Std. 10 Average Pass results: Regions in order of merit. Lebowakgomo: Examination Section.

LED Examination Section: Summary of Std 10 examination results according to circuits (1988 - 1992).

Lee, R. 1993. Thinking skills for life and work. *Education for Economic development,* No 1.2 (October). Saxonwold : Venture Publishing.

Lofland, J. 1986. *Protest: Studies of Collective Behaviour and Social Movement.* New Brunswick: Transaction Books.

Mahlangu, M.J. Head Office Meeting Minutes: 11/09/1991.

Mahwelereng Circuit Principals' Council. 1991. *Minutes of Seritarita meeting* -10 June.

Mahwelereng Circuit Principals' Council. 1991. *Minutes of Madikwe meeting* - 24 June

Malherbe, E.G. 1977. *Education in South Africa, 1923-1975*, vol 11. Cape Town: Juta.

Manning, T. 1991. *Trends Transforming South Africa: Insight, Information and Ideas.* Cape Town: Juta.

Marshall, G. 1994. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Sociology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Martin, R.M. 1989. *Trade Unionism: Purpose and Forms*. Oxford University: University Press.

Mawasha, A L. (Prof) "*Disempowerment through Language and Culture*" - TUATA 86th Annual Conference 1992 at Zethabiseni, Kwa-Ndebele.

Mazur, L. 1981. *The dynamics of technical controversy*. Washington D.C.: Communication Press.

Mc Carthy, J D & Zald, M N. 1977. Resource mobilization and social movement: A Partial Theory. "*American Journal of Sociology*" 82:1212-1241.

McGregor, R. and McGregor, A. 1992. *Education Alternatives*. Kenwyn (South Africa): Juta.

McKay, V.I. & Romm, N.R.A. 1992. *People's education in Theoretical Perspective: Towards a critical humanistic approach*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman.

Millerson, G. 1964. *The Qualifying Associations: A Study in Professionalisation*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Minute of Konekwena Circuit Principals council, viz "Crisis Situation" to the Circuit Inspector : dated 30 May 1991.

Mirror, June 15, 1989.

Mitchell, T R. 1974. "Expectancy Models of Job satisfaction, occupational preference and effort : A theoretical, methodological and empirical appraisal", *Psychological Bulletin*,

18:1053-77.

Moll, I. 1989. Towards one South African Teachers' Union. *South African Labour Bulletin,* Vol 14. No. 1 (April): 60-74.

Molefe, P. 1992. Educationist urges parent Power. *TUATA 86th Annual Conference* Braamfontein : Aspern House.

Moloto, M.S. 1992. Circular to LED Chief Director. *Bolobedu Circuit response to the memoranda submitted by the Bolobedu Inter structural Forum on the 28 September 1992,* dated the 23 September 1992.

Monyepao, N.J. 1990. *A School Guidance System for Secondary School in Lebowa.* (Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, RAU).

Motlhabi, B.G.M. 1980. *The Theory and Practice of Black Resistance to Apartheid.* Michigan: Boston University Microfilms International.

Mphahlele, L. 1993. Can teacher organisations be vehicles of educational change? *Education for Economic development,* vol. 2, October.

Mseleku, T. 1990. SADTU and Recognition. A discussion paper for SADTU members about recognition.

Mungazi, D.A. 1989. *The struggle for Social Change in Southern Africa.* New York: Crane Russak.

New Nation. 1992. February 23rd.

New Nation. 1992. July 3rd.

Nkhuhlu, W.L. 1990. *"Manpower Development and the Role for Education"* - ATASA Conference at East London: 03/01/90 in The South African Educational Crisis and Relevance of Curricula.

Nkone, S.M. and Makete, J.L. 1992. Parents : Partners in Education. *Mmabatho's Department of Teaching and Cirriculum, UNIBO.*

Oberschall, A. 1980. "Loosely structured collective conflicts. A theory and an application". pp. 45-68 in Louis Kriesberg, *Research in Social Movement, conflict and change.* Vol 3, Greenwich, Conn : JAI.

Oommen, T.K. 1990. *Protest and Change: Studies in Social Movements.* Delhi: Sage.

Ozga, J. and Lawn, M. 1981. *Teachers, Professionalism and Class: A Study of organized Teachers.* London: Falmer Press.

Paisey, A. 1981. *Organisation and Management in Schools.* London : Longmans.

Priven, F.F. and Cloward, R.A. 1979. *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail.* New York: Vintage Books.

Popenoe, D. 1980. *Sociology.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Poulantzas, N. 1975. 'On Social Class'. *New Left Review 78*, March-April, 1973.

Ramodike, N.M. 1991. *Addressing Lebowa Officers of Education at Magoebaskloof* on the 25th August.

Ramodike, N M.: *Addressing Cabinet, Principals and School Committee members at Lebowakgomo,* dated 03 September 1991.

Ramodike, N M.: Addressing Legislative Assembly in 1991.

Rose, B. (ed). 1970. *Education in Southern Africa.* Johannesburg: Collier-MacMillan.

Rose, J.P. 1982. *Outbreaks: The Sociology of Collective Behaviour.* New York: Free Press.

SACS, 1989-1990. *South African Yearbook.* Pretoria: Government Printers.

SACS, 1991-92. *South African Yearbook.* Pretoria: Government Printers.

SADTU Commemorative Journal 1991. *Launch/Congress Rally.* Sharewood, Johannesburg: Rapid Graphic Printers.

SADTU Constitution Leaflet, 1990.

SADTU Leaflet: Draft Teachers' Charter.

SADTU, 1990. *Draft Unity Agreement.*

SADTU Makopane Branch. 1992. *A week of Action: Branch Annual Report.*

SADTU Makopane Branch. 1992. *Financial Report.*

SADTU Mokopane Branch. 1992. *Northern Transvaal Regional Conference Report*: 13-14 March.

SADTU Nebo Branch : *A memo of Demands to the LED - 25 September 1992.*

SADTU News. 1992.

SADTU News, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1993.

SADTU N-Tvl Region. 1991. *A Petition of memoranda of demands to DNE Minister*: 16th August.

SADTU N-Tvl Region : *A Petition and memo of Demands to the LED Minister - 28 September 1992.*

SADTU N-Tvl Region, 1992. *Orinocco - Potgietersrus minutes : 13 April.*

SADTU N-Tvl Region. 1992. *Press statement to Northern Review*, dated the 19th December.

SADTU N-Tvl Region. 1992. *Financial Report.*

SADTU N-Tvl Region. Leaflet 1991. *We march & Rally - Lebowakgomo stadium*: 16th September.

SADTU N-Tvl Region: SADTU Leaflet: *Down with Ramodike.*

SAIRR. 1990. *Race Relations Survey 1989-1990.* Johannesburg: SA Institute of Race Relations.

Sanderson, S.K. 1991. *Macrosociology: An introduction to Human Societies.* New York:

Harper Collins Publishers Inc.

Sanger, M. 1990. 'The Union has arrived ...' *Work in Progress*. 70/71 pp.35-36.

Schaefer, R.T. and Lamm, R.P. 1992. *Sociology*. New York: McGraw-Hill Inc.

Schwartz, M. 1976. *Radical Protest and Social Structure : The Southern Farmers' Alliance and Cotton Tenancy, 1880-1890.* Chicago : University of Chicago.

Selfe, J. 1990. *The present Systems and the Dynamics driving and constraining change: Current flashpoints*. Paper presented for Urban Foundation on 15 February 1990.

Simpson, J.A. and Weiner, E.S.C. 1989. *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Vol XVII. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Smelser, N.J. 1962. *Theory of Collective Behaviour*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Smelser, N.J. 1976. *Theory of Collective Violence*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Smelser, N J. 1971. *Theory of Collective Behaviour*. New York: The Free Press.

Smelser, N.J. 1981. *Sociology*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Snow, et.al. 1986. "Frame alignment processes, micro-mobilization and movement participation". *American Sociological Review*. 51: 464-481.

Sowetan. 1989. January 1.

Sowetan. 1989. 2 June.

Sowetan. 1989. 26 September.

Sowetan. 1989. 5 December.

Sowetan. 1990. May 4.

Sowetan. 1990. May 10.

Sowetan. 1992. 23 January.

Sowetan. 1992. June 23.

Sowetan. 1992. June 25.

Sowetan. 1992. June 26.

Sowetan. 1992. June 29.

Sowetan. 1992. July 1.

Sowetan. 1992. August 26.

Spencer, M. and Inkeles, A. 1982. *Foundations of Modern Sociology*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Free Press.

Stack, L. and Morton, D. 1976. *Torments to Triumph in South Africa*. New York: Friendship Press.

Supreme Court of South Africa. 1992. *Northern Transvaal Provisional Division: Case No*

20835/92.

Talk, F. 1984. Definition of Black Consciousness. *Azapo on the March*. Vol. 1 (February - March).

Talk, F. 1984. Aims and Objectives of Azapo. *Azapo fights Back*. Vol. 1 no. 2 &3 (July - August).

Tarrow, S. 1989. *Democracy and Disorder: Protest & Politics in Italy, 1965-1975*. Oxford: University Press.

Tarrow, S. 1991. "Aiming at a Moving Target": Social Science and Recent Rebellions in Eastern Europe. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, March: 12-20.

Teacher Unity Agreement Document: Draft no 3-30/09/90.

The Lebowa Times, 29 June 1992.

The Star. 1991. August 7.

The Star. 1991. August 8.

The Star. 1991. September 2.

Thompson, K. & Tunstall, J. 1987. *Sociological Perspectives*. London: Penguin Books.

Toch, H. 1966. *The Social Psychology of Social Movements*. London: Methuen & Co Ltd.

185

TUATA, vol 3, no 5, June 1962.

TUATA vol 6, no 1, 1964.

TUATA, Vol. 1 No. 4, 1971.

TUATA vol 6, no 1, March 1971.

TUATA, vol 1, no 7, 19.

TUATA, 1990. TUATA's successful Advertising Campaign. TUATA Vol 4 No 2 (September) Johannesburg : TWS Communications.

TUATA, 1991. *TUATA News.* Braamfontein : DH and Associates.

TUATU Newspaper, vol. 2, no.1, Jan 1991, p.3.

TUATA. 1991. September.

Turner, R H. 1969. "The Theme of Contemporary Social Movement" *British Journal of Sociology*, 20:390-405.

Turner, R H & Killian, L M. 1972. *Collective Behaviour.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Vadi, I. 1992. Teacher Unions: Tough Road to Rural Areas. *The New Look Matlhasedi.*

Vadi, I. 1993. *Teacher Unionism in South Africa: A Case Study of SADTU.* Department of Education, Seminar Paper, Wits 12 May.

Valtyn Combined School Committees. 1991. *Minutes of Mmadikana meeting*, dated the 29th September.

Van Aardt, C. 1994. *The Future South Africa: Issues, Options and Prospects*. Pretoria: Van Schaiks.

Van den Heever, R. 1991. *Circular to Regions and Branches: National Day of Teacher's Action*: dated 7th August.

Van den Heever, R. 1992. *Circular to Regions and Branches: Two Days of Action*: dated 30th April.

Van den Heever, R. 1992. *Circular to Regions and Branches: Proposed Programme of Action: 3rd to 17th August 1992*: dated 23rd July.

Van den Heever, R. 1992. *Speech at Orinoco Hotel (Potgietersrus)*, on the 13th April.

Walker, S. & Barton, L. 1983. *Gender, Class & Education*.
Barcombe, England: Falmer Press.

Walker, P. 1977. *Between Labour and Capital*. Montreal: Black Rose.

Wallace, R.A. & Wolf, A. 1980. *Contemporary Sociological Theory*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Wedepöhl, L. 1984. *"A Survey of Literacy in South Africa"* The Centre of Extra-mural studies, UTC.

Wiechers, M. 1989. *A Guide to South African Political Terms*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

Willis, P. 1977. *Learning to Labour: How working class kids get working class jobs.* Westmead, England: Saxon House.
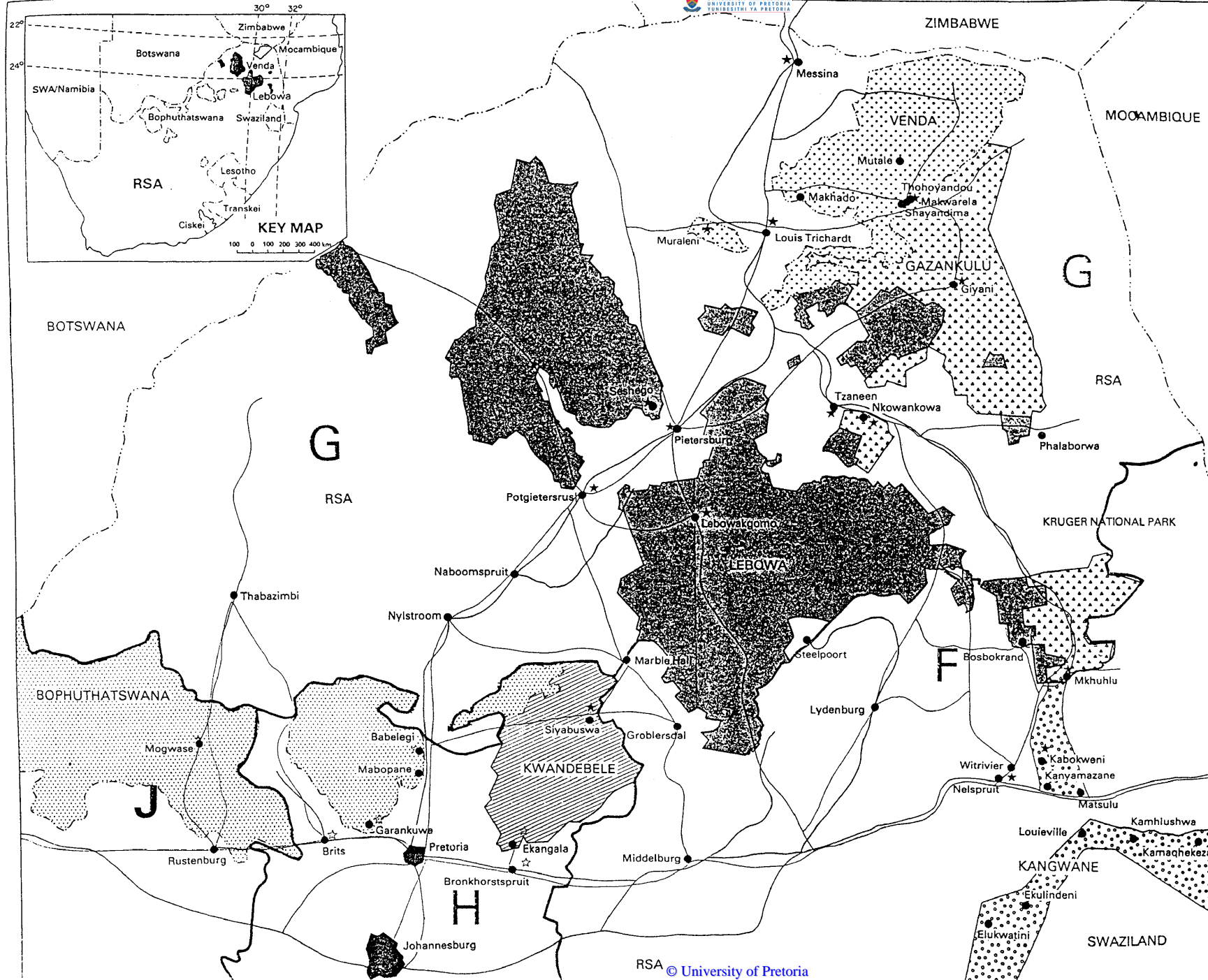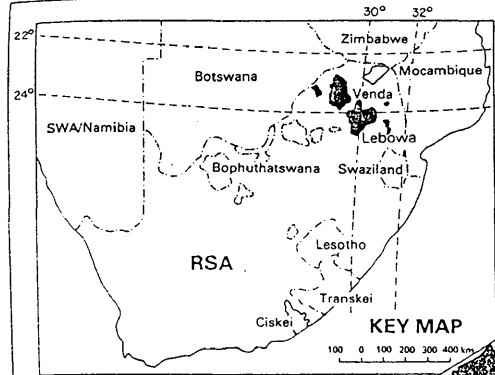
World Book Inc. 1992. *The World Book Encyclopedia.* London: Scott Fetzer Co.

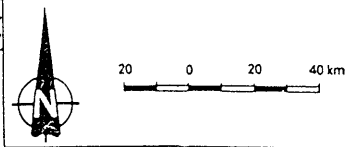Wright, E.O., Hachen, D., Costello, C. & Sprague, J. 1982. 'The American Class Structure'. *American Review 47.*
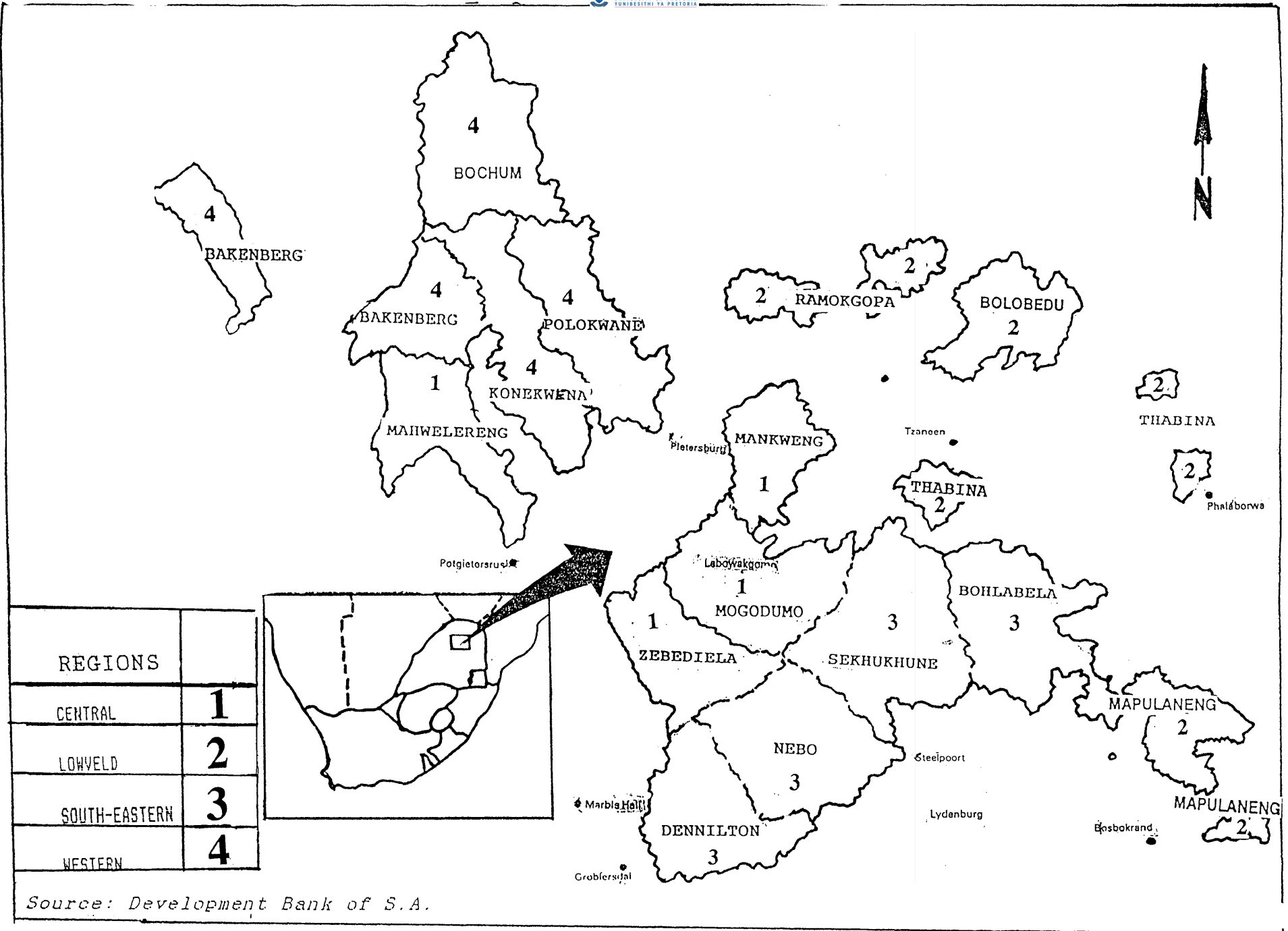
4

BOCHUM

4
BAKENBERG

2   RAMOKGOPA

2

BOLOBEDU
2

2
THABINA

4
BAKENBERG

4
POLOKWANE

4
KONEKWENA

2

1

MANKWENG

Tzaneen

1

THABINA
2

2
Phalaborwa

MAHWELERENG

Pietersburg

Potgietersrus

Labowakgomo

1
MOGODUMO

BOHLABELA
3

1
ZEBEDIELA

3
SEKHUKHUNE

3

Steelpoort

MAPULANENG
2

REGIONS	
CENTRAL	**1**
LOWVELD	**2**
SOUTH-EASTERN	**3**
WESTERN	**4**

NEBO

3

Marble Hall

Lydenburg

Bosbokrand

DENNILTON

3

MAPULANENG
2

Groblersdal

Harare Document

Recommendations unanimously adopted at 'WCOTP/AATO Seminar on Teacher Unity in S.A.', (4-8 April, 1988, Kentucky Hotel, Harare)

1. All representatives of the teachers organisations present agreed on the need for the national unity of teachers, and committed themselves to discuss this in their various organisations and to propagate the feasibility of one national teachers' organisation.

2. The representatives of teachers' organisations agreed that organisations should get together to negotiate and decide on the form which the envisaged united organisation should take.

3. Such an organisation should be committed to a unitary, non-racial, democratic South Africa.

4. The organisation should commit itself to be part of the national mass democratic movement.

5. The organisation should commit itself to a free, non-racial, non-sexist, compulsory, democratic education in a single education system.

6. The organisation should protect and promote the rights of teachers as workers and professionals.

7. The organisation should implement as a matter of urgency a programme of political and professional education of teachers for them to play an effective role within the community.

8. Ideology should not be a precondition for unity.

9. The representatives of organisations agreed to urge their organisations that they, as well as the envisaged organisation, would abide by the principle and practice of non-collaboration with all structures of the apartheid system.

10. Negotiations with respective authorities should only be conducted with the mandate of the constituencies concerned.

11. The organisation commit itself to the realisation of the ideals of people's education in our country.

12. In the interim the representatives of organisations will urge their organisations to consult on ways to co-ordinate the various attempts and work together in formulating and implementing people's education projects.

13. Organisations are encouraged to organise joint projects which will facilitate national unity.

14. The representatives of organisations committed themselves to urge their organisations to maintain the spirit of comradeship, mutual respect and and common purpose which has characterised the Harare seminar on teacher unity as a necessary element in the process of achieving unity.

15. The representatives of organisations agreed to urge their organisations to establish a negotiating machinery to pursue the objectives stated in this document. They request that as a matter of urgency COSATU should convene such a machinery having consulted and agreed with the organisations about the composition and powers of such a machinery. COSATU is further requested to consult with other sectors of the democratic movement to facilitate the unity process. ☆

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBOWA AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC TEACHER'S UNION.

A. THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBOWA HAS AGREED TO THE FOLLOWING WITH REGARD TO THE DEMANDS MADE IN THE ATTACHED PAMPHLET:-

1. THE THREE NAPHUNO LECTURERS WILL REMAIN AT NAPHUNO COLLEGE UNTIL THE END OF THE YEAR. THE TWO (2) SECONDED LECTURERS BUTHELEZI AND MOKGOBI CAN APPLY FOR A PERMANENT APPOINTMENT IN THE NORMAL COURSE. THE SALARIES OF THE LECTURERS WILL BE PAID BY THE DEPARTMENT.

2. THIRTYTHREE (33) OF THE DR. C.N. PHATUDI COLLEGE LECTURERS WILL RETURN TO WORK.

3. THE REMAINING NINE (9) DR. C.N. PHATUDI COLLEGE LECTURERS CAN APPLY FOR APPOINTMENT AT A SCHOOL OF THEIR CHOICE AND WILL BE PAID THEIR SALARIES.

4. NO TRANSFER OF ANY TEACHER WILL BE MADE UNLESS, BEFORE THE DECISION TO TRANSFER IS MADE.

(A) THE TEACHER WILL BE GIVEN REASONABLE NOTICE OF THE INTENDED TRANSFER IN WHICH HE WILL BE INFORMED THAT HE CAN MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE DEPARTMENT CONCERNING THE TRANSFER WHICH WILL BE CONSIDERED BY THE DEPARTMENT BEFORE MAKING A DECISION.

(B) THE DEPARTMENT RESERVES THE RIGHT TO DEPART FROM THIS PROCEDURE IN THE EVENT OF AN EMERGENCY REQUIRING THIS.

5. THE PARTIES WILL APPOINT A MONITORING COMMITTEE OF TWO (2) MEMBERS ON EACH SIDE TO MONITOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS AGREEMENT.

-2-

6   ANY TEACHER WHO MAY HAVE BEEN DISMISSED PURELY ON THE GRONDS OF PARTICIPATING IN THE PRESENT STRIKE WILL BE REINSTATED.

7. SADTU MAY SUBMIT PROPOSALS REGARDING THE FUTURE RELATION BETWEEN IT AND THE LEBOWA GOVERNMENT AND SUCH PROPOSALS WILL BE CONSIDERED BY THE CABINET.

8   THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION WITHDRAWS HIS APPLICATION AND WILL PAY THE PARTY AND PARTY LOSIS OF THE FIRST TO FOURTH RESPONDENTS TO THE TIME OF WITHDRAWAL.

B. IN WHICH OF THE UNDERTAKINGS GIVEN BY THE GOVERNMENT AS SET OUT ABOVE THE UNION UNDERTAKES TO RECOMMEND TO HIS MEMBERS THAT THEY RETURN TO NORMAL WORK AS FROM THE 1ST OF OCTOBER 1991.

DATED THIS 23RD SEPTEMBER 1991.

SIGNED: ....
FOR AND ON BEHALF OF THE LEBOWA GOVERNMENT

SIGNED: ....
FOR AND ON BEHALF OF SADTU.

DATE

193

SOUTH AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC TEACHERS UNION

TEACHERS' CODE OF CONDUCT

ANNEXURE E)

FIRST DRAFT

The Code of Professional Conduct stipulates minimum standards of professional conduct of teachers and is not an exhaustive list of such standards. Any member of SADTU who is alleged to have violated the standards of the profession and the provisions of the Code, may be subject to disciplinary action by the Union.
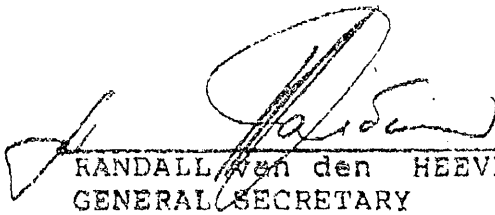
IN RELATION TO PUPILS

1. The teacher teaches in a manner that respects the dignity and rights of all persons without prejudice as to race, religious beliefs, colour, sex, physical characteristics, age, ancestry or place of origin.

2. The teacher is responsible for diagnosing educational needs, prescribing and implementing instructional programs and evaluating progress of pupils.

3. The teacher treats pupils with dignity and respect and is considerate of their circumstances.

4. The teacher may not divulge information about a pupil received in confidence or in the course of professional duties, except as required by law or where, in the judgement of the teacher, to do so is in the best interest of the pupil.

5. The teacher may not take advantage of his professional position to profit from the sale of goods or services to or for pupils in the teachers' charge.

6. The teacher may not accept pay for tutoring a pupil in any subjects in which the teacher is responsible for giving classroom instruction to that pupil.

7. The growth of a friendly relationship between teacher and pupil, which is based on mutual respect and recognition of the role that each plays in the learning situation, is desirable. It is, however, an abuse of this professional relationship for a teacher to :

    7.1 enter into an improper association with a pupil;
    7.2 show undue personal favour or disfavour towards a pupil;
    7.3 commit such acts against a child which are illegal;
    7.4 endeavour to exert an undue influence with regard to personal attitudes, opinions and behaviour

194

The SADTU NEC has been informed by COSAS that Mass Action campaigns are being planned by students for the final week of May 1991. SADTU Regions are requested to liase with the COSAS regional structures about these developments.

Finally, please find enclosed herewith a copy of a SADTU Press Statement released by the SADTU office-bearers after a special meeting held in Johannesburg on Sunday 19 May 1991.

Comradely Greetings

RANDALL van den HEEVER
GENERAL SECRETARY

195

E

SADTU - BILL OF RIGHTS FOR TEACHERS

Third Draft

Definition:

For the purpose of this Bill of Rights

(a) the word "teacher" covers all those persons in all educational institutions who are responsible for the education of pupils/students;

(b) the expression "status" as used in relation to teachers means both the standing or regard accorded them, as evidenced by the level of appreciation of the importance of their function and of their competence in performing it, and the working conditions, renumeration and other material benefits accorded them relative to other professional groups.

Scope:

This Bill of Rights applies to all teachers in all educational institutions, up to the completion of the secondary stage of education whether nursery, kindergaten, primary, intermediate or secondary, including those providing technical, vocational, or art education; and those in teacher training colleges.

Note: The process of democratisation in the educational arena is necessary, to say that we manifest our fight against bureaucracy, hierarchy and favouritism in our schools and that our Bill of Rights is to be seen in this light as part of the People's Struggle for political power in a liberated society.

196

1. POLITICAL RIGHTS

1.1 Teachers shall have the right to political affiliation and expression. Freedom of speech, association, protest and democratic consultation in education.

1.2 Teachers shall have the right to participate fully in the process of unionisation.

1.3 Teachers shall have the right to collective bargaining, the right to strike, picket, the right to sympathy strikes, the right to appoint individual judges and the rights to issue and distribute media.

1.4 Teachers shall have the right to fight bureaucracy, hierarchy and favouritism, privatisation and elitism in education, sexism, racism, religious, political and class discrimination.

1.5 Teachers shall have the right to democratic participation in education policy, budget allocation and educational planning.

1.6 Teachers shall also have a say through PTA's and PTSA's in the control of schools, curricula, budget allocation and all other policy decisions.

2. WOMEN'S RIGHTS

2.1 All rights apply equally to women.

2.2 Women have the right to maternity leave and pay and the right to return to work without demotion or loss of employment.

2.3 Gender shall not be a determination for rank. There shall be gender parity at all levels in respect of salary and benefits. The removal of all discrimination in respect of service conditions must be spelt out prior to commencement of service.

2.4 Marriage shall not be considered a bar to the appointment and the continued employment of women teachers, nor shall it affect remuneration or other conditions of work.

3. EDUCATIONAL RIGHTS

3.1 Teachers and their organisations have the right to intervene or criticise in education at all levels, including:
    3.1.1 curriculum development and planning
    3.1.2 education policy and planning
    3.1.3 language policy and planning
    3.1.4 education and assessment of teachers
    3.1.5 education and assessment of students
    3.1.6 teaching methods
    3.1.7 teacher training and in-service training
    3.1.8 professional development
    3.1.9 regional subject or faculty conferences
    3.1.10 the planning of new schools.

3.2 Teachers have the right to determine the evaluation process or criteria (of 3.1.4 and 3.1.5)

197

3.3 Teachers shall have the right to establish codes of ethic or conduct in accordance with agreed principles.

3.4 Any system of inspection or supervision shall be designed to encourage and help teachers in the performance of their task and not diminish their flexibility and responsibility.

3.5 Teachers shall enjoy academic freedom in the discharge of their professional duties, e.g. in the choice of text books, the use of teaching materials, teaching methods, development of curricula, evaluation.

3.6 School buildings and playgrounds shall be attractive in overall design, functional in layout and properly maintained so as not to threaten in any way the health and safety of students and teachers; they shall lend themselves to effective teaching, to use for extra-curricula activities, and as a community centre; they shall be constructed in accordance with established sanitary standards and with a view to durability, adaptability and easy economic maintenance.

3.7 Teachers shall have the right to assist SRC's and other student bodies.

3.8 Teachers shall be free to exercise all civic rights enjoyed by other citizens, and shall be eligible for public office.

3.9 Teachers shall have the right to oppose the competitive ethos in education and to apply the democratic process in education.

4. EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS

4.1 Teachers shall have the right to security of tenure. The probationary term and criteria shall be determined. The employment of teachers shall be free from any form of discrimination on the grounds of race, gender, religion, political opinion and class.

4.2 Teachers shall have the right to belong to a teachers' union and to further the aims of that union.

4.3 Teachers shall have the right to a contractual relationship with their employers.

4.4 Teachers shall have the right to a living wage.

4.5 Teachers shall have the right to work in a healthy and safe environment as well as the right to adequate teaching resources.

4.6 Teachers shall have the right to appeal against assessments, penalties or reprimands deemed to be unjustified.

4.7 Dismissals, disciplinary hearings, cases of victimisation, or disputes between employer and employee or teachers' organisations or the union shall be heard in an Appeal Tribunal or Industrial Court. Teachers shall have a say in the composition of these tribunals or courts and have the right to participate therein.

198

5. SERVICE CONDITIONS

5.1 The teachers' union shall have the right to negotiate service conditions. The teachers' union shall enter into negotiations with the employers about:

security of tenure
salaries
probationary period
leave (including maternity and paternity leave)
social security
fringe benefits
pension
medical aid
housing
transfers
dismissals
remuneration under special circumstances
any other relevant issues.

5.2 Adequate grants or financial assistance shall be available to students preparing for teaching to enable them to follow the courses provided and to live decently. The relevant authorities shall seek to establish a system of free teacher training.

5.3 The authorities, in cooperation with teacher organisations, shall promote the establishment of a wide system of in-service education. Refresher courses shall be provided, especially for those returning to teaching after a break in service.

5.4 All teachers shall be provided with a knowledge of the law and of service regulations and the Education Act.

5.5 Promotion shall be based on:

5.5.1 an objective assessment of the teachers' qualifications for the post, by reference to criteria laid down in consultation with teachers' organisations.
5.5.2 innovativeness, initiative and teaching ability.

5.6 Teachers employed regularly on a part-time basis shall:

5.6.1 receive proportionately the same remuneration and enjoy the same basic conditions of employment as full-time teachers
5.6.2 be granted rights corresponding to those for full-time teachers as regards paid holidays, sick leave and maternity/paternity leave, subject to the same eligibility
5.6.3 be entitled to adequate and appropriate social security including coverage under the employers' pension scheme.

5.7.1 Parents with a complaint against a school or a teacher shall have the opportunity to discuss it with the school principal and the teacher concerned. Any complaint subsequently addressed to higher authority shall be put in writing and a copy supplied to the teacher.

5.7.2 Investigations of complaints shall be so conducted that the teacher be given a fair opportunity to defend him/herself and his/her privacy be respected.

5.8 While teachers should exercise the utmost care to avoid accidents to students, employers of teachers shall safeguard and ensure them against this risk of damages which may be assessed against them in the event of injury to students occurring at school or in school activities away from the school premises.

5.9 In order that teachers may discharge their responsibilities, authorities shall establish and regularly use recognised means of consultation with teachers' organisations on such matters as educational policy, school organisation, and new developments in the education service.

5.10 Where the requirements of public office are such that the teacher has to relinquish his/her teaching duties, he/she shall be retained in the profession for seniority and pension purposes and shall be able to return to his/her previous post after the term of public office has expired.

5.11 Teachers shall have the right to full participation in innovative activities such as the development of syllabi, curricula and assessment.

5.12 Class size shall be such as to permit the teacher to give students individual attention.

5.13 With a view to enabling teachers to concentrate on their professional tasks, schools shall be provided with sufficient ancilliary (non-teaching) staff to perform non-teaching duties. It shall be considered ideal for child-care facilities to be provided at the place of work.

5.14.1 Authorities shall provide teachers and students with modern aids to teaching. Such aids shall not be regarded as a substitute for the teacher but as a means of improving the quality of teaching and extending to a large number of students the benefits of education.

5.14.2 Authorities shall promote research into the use of such aids and encourage teachers to participate actively in such research.

5.15 The hours teachers are required to work per day and per week shall be established in consultation with teachers' organisations.

5.16 In fixing hours of teaching account shall be taken of all factors which are relevant to the teacher's work load, such as:

5.16.1 the number of students with whom the teacher is required to work daily and weekly,

5.16.2 the necessity to provide time for adequate planning and preparation of lessons and for evaluation of work,

5.16.3 the number of different lessons assigned to be taught each day,

5.16.4 the demands upon the time of the teacher imposed by participation in research, in co-curricular and extra-curricular activities, in supervisory duties and in counselling of students,

5.16.5 the desirability of providing time in which teachers may report to and consult with parents regarding student progress.

5.17 All teachers shall enjoy the right to:

  5.17.1 adequate annual vacation with full pay,
  5.17.2 study leave on full or partial pay at intervals,
       with full subsidy.

5.18 Teachers attached to special projects, e.g. literacy campaigns
     or agricultural projects, shall be granted leave of absence and
     their seniority, eligibility for promotion and pension rights
     shall be safeguarded.

5.19.1 Teachers shll be granted occassional leave of absence with full
       pay to enable them to participate in the activities of their
       organisations.

5.19.2 teachers shall have the right to take office in their
       organisations; in such case their entitlements shall be
       similar to those of teachers holding public office.

5.20 Teachers shall be entitled to sick leave with pay.

5.21 Decent housing, free or at a subsidised rental, shall be provided
     for teachers and their families in areas remote from population
     centres and recognised as such by the public authorities.   Where
     housing subsidies are provided, it shall be granted to all teachers.

5.22 Salaries shall provide teachers with means to ensure a
     reasonable standard of living for themselves and their families
     as well as to invest in further education or in the pursuit of
     cultural activities, thus enhancing their professional qualifi-
     cations.

5.23 Teachers shall be paid on the basis of salary scales established
     in agreement with teachers' organisations.   In no circumstance
     shall qualified teachers during a probationary period or a period
     of temporary employment be lower paid than established teachers.

5.24 Teachers' salaries shall be calculated on an annual basis.
     Such factors as a rise in the cost of living, increased product-
     ivity leading to higher standards of living in the country or a
     general upward movement in wage or salary levels, shall period-
     ically be taken into account.

5.25 Subsidised medical aid, full pension payments with accrued interest
     and security in old age shall be provided by the state.

5.26 It shall be our aim to campaign for the statutory recognition of a
     Bill of Rights for teachers, given that the contents may be
     continually negotiated.

201

(ANNEXURE F)

SADTU REGIONAL WORKSHOPS TEACHER APPRAISAL PROJECT

GUIDELINES FOR FACILITATORS

1. The central aim of the workshops is to increase the level of participation by SADTU members in the policy process and possibly the research process.

2. The input paper and the outline of appraisal systems (Options for Teacher Appraisal Systems) should be used as a basis for discussion. Each issue is dealt with using a set of key questions. If the workshop participants want to add to or delete from the suggested discussions - thats fine. Bear in mind the availability of time. The key questions lead to a set of policy options. Again workshop participants are at liberty to re-order these according to their priorities.

3. Whatever comes out of the workshops must be firmly anchored in the experience which SADTU members bring with them, their anticipated needs and the principles which they consider most important must be the basis for the appraisal system.

4. It is essential that the discussions of the meeting be recorded in the fullest detail. That will make the process of reporting and further research easier. A reporter/scribe should be designated for each group of discussants. The reporter/scribe will also be responsible for presenting the groups ideas to the plenary session of the workshop.

5. Resolutions, principles or any other statements of that kind should be written up by a participant in the workshop - either the regional representative or another appointed person.

6. Depending on the number of participants present at the workshop they should be divided into small groups to work through the main issues in the outline. All groups must address the same questions. In that way we ensure that participation is uniform and everyone is exposed to discussions on all the issues.

7. Likewise, a person in each discussion group must be asked to moderate the discussions so that all the questions are covered and participation is assured.

8. If participants agree with the schedule for the workshop, then one and a half hours will be the time allotted for group discussions. The group sessions should begin with brief discussion of principles for an appraisal system. These should be introduced in the session before.

   All subsequent issues and decisions in the appraisal process and system design should use these principles as a yardstick.

   The PROCESS and COMPONENTS sections are likely to be the most time consuming ones and should be given about 25 minutes each. That leaves a half hour for the questions on PURPOSES and OUTCOMES.

9. Wherever possible the participants should be sensitive to the importance of gender issues in appraisal systems - particularly if women are under-represented at the workshops.

10. A participant at the workshop should be given the task of producing the final resolutions/findings of the meeting.

OPTIONS FOR TEACHER APPRAISAL SYSTEMS

Dimension	Issue	Key Questions	Options
PURPOSE	Philosophy	Why do we need to evaluate?	A. Accountability B. Improve quality C. Support teachers
	Objectives	What do we specifically want to achieve with evaluation?	A. Formative Evaluation B. Summative Evaluation
COMPONENTS	Type of criteria	What makes a teacher effective?	A. Content criteria B. Process criteria C. Output criteria D. Personal criteria (age, gender, etc.)
		Why is it so hard to define teacher effectiveness?	A. Complexity B. Context
	Data for evaluation	What aspects of teachers work should be evaluated?	A. Classroom activities B. Non-classroom activities

202 (b)

PROCESS	Choice of appraiser	Who should evaluate performance?	A. HOD B. Principal; Deputy C. Peers D. Self E. Students F. Expert outsiders G. Inspector H. Teacher Union representative I. Parents
		How many people should evaluate?	A. Single Appraiser B. Multiple Appraisers C. Team of Appraisers - management D. Team including teacher representative
		Who should decide on appraisal procedures?	A. Education Department B. Inspector C. School Management D. Teacher Organisations E. Multi-lateral negotiations F. Appraisee and Appraiser

		Who should decide on appraisal instruments?	A. Education Department B. Inspector C. School Management D. Teacher Organisations E. Multi-lateral negotiations F. Appraisee and Appraiser
	Appraisal Instruments	What kind of instruments should be used?	A. Checklists B. Narratives C. Rating scales D. Differentiated Instruments E. Interviews
	Appraisal Interviews	How should information be fed back to teacher?	A. Process of Interviewing
	Appraisal Training	Should training in appraisal be provided?	A. Inservice B Education Consultants

	Assessment Period and Training	How often should it be conducted?	A. Observations B. Conferences C. Assessments
		Should timing be fixed or based on need?	A. Scheduled appraisals B. Appraisal in response to problems
		Is evaluation a continuous or discontinuous process?	A. Day-to-day feedback B. Periodic data collection
OUTCOMES	Evaluation of outcomes	How do we evaluate the evaluation system itself?	A. Systematic B. Impressionistic
LINK TO ADMINISTRATOR EVALUATION	Interactive Appraisal Design	Should teacher appraisal be linked to administrator evaluation?	A. Separate Appraisal Systems B. System of Appraisal

EPU/table.lc/01/

205