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QUALITY EDUCATION AS A PREREQUISITE FOR HUMAN SECURITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

by

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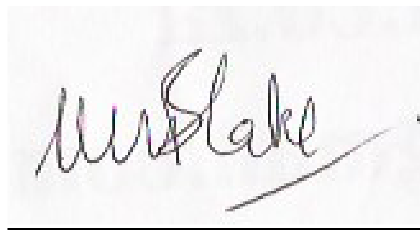

ABSTRACT

The quest to decrease income inequality in South Africa relies in part, on the provision of *quality* education for learners so as to improve their employment opportunities and potential material outcomes. This study argues that if the drop-out rate of learners persists because of poor-quality education the potential threat to human security becomes a reality that needs to be explored. The historical legacy of poor-quality education for the majority of black learners persists in contemporary South Africa. A conceptual overview of the evolution of security, moves from a state-centric approach to a broader/deeper understanding of the human security agenda where people are the main referent for security. The focus of the study is human security and how education inequality might impact on it, particularly as the UNDP human security framework includes seven dimensions for security, but education, is not explicitly specified. People need to be secured and the 'new' security focus is on their protection *and* their empowerment. Thus, *quality* education is emphasised as a prerequisite for the realisation of all human security dimensions in the *South African* context. The study is theoretically grounded in the Welsh school of Critical Security Studies (CSS) where humanity is central to the concept of security. The aim of CSS is to improve the human condition and to eradicate injustice by radically re-conceptualising security. The methodology incorporates an exploratory design, and a literature-based study, and it draws on a snapshot of longitudinal secondary data from the South African Department of Basic Education (DBE) to describe the reasons for the chronic school drop-out rate in the country, which manifests as education inequality. It is argued that education inequality may be a cause of human *in*security.

South African human security, economic security, education inequality, quality education, drop-out rate

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To our darling Maria Lancy Kappa, (1965-2020), you were our rock! You kept an order in our lives that gave me the space to complete this study. Your life reflected all the injustices of the past and present, yet you dealt with every adversity with such grace and dignity. You were taken too soon, but we will never forget your smile, your joy and your love.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to *all* the children of South Africa.
Never lose hope for a better life…

To you I am a child
A child of course I am
Little though to you I am,
I have my dreams and desires.

Just like that grain of seed
Is watered and groomed,
Growing up to be a big tree
So also I,
That little child
Need to be nurtured,
Loved and Cherished.

I beg of you, my elders and nation
Never to deny me of my rights
Never to lead me astray
So I can grow to be
Useful to myself and to you
Useful to my great nation
And the world

ADESEWA OYINKANSOLA - *My name is Oyinkansola Adesewa. I am 11 years old. (2014). I love writing, drawing, painting, designing clothes, dancing, and modelling. I am presently a student of Yaba College of Technology Secondary School, Yaba, Lagos. I started writing at the age of 6. My first poem book titled "Thoughts of a Child" was published when I was 8 years old through a writing contest.*

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ANA	Annual National Assessment
ANC	African National Congress
AU	African Union
CHS	Commission for Human Security
CJCP	Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSS	Critical Security Studies
DBE	Department of Basic Education
4IR	Fourth Industrial Revolution
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GHS	General Household Survey
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HoD	Head of Department
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IR	International Relations
ISASA	Independent Schools Association of South Africa
LTSMs	Learner Teacher Support Materials
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NAD	Natives Affairs Department
NDP	National Development Plan 2030
NECC	National Education Coordination Committee
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NEPI	National Education Policy Investigation
NGOs	Non-governmental Organisations
NIDS	National Income Dynamics Study
NP	National Party
NSC	National Senior Certificate
NSSF	National School Safety Framework
NTB	National Training Board
PAEPL	Provincial Average Estimate Per Learner

PIRLS	Progress in International Reading Literacy Study
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
SACMEQ	Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SASA	South African Schools Act of 1996
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SGBs	School Governing Bodies
TB	Tuberculosis
TIMSS	Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UNDHR	United Nations Declaration of Human Rights
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDP HDR	United Nations Development Programme Human Development Report (1994)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction to the research

> *"No country can really develop unless its citizens are educated."* – Nelson Mandela

Nelson Mandela, South Africa's first democratically-elected president, post-1994, recognised and acknowledged the role of education in empowering people to reach their full potential. He said, "[e]ducation is the great engine of personal development", and he believed that "[i]t is not beyond our power to create a world in which all children have access to a good education. Those who do not believe this have small imaginations."[1]

The time and place of the signing the South African Constitution at Sharpeville on the 10 December 1996, is significant for this research. The place – Sharpeville - historically signifies violence, inequality, betrayal and injustice, while the date - International Human Rights Day – implies equality, justice, and freedom, to maintain peace. Speaking on that day, Mandela urged South Africans to "give practical recognition to the injustices of the past, by building a future based on equality and social justice."[2] The Preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, (1996), states that as the "supreme law of the Republic" the Constitution must "establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights". The Constitution's Bill of Rights enshrines equality, human dignity and education for all, whilst s198(a), entitles South Africans to "live as equals, to live in peace and harmony, to be free from fear and want and to seek a better life". This embedded Constitutional norm - freedom from fear and want, to provide human dignity - assumes the human security concept in its broadest form. The RSA National Development Plan - 2030 (NDP) (2012) however, further iterates that South Africa

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[1] The words of former President Nelson Mandela in a founding statement for the Nelson Mandela Institute for Education and Rural Development, 2006.

[2] Speech by President Nelson Mandela at the signing of the constitution, Sharpeville, 10 December 1996. Internet: Sharpeville, 10 December 1996 https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/speech-president-nelson-mandela-signing-constitution-sharpeville-10-december-1996. Access: 28 July 2019.

remains an unequal society, with extreme poverty and too few people working, as well as a poor-quality[3] school education for black[4] learners[5] (Soudien *et al* 2019: 1-2). Consequently, this makes it unclear as to whether the Constitutional rights of South African learners, are in fact lived. Therefore, the link between the socio-economic causes accounting for education inequality in South African schools, and the woefully inadequate life opportunities of learners, may present itself as a potential threat to human security. This needs to be further explored.

This introductory chapter provides a brief contextual background to the research. It formulates and demarcates the research problem whilst also conceptualising human security and education inequality. The research question is presented, and the study's objectives indicate how and why the relationship between human security and *quality* education needs to be explored. The theoretical assumptions underpinning the research are alluded to and the chapter seeks to clarify *how* the study will be conducted by explaining *what* methodological choices were made, and *why* these choices were made.

1.2 Background to the research

Although black per capita incomes have increased since 1994, and whilst it is true that the *interracial* income gap has narrowed, inequality *within* racial groups in South Africa has increased (Alvaredo *et al* 2018: 145). Since 1994, top-income shares have risen - partially explained by blacks being employed in skilled jobs and the civil service. However, income inequality has still increased (Alvaredo *et al* 2018: 148-149). It might be said that democracy, and a new constitution, have not transformed the apartheid inherited socio-economic structures of an extremely unequal society. This despite several reforms that have targeted the poor, and the fight against a segregationist legacy. Race still remains significant when accounting for inequalities in income, educational achievement, job opportunities, and wealth (Alvaredo *et al* 2018: 149).

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[3] The term 'poor-quality education' is used interchangeably with the term 'education inequality'.

[4] This research uses the term 'black' when referring to the African population, as it has both a recognised and accepted usage. The research will also, from time to time, use the terms 'Native' and 'Bantu' interchangeably, to refer to the same group of people. It must be noted these are considered derogatory terms from the colonial and apartheid eras. These derogatory terms are used as sparingly as possible, and only when the literature dictates.

[5] The term 'learners' is used in contemporary South Africa to refer to scholars and pupils, and is used throughout this research except where the literature dictates otherwise. The terms 'child', 'children' and 'youth', may be used interchangeably with the term 'learners'.

Although the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) programme, introduced in 1996, removed trade barriers, freed up capital flows, and reduced fiscal deficits, the marginalised - who are in the majority - did not benefit. This has been due in part, to an increase in returns to capital over labour, and to skilled workers over unskilled workers (Alvaredo *et al* 2018: 149). Additionally, although the 2000's saw an increase in commodity prices, this did not translate into job creation. Alvaredo *et al* (2018: 149), establish that the top 10% income share is extreme. Although the top 1% of that share represents only a small percentage of the top 10%, and whilst its income share is relatively low, it nevertheless remains predominantly white (Alvaredo *et al* 2018: 149).

Alvaredo *et al* (2018: 20), posit that redressing the slow income growth rates of the poor requires better access to education and well-paying employment. This is iterated by the RSA National Planning Commission's Diagnostic Overview (2011), which says that too few (41%) South Africans are employed. The Mail and Guardian (2011) reported that despite improved *access* to education, the *quality* of said education, remains inadequate. Although recent public discourse in South Africa regarding the disparities between equal opportunity and unequal access to university/further education has resulted in improved accessibility for the marginalised, the reality is that the *quality* of school education in the country remains paradoxical. Educational outcomes are poor. Nine-year-olds cannot read for meaning. For every 100 learners entering school, only an approximate half will enter grade twelve, and only half of those will pass their National Senior Certificate (NSC)[6] exams. While barely a quarter will receive university exemption (Amnesty International 2020). Simplified, 100 learners in South Africa enter grade one, approximately 50 of those learners reach grade twelve, approximately 25 of those pass their NSC exams, but only six can go to university/further education. So, it can be concluded that after surmounting all the hardships to complete their schooling, and despite state funding for free university/further education, learners in South Africa are still unable to access well-paying employment and a better life. This is due to the inadequate *quality* of education received.

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[6] Also known as the matriculation (matric) examination.

Contemporary education in South Africa retains apartheid vestiges. Learners in many township and rural schools still receive poor-quality teaching, inadequate facilities as well as all manner of additional challenges. The Native Land Act 27 of 1913, the Group Areas Act 41 of 1950, and the Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953, are singled out in the literature as historic legacies contributing to education inequality. Each policy has led to further legislated segregation which arose during the apartheid era (Feinberg 1993: 65-66; Lester *et al* 2009: 6; Walker 2017: 2 and Weinberg 2013). The Native Land Act, for example, legislated which land could be used by blacks, it removed their land rights, and consolidated areas for white use only. The Group Areas Act, for example, legislated racial segregation, developed reserves/homelands, and townships, and forcibly removed non-whites from areas designated for white use only (Lester *et al* 2009: 6). The Bantu Education Act on the other hand, legislated for racially separate schooling - which for black learners was neither compulsory, free, nor adequate - in terms of curricula, facilities, teaching or management (Tabata 1980: 37-44). These segregation policies resulted in the social subjugation of all non-whites. Africans suffered the worst indignities, as Bantu education was nothing more than an "instrument for serfdom" (Tabata 1980: 37).

Segregation can be said to have fuelled the social inequality which is still apparent in present-day South Africa. Under apartheid legislation, black South Africans were consigned to positions and statuses in society. Equal opportunities were either not encouraged, tolerated, or they were completely banned.

Equity in education is defined by Jacob and Holsinger (2008: 1) as, "the social justice ramifications of education in relation to the fairness, justness and impartiality of its distribution at all levels or educational subsectors". In this sense, the lack of social justice during apartheid, was characterised by an absence of power; racial discrimination; unemployment; social class disparity; an inability to acquire wealth; and poor-quality education. These social justice elements can be said to be lacking in South Africa today and they continue to affect current poverty levels. What follows is a brief introduction to education inequality and the human security concept. Both these concepts are central to the study. In particular, as they illustrate the relevance of each in understanding the lives of the marginalised, and they allude to how the

notion of *quality* education might prove to be an antidote to human *in*security in South Africa.

1.2.1 Understanding education inequality

Education inequality, and the concomitant lack of equity in education during apartheid, indicates that schools during this era were not perceived as centres of education, but were rather seen as centres for indoctrination, and as a vehicle for dealing with the 'Native problem' (Fiske & Ladd: 2004: 41 and Tabata 1980: 37). This suggests that the National Party (NP) government's quest for control of 'Native' education was a means to implement a state policy aimed at preventing the 'Native' from voting. This provided 'Natives' with no rights, and it sought to keep them ignorant, so that they remained in service of the whites. Paradoxically, apartheid also ensured that more pupils attended black schools than ever before. However, this was characterised by enormous disparities in state funding between black and white children (Fiske & Ladd: 2004: 45). In 1953, the South African state separated not only education for black and white children, but also the finances for black and white schools. This resulted in black pupils receiving significantly less than their white counterparts. By 1975/76 state expenditure in South Africa for each white pupil was R644 per annum, Indian pupils received R189 per annum, coloured pupils received R139 per annum, while a mere R42 per annum was spent on each black pupil (Villette 2016). It is alarming therefore, that twenty-six years into democracy, black and coloured schools in South Africa are still under-resourced.

The NP government ensured sufficient funding and resources were provided for white, now model C[7] schools. These schools had, and continue to have, adequate facilities. They were, and still are equipped with the necessary resources. They were, and continue to be provided with qualified teachers. These facilities, resources and teaching staff contributed, and continue to contribute, to a robust educational foundation for their learners (Villette 2016). Under apartheid this initial foundation was neither fair, just, or impartial in its distribution. The fact remains, that schools for

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[7] Fiske & Ladd (2004: 51), explain the concept of a model C school as follows: In 1992 government converted almost all white schools to model C schools. These schools were eligible for state subsidies, but had to raise the rest of their budgets through fees and donations. Parents in each school elected a governing body to impose and collect school fees, and assumed ownership of fixed property and equipment of the school. Until the democratic government of 1994, black learners in these schools were capped at 50%.

African children under apartheid were dilapidated buildings, with broken windows and filthy, inadequate toilet facilities (Sparks 1990: 224-225). Isaacs & Maserow (2015: 4) go on to iterate that this legacy remains a contemporary reality. Today, many black township and rural schools throughout the country still bear testimony to the lack of water, electricity, sanitation and security. Today, it can be said that insufficient textbooks, a zero tolerance for corporal punishment, non-accountable school leadership, and ineffective provincial/district educational management structures still prevail. Furthermore, school transport, ample nutrition, libraries, laboratories, sex education and condom distribution, functioning School Governing Bodies, and inadequate teaching, consistently remain factors that affect education equality (and quality) in black schools (Isaacs & Maserow 2015: 4).

During the apartheid era, the education curricula were designed to promote ethnic pride, racial identity and 'separateness' (Fiske & Ladd 2004: 45 and Tabata 1980: 39). In black schools only an elementary knowledge of English and Afrikaans was provided. There was also scant teaching of mathematics since it was believed the 'Bantu' child would have no use for it (Bloch 2009: 44). Textbooks, which were promulgated by the Natives Affairs Department (NAD), were written specially for the black child, and could only be used in black schools. School books were shared, and pupils were not allowed to take them home for further study. Furthermore, whilst libraries from the previous Mission school system were put up for auction (Tabata 1980: 41). The white Nationalist value system was enforced by school inspectors so as to keep teachers in line. Teachers who had trained in the Mission school system (in particular the university graduates), were considered dangerous, and replaced by teachers with less than a matric (grade twelve) (Bloch 2009: 45 and Tabata 1980: 41 & 44). Today, a vast majority of black learners in South Africa still continue to lag behind their white counterparts in educational achievement. This results in, at best, a poor matriculation, and at worst, an unenviable drop-out rate, which is exacerbated by poor resources, and a shortage of qualified black teachers (Villette 2016).

The NP's apartheid aim, for example, was to 'tribalize Bantu' secondary school education – meant that 'Bantu' education "should stand with both feet in the Reserves" with "its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society" (Bloch 2009: 44 and Tabata 1980: 38). Under apartheid there was no place for Africans in the European

community. African cultural advancement, freedom of education, and social progress was stifled, so as to ensure that Africans never doubted their inferiority (Historical Papers Research Archive: *n.d*: 16).

The current Constitutional Bill of Rights in s28 (1)(c) guarantees that "[e]very child has the right to basic nutrition, shelter, basic health care services and social services"; (d) "to be protected from maltreatment, neglect, abuse or degradation"; (f) "no work or service must (ii) place at risk the child's well-being, education, physical or mental health or spiritual, moral or social development"; (2) "A child's best interests are of paramount importance in every matter concerning the child". (3) "In this section 'child' means a person under the age of 18 years". Furthermore, s29 1(a) of the Bill of Rights states that "[e]veryone has the right to a basic education". Yet today, the insidious 'continuation' of a toxic education policy for black learners results in their lack of choice. It impacts on their ability to succeed, and it leaves little opportunity for a better life lived in dignity. This therefore, can be said to perpetuate the pre-1994 *status quo*.

1.2.2 Understanding human security

The concept of security both in theory and practice, has changed over time. In terms of conceptualisation and practice there has been a shift from a state-centric approach to security to a human security one, where people, and not the state, are the central referent object[8]. Initially, Gallie (1956: 167), challenged how we think about security by calling it a "contested concept". As a result, a move away from "state-centric militarism" arose, and critical security studies, as a sub-field of the discipline of security studies, began to emerge (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 5). The emergence of human security coincided with the broadening and deepening of the security agenda after the end of the Cold War (1947 - 1991). Buzan initially tackled this changing focus of security in his book *People States and Fear* (1991). He expanded on the analytical horizon of security studies by going beyond the military, so as to include economics, politics, the environment and societal dimensions (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 5). Including a societal dimension, Buzan was clear in moving the referent object for

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[8] A referent object is "an entity that is … the focus for analysis, or 'that which is to be secured'" (Peoples, C. & Vaughan-Williams, N. 2015. Critical Security Studies: An Introduction. Abingdon and New York: Routledge).

security beyond the state, and by incorporating actors such as institutions, individuals and groups (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 5).

This 'new' approach to security was specifically articulated as the human security framework within the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report (HDR) (1994). This framework includes both a narrow component – freedom from fear – where security is perceived as territorial and military, as well as a broad component – freedom from want – in which threats to human security are perceived as emanating from seven dimensions: the economy, food, health, environment, personal, community and the political milieu (UNDP 1994: 24 & 25). These 'new' thoughts on the concept of human security have been further developed by Williams' (2013: 1). He defines security as "the alleviation of threats to cherished values" in order to determine who gets what, when and how. Security, post-Cold War (1991) therefore, implies a relationship, a sense of joint survival, where people, as well as their humanitarian needs, together with justice and human rights are prioritised. This then becomes emancipatory politics, or survival-plus (Williams 2013: 7). In other words, when the individual becomes the referent object, the focus is then on their protection *and* their empowerment. Hence the operationalisation of security to *human* security. The human security concept therefore, synergises the notion of empowerment with traditional security's notion of protection (CHS: 2003: 10). This synergy ultimately fuses security thinking with the human development doctrine. It is this symbiosis that upholds and promotes human well-being, which affords equal opportunities, and it provides a free, secure space to pursue choice, with dignity (Zondi 2017: 186 & 207).

1.2.3 Theoretical assumptions underpinning the research

This research employs the human security concept so as to position the study within the security studies discipline. The concept of human security is founded in theory. In particular Cox's Critical Theory (1981) which makes an explicit link to Critical Security Studies (CSS). The Welsh school's approach to CSS in particular, serves to move towards the 'broadening', 'deepening', 'extending' and 'focusing' of security studies (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 29). In this way, '*broadening*' conceives of security studies as including a series of issues beyond the military; '*deepening*' implies the connections between how security is understood together with the

assumptions about the nature of political life; '*extending*' expands the security studies agenda. It recognises multiple issues, multiple actors, and it includes the individual as the referent object. All of these together finally *focus* on human emancipation as a normative goal (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 29). However, although human security provides a framework for the seven dimensions that should improve human emancipation, education is not one of them. As this research will argue however, education is central to them all. It will be posited that poor-quality education negatively impacts on an individual's ability to experience freedom from fear and want, thus depriving them of any opportunity to achieve well-being and dignity. In the absence of a *quality* education therefore, individuals remain *in*secure.

Epistemologically, a critical/transformative approach to security considers knowledge to be a form of power, where historical and social context is relevant. With the end of the Cold War therefore, the Welsh School approach to security called for a new way of thinking about it, and it fundamentally challenged assumptions about what security means (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 30).

CSS today challenges not only the very interpretation of a sovereign state - and the orthodox claim that state sovereignty equates to security - but it also searches for political, social and historical knowledge to transform society. Based on a fundamental understanding that all concepts are both socially and historically constructed, CSS aims to improve the human condition by eradicating injustice. This is because CSS recognised that knowledge is a social process *for* someone and *some* purpose (Cox 1981: 128). By radically re-conceptualising security, and by perceiving security as a "derivative concept" based on a "broadened security agenda", and by highlighting the individual as the "referent object", CSS brings humanity to the concept of security (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 33-35). Since CSS is concerned with 'real world' security, one of its key principles is emancipation. Emancipation implies freeing individual and group actors from physical and human fetters whilst promoting freedom of choice (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 35-36).

According to Booth (1991: 319) security is the absence of threat. War, or the threat thereof, is considered to be a restraint. Booth (1991: 319), expands on the idea of restraints to include: poverty, poor education and political oppression, amongst others. Booth (1991: 319), further describes security and emancipation as being "two sides of

the same coin". Through this lens, emancipation, as opposed to power or order, produces true security. Therefore, from this theoretical perspective, emancipation *is* security. Theoretically therefore, there is a link between security and education in South Africa. Contextually, it can be argued that socio-historic legacies impact on the contemporary black learners' ability to gain knowledge. Thereby creating *in*security for their futures. These socio-historic legacies further cause many learners to drop-out of school. This then disempowers them further as they are unable to transform their lives, or realise their aspirations. In summary, this jeopardises their survival, and it further renders them *in*secure.

Du Plooy-Cilliers (2014: 32-33) and Neuman (1997: 74-75), submit that ontologically, a critical approach to understanding education within the human security concept implies socialisation and indoctrination. Through socialisation and indoctrination, societies are influenced to belong to institutions such as schools, churches, the family, weddings, cultural practices, and ideologies like capitalism (Du Plooy-Cilliers 2014: 32-33; and Neuman 1997: 74-75). These institutions, practices and ideologies empower some, whilst restricting others. In effect this has an influence on peoples' realities.

Theoretically therefore, due to socialisation and indoctrination, oppressed and exploited people with few opportunities cannot realise their potential. Many of the apartheid policies that oppressed and exploited black South Africans were imposed not only by the law, but also through the process of socialisation within the work environment and through indoctrination in schools. It is important to note however, that under apartheid, whilst black South Africans bore the brunt of negative socialisation and indoctrination regimes in all aspects of their lives, *all* members of South African society were subjected to various positive and negative socialisation and indoctrination regimes. Black people, who suffered the worst injustices, experienced negative freedom,[9] as well as a structural violence. Galtung (1996), suggests that structural violence emanates from a state threatening the freedom,

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[9] Negative freedom is described by Berlin (1969: 3) as a lack of political freedom, where an individual is prevented from attaining their goal/s by other human beings (Berlin 1969: 3). Conversely, positive freedom is an individual's wish to be his "own master", (Berlin 1969: 8). To be a consciously thinking, willing, active human being, taking responsibility for his own choices, and explaining them by referencing his own ideas and purposes (Berlin 1969: 8).

human rights and lives of its citizens. This in turn, causes poverty and repression (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 32). In the South African context, the state caused black South Africans harm as they were prevented from satisfying their basic needs. Conversely, white South Africans were allowed a certain positive liberty during the same period. However, a more balanced perspective might suggest that state social structures and institutions also instituted a structural violence amongst whites, which was characterised by restrictions on some of their basic human rights, such as the right to privacy, freedom of expression and thought, the right to life and freedom of movement. However, during the apartheid era black individuals started to see the possibility for change once a covert and overt war was instituted against the regime. Therefore, post-1994 it can be said that South Africans benefitted from this 'liberation war'. Democracy brought the *supposed* institution of human rights for all.

Axiologically, a critical approach to knowledge suggests that independent ideas influence human behaviour. A critical approach begins with a value, or moral judgement, which suggests that being objective is not the same as being value-free (Neuman 1997: 79). According to this analogy, while some values are believed to be better than others, an understanding of history remains crucial. So does the adoption of a set of values (Neuman 1997: 79). In this study therefore, the moral stance of the argument is one which aspires to the fair and equal practice regarding *quality* education for *all* learners, irrespective of race, class, gender or ability. It aspires to a society that benefits from the constitutional right to freedom from fear and want. It is argued that this would serve to provide dignity, fulfil humanitarian needs, and prioritise justice and human rights for an emancipated citizen.

1.3 Formulation and demarcation of the research problem

As a sector, basic education in South Africa, post-1994, receives an approximate 17% of the government's budget (UNICEF 2017). However, despite this not insubstantial share, questions still arise as to the poor educational outcomes, as well as their impact on the potential access to a decent wage, and the inability for citizens to realise opportunity. Within this context, the extent to which education inequality, coupled with the resultant learner drop-out rate in South Africa schools, might present a potential threat to the country's human security, needs to be explored. This is, in part, due to the fact that both education inequality and human security are contested concepts and

need to be developed further. Additionally, in the South African context, so as to mitigate against education inequality being a threat, *quality* education needs to be seen as desirable across all of the human security dimensions. The relationship between poor-quality education and its potential negative impact on these human security dimensions is more pronounced in South Africa, where a vastly unequal society makes it difficult to achieve security for all.

The Department of Basic Education (DBE) in the South African government, releases its *Education Statistics in South Africa* reports annually. This provides information relating to all manner of educational statistics, including the NSC examination pass rate. There is however, inadequate information that relates to learners that begin their education, but do not complete their full scholastic twelve-year journey. Estimates from StatisticsSA (2016: 3) indicate that approximately 24% of learners drop-out of the formal public schooling system annually. Therefore, the potential of these learners to threaten South African security over time becomes apparent. These learners are essentially unemployable, and may, at worst, resort to violence, crime, and protests. At best, they may succumb to a sense of hopelessness with all the mental health ramifications thereof. Branson *et al* (2019: 5), establish a connection between mental health and socio-economic status. They find that socio-economic status and educational attainment are negatively associated with depression. This suggests that education protects physical health and socio-economic status, which in turn, protects mental well-being (Branson *et al* 2019: 5).

Despite the advent of a South African democratic dispensation post-1994, access to *quality* education for black learners, and black educational outcomes, remain problematic in South Africa. This is due, in no small measure, to government policy, which appears to inadequately address the inherited structural issues of the basic education system. This results in disparate educational opportunities. Fleisch *et al* (2012: 530), cite a Human Rights Watch research project which collected data from farm schools in the Mpumalanga, the Free State and Limpopo provinces. This project report suggests that the reasons for drop-out rates (in these provinces) are poverty, lack of scholar transport, long distances to school, the insecure labour and land tenure of parents, the inability to pay school fees, inadequate infrastructure and service provision, and limited secondary school options.

If the previously cited StatisticsSA figure of a 24% drop-out rate remains constant, then exponentially, millions of poor, predominantly black South African youth, are being condemned to a life of poverty. Additionally, education inequality and the resultant income inequality may negatively impact on human security. This will not only create 'lost generations' for perpetuity, but it will potentially pose a threat that destabilises the country. *Quality* education is defined by VVOB (*n.d.*), as that which provides learners with capabilities for meaningful and productive employment, as well as for the development of sustainable livelihoods, which contributes to creating a peaceful, democratic society, and enhancing well-being. UNESCO (2003: 2), however, goes further, and it perceives a *quality* education definition as evolving. UNESCO (2003: 2) suggests that a *quality* education goes beyond literacy, numeracy, life skills, teachers, policy, examinations and methodologies, and says that it should be relevant to modernity. The UNESCO (2003: 9) vision for *quality* education prescribes to human rights, and the understanding of universal human values, which is aligned with the concept of human security. UNESCO's vision recognises the cultural-historic "roots of learning and knowledge" together with the realities of the 21st century. Hence, for UNESCO, *quality* education is perceived as a "unifying concept", but not homogenous. According to UNESCO (2003: 2), a *quality* education needs to "address the social and other dimensions of learning". This is because education needs to contribute to "sustainable human development, peace and security, and the quality of life at individual, family, societal and global levels". Broadly therefore, from this perspective, people need a *quality* education so that they can acquire skills to take responsibility for their own lives, so as to develop their talents, and in order to realise their potential, so as to achieve their personal goals. Following from this, this study conceives of *quality* education and human security as two necessary cohorts in the pursuit of a more equal and secure South African society.

1.4 <u>Research question</u>

This research poses the following question: Why, and how, are the concepts of human security and poor-quality education potentially associated in the South African context, and how might this constitute a threat to the country's stability and security?

1.4.1 Research objectives

This research will focus on the following objectives so as to better understand the potential threat that the continued provision of poor-quality education poses to South African human security over time. This research therefore, aims to:

1. Understand the concept of human security in a South African context.
2. Explore the link between the South African school drop-out rate (as a manifestation of education inequality) and human security.
3. Analyse the potential threat of poor-quality education to human security and its impact on South African stability and security.

1.4.2 Research statement

The quest to decrease income inequality in South Africa relies in part, on the provision of *quality* education for black learners so as to improve their employment opportunities and potential material outcomes. However, it is argued that if the drop-out rate of black learners persists the threat to human security becomes a reality that needs to be explored.

1.5 Methodology

This section on methodology seeks to clarify *how* the study will be conducted by explaining *what* methodological choices were made, and *why*.

1.5.1 Research paradigm

The research statement reflects the proposition that South Africa's income inequality could be partially addressed by tackling education inequality. A *quality* education system is necessary for human rights, and to improve the skills that enhance employment prospects and the potential material outcomes. This is also important for the realisation of opportunities and potential. A *quality* education ensures that people live in peace and dignity and "with a sense of security" (UNESCO 2003: 5). Furthermore, a holistic *quality* education provides the tools to transform societies (UNESCO 2003: 2). This can be achieved by emphasising human rights, by providing democratic and civics education, and by eliminating ethnic, language and religious

bias. This can ensure an understanding of universal values, whilst promoting non-violence and conflict resolution, and by promoting peace and intercultural understanding, (UNESCO 2003: 2&5). A chronic school drop-out rate (as a manifestation of education inequality) therefore, poses a threat to South African human security. It places long-term stability at risk because these learners have had no opportunity to develop their full potential, to build their knowledge, or develop their critical skills (UNESCO 2003: 2-3). The ability to develop potential, build knowledge and develop critical skills are necessary for a better life in a non-discriminatory and equal environment. This subsequently will enable individuals to contribute to family and community life (UNESCO 2003: 2-3). A transformative educational approach therefore equips people to orientate towards human values. It also allows for peace, social cohesion and a respect for human dignity to be realised (UNESCO 2003: 2-3). This approach also recognises the benefits of working together, and how as individuals, people can contribute to a changed world - thus preventing increasingly militant and destructive social unrest (UNESCO 2003: 2-3).

A research paradigm is fundamental to how research knowledge is generated and understood. Habermas, refers to a paradigm as the cognitive (technical, practical and emancipatory) interests, or the "mental process of knowing things" (du Plooy-Cilliers 2014: 21). By defining what the researcher wants to know, paradigms facilitate how new knowledge is generated (du Plooy-Cilliers 2014: 21). The *critically oriented* (emancipatory) cognitive interest, which is central to this research endeavours to empower people through knowledge. It also helps to determine the aim/reason for the research. It advises on the research phenomena, research methods, and what is considered knowledge (du Plooy-Cilliers 2014: 21). Therefore, the CSS's approach of '*broadening*', '*deepening*', '*extending*' and '*focusing*' the security concept, speaks to how a transformative paradigm facilitates specific emancipatory knowledge generation and understanding. By *critically orienting* South African human security, this study aims to make apparent that education inequality has a politico-historic-socio manifestation that continues to materialise in the contemporary context. Understanding human security through a CSS lens therefore, allows one to frame the concept from an emancipatory perspective so as to potentially transform society by advocating for the provision of *quality* education.

1.5.2 Research design

The research approach of this study is exploratory. This study seeks to explore a proposition which has previously been under-researched. Namely, whether education inequality, as it manifests in the school drop-out rate, might exist as a threat to human security in South Africa. Exploratory research focuses on the 'how' and 'who' questions relating to the historical and contemporary issues in the research question (Neuman 1997: 20). Although the issue – education inequality – is already known and can be described, this study aims to go further by exploring *how* this might be a potential threat to South African human security.

The intention of this study therefore, is to interpret and gain a detailed understanding of the human security concept and how education inequality, as it manifests in the secondary school drop-out rate, might affect South African security. A literature-based design is employed so as to focus on the concepts by: determining what scholarly sources say in respect of the historic structural policies in respect of Bantu education, the factors driving historic education inequality, the factors driving contemporary education inequality, as well as the human security concept. The literature selected in this study will assist in developing the conceptual framework. This, whilst incorporating a snapshot of longitudinal secondary data sets. These longitudinal secondary data sets are used descriptively so as to assess and interpret the drop-out rate, and so as to determine a pattern (if one exists), which associates the drop-out rate with the factors accounting for education inequality. The objective of this study is to expand on existing knowledge in respect of human security, and therefore to establish its link to *quality* education. The study will ultimately argue that education inequality can manifest as human *in*security.

1.5.3 Research methods

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, (1996), the RSA National Development Plan - 2030, (NDP) (2012), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report (HDR) (1994), and United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (1989), are some of the primary sources used in this study so as to briefly provide authoritative and original thought on the concepts used throughout the study. Secondary sources include scholarly works by academics in the

form of books and journal articles, government records, research data and surveys from StatisticsSA*,* newspaper articles, political speeches, academic theses, official and unofficial records of international and government agencies. The secondary data sets collected from the DBE serve as supplementary information. The DBE annual reports deal specifically with independent and public schools. The latter are helpful because the majority (92.7%), of South African learners attend such schools. Supplementary information statistically illustrates the drop-out rate, thus grounding the research problem in both qualitative information, and quantitative descriptive data. The possible connection between education inequality - its history and manifestations – and its contributory role to human *in*security, is then used to make a case for the importance of *quality* education for the human security concept.

1.5.4 Research analysis

A thematic analysis is used for this study because it facilitates flexibility in choosing a theoretical framework. This flexibility enables detailed descriptions of information and data. It allows the identification, through literature, of the commonalities and critiques within the concepts of human security, whilst also identifying the commonalities and inherent requirements for *quality* education. The overarching themes to be analysed are: *quality* education as a prerequisite for the human security framework in South Africa; poor-quality education and the impact on economic security as one specific dimension of the human security framework; an interpretation of the statistics to show the drop-out rate in South African secondary schools; and determining if education inequality is indeed a human security threat in South Africa.

1.6 Significance of the research

It is anticipated that the research findings will clarify why education inequality, manifesting in the school drop-out rate in the South African context, might lead to human *in*security. It will further demonstrate how a decrease in the school drop-out rate can occur if *quality* education is prioritised. It will be shown that the ancillary gain of *quality* education can further support those learners writing the NSC exams. In this sense, an improved quality of outputs will make more scholars eligible for some form of tertiary education. Thus, the business/industry/public perception of the NSC qualification would improve, facilitating youth employment. It will be shown that if more

learners enter the workplace with more appropriate skills, they will become more employable and add benefit for employers. *Quality* education in particular, will also place South Africa in a better position to address the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR). The net result could be human security and a stable South Africa, which is ripe for foreign investment and an overall improved equality rate.

This research contributes to knowledge production since it advocates for the conceptual inclusion of *quality* education within the South African human security agenda. It calls for a broadened agenda which moves security beyond the state to add complementary values, such as knowledge and learning. Thus, promoting *quality* education as a human right. The study argues that *quality* education needs to reflect learning relative to the learner as an individual, family and community member, and as part of a global society (UNESCO 2003: 2). The findings of the study could assist policy-makers in the development of a model/s, that clarify education inequality redress as a matter of priority, thus, redirecting resources as a matter of urgency to mitigate against unrest and violence. This could contribute to a more peaceful and secure South Africa. In summary, if more youth have skills to find sustainable employment, they will have less need for state support, and thus be of greater contribution to society.

1.7 Brief chapter overviews

The structure of this research is comprised of four chapters representing an introduction, a conceptual and theoretical framework, a literature-based study and a chapter presenting findings and analysis.

1.7.1 Chapter 1: Introduction

This introductory chapter provides a brief contextual background to the research, as well as a conceptual overview of human security, and education inequality in South Africa. The chapter formulates and demarcates the research problem. It stipulates the research question and objectives so as to show how the relationship between human security and *quality* education will be explored. The suggested theoretical assumptions in support of the research, aim to clarify in what way the study will be conducted by explaining the methodological choices.

1.7.2 Chapter 2: A conceptual and theoretical framework

This chapter explores the need for a broadened conceptual framework for human security in South Africa. It does so by clarifying the conceptual framework, by exploring the changing nature of security, the development of the human security concept, the human security discourse of today, the 'vital core' of human security, the critiques of the human security concept, and the proposed South African 'turn' towards the provision of *quality* education. The conceptual framework is expanded to include education across the human security dimensions. This is explored so as to include the inequality concept and show its link to education. This conceptual framework specifically demonstrates the evolution of the human security concept and UNDP HDR (1994) framework through a transformative CSS lens, thus encouraging human security discourse. The aim of this chapter is to explore the notion of discourse as a means for prioritising *quality* education in a South African context.

1.7.3. Chapter 3: An inconvenient truth: The link between educational inequalities in South African schools and human *in*security

This chapter explores the significance of historic South African structural policies on education inequality. It does so by examining the legislation on segregation, separate development and Bantu education. These historic factors explore the results of these policies on contemporary education inequality in South Africa. It will be shown how this continued education inequality manifests as secondary school drop-out rates which is illustrated in the snapshot of statistical data provided. The aim of this chapter is to determine if education inequality as a human *in*security exists in the South African context.

1.7.4 Chapter 4: Analysis: Has South Africa reached its human security 'Tipping Point'?

This final chapter provides an analysis of some of the outcomes of the research. The notion of *quality* education as a prerequisite for human security in South Africa is analysed, and the case for the *prioritisation* of education is proposed. A single dimension of the conceptual framework – economic security – is explored and analysed contextually. The aim is to determine the impact of poor-quality education on South Africa's economic security, and to establish if it is contributing to human

*in*security. Finally, the statistics for the drop-out rates are interpreted to determine their overall significance to education inequality. The intention is to establish if indeed education inequality is a threat to South African human stability and security.

1.8 Conclusion

Through a brief overview of the state of education inequality in South Africa today this chapter established a tentative proposition that the historical legacy of poor-quality education for the majority of black learners persists in contemporary South Africa. Education inequality in South Africa today manifests as chronic school drop-out rates. This denies these youth any life opportunities and it affects their well-being. These youth have few options. Their human rights remain infringed upon, and a poor-quality education adversely affects their ability to enter into the workplace. The significant South African drop-out rate in schooling might present a scenario of disenchanted, unemployed and unemployable youth. This also reinforces the country's inequality rate as one of the highest globally. A brief conceptual overview of human security helped to establish the changing nature of the security concept within the discipline of security studies more generally. It was shown that the evolution of security, from a state-centric militarist approach to a broader and deeper understanding of the security agenda has been articulated in the UNDP HDR (1994) so as to include individuals as the main referent for security. Individual emancipation necessitates freedom from fear and want for a life lived with dignity. Since human security is the focus of this study the problem arises as to how education inequality might pose a threat to it. It was argued in this chapter that education inequality may cause human *in*security. Thus, *quality* education was emphasised as a prerequisite for the realisation of all human security dimensions in the South African context. Furthermore, it was stated that the ability to access sustainable employment empowers individuals to reach their potential. This is because it provides them with freedom of choice, and the ability to realise their dreams which are vital elements of a human security approach.

The following chapter presents a systematic account of the knowledge acquired through the human security concept and the selected theory for this study. This chapter aims to elucidate a transformative conceptual framework for the human security agenda in South Africa by exploring of the constitutive parts of human security. A South African 'turn' towards the provision of *quality* education which

suggests the prioritisation of *quality* education as part of the South African human security agenda. This next chapter proposes the expansion of the human security conceptual framework so as to include education in the human security discourse. It concludes by showing the need for prioritising *quality* education in the South African context specifically.

CHAPTER 2

A CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

> *"We need to fashion a new concept of human security that is reflected in the lives of our people, not in the weapons of our country."* – Mahbub ul Haq[10]

Mahbub ul Haq pioneered a development philosophy at the United Nations that resulted in the establishment of the Human Development Report (HDR) (1994), and the Human Development Index (HDI) (2004). Altogether, these frameworks aim to measure the development of people by their well-being and not only their income. The concept of human security has now developed further through discourse to include other contextual dimensions which are considered necessary for well-being and which provide for, and contribute to, a dignified, meaningful life for all.

This chapter represents a conceptual framework that is grounded in the Welsh school approach of Critical Security Studies (CSS). This chapter provides a transformative lens through which to view security. It is transformative, in that it perceives security as being much broader than the traditional, narrow, state-centric approach to security. It will be shown that CSS is underpinned by Cox's Critical Theory, which critically interrogates the assumption underpinning traditional security.

The conceptual framework specifically aims to contextualise South Africa's overarching efforts at human security since 1994. It presents as a value proposition that broadly includes what Annan (2000) refers to as "human rights, good governance, *access to education* (researcher's emphasis), to ensure that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfill [their] potential". In other words, the value proposition is that human rights, good governance and access to education are not only desirable for South Africans, but are also the criteria that should influence the behaviour of government. This value proposition is presented as an alternative to reducing poverty in South Africa, and achieving economic growth, whilst preventing

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[10] Cited in Kanti Bajpai, 'Human Security: Concept and Measurement,' manuscript, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 2000.

conflict, since freedom from fear and freedom from want, build towards a [national] security (Annan 2000).

South Africa's democracy post-1994, through its Constitution, incorporates the human security concept in its broadest form to include the upliftment, dignity and safety of its people. This, whilst maintaining territorial sovereignty. The Constitution therefore prioritises individuals as the referent object for security. The Constitution acknowledges the human communities that comprise the state, whist simultaneously recognising their need for well-being. This firmly places the South African human security agenda within the CSS theoretical framework which is consistent with the assumptions of this study. Although the human security concept in South Africa is not explicitly referred to in the Constitution, the reference to 'freedom from fear and want', 'equality', 'peace and harmony', and 'a better life' are implicitly indicative of the concept. The Constitution represents an effort to redress past sufferings and to address the problems of the marginalised, by providing, in simplest form, those things that people value most: "enough food, adequate shelter, good health, schooling for the[ir] children; protection from violence whether inflicted by man or by nature; and a State which does not oppress its citizens but rules with their consent" (Frechette 1999). It is thus accepted in this study that South Africa endeavours to follow a human security agenda because theoretically, the human security concept is seen as improving *all* South African lives.

Education is not a specified component in the framework of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report (HDR) (1994). The South African Constitution advocates for human rights, whilst UNESCO (2003: 2) promotes *quality* education as a human right. As a constitutionally enshrined right therefore, and as a signatory of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (1989)[11], education is necessarily treated as a prerequisite requirement for effective human security in South Africa. However, while *access* to education in South Africa is a given, the *quality* of education is not specified. UNESCO (2003: 1), maintains that educational access and *quality* education are two distinct concepts.

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[11] Treaty signed by South Africa in 1993 and ratified in 1995.

The linkage between the concepts is obvious - quality is impossible without access - but access without quality is often meaningless (UNESCO 2003: 1).

2.2 A conceptual framework

According to CSS, a critical and broad approach to prevailing knowledge and understandings of the security concept, is necessary. A central idea of CSS is that all concepts are both socially and historically constructed. Under the CSS approach, security is radically reconceptualised. CSS therefore, makes a number of changes to the traditional state-centric, neorealist and narrow conception of security. A central CSS principle perceives security as being a “derivative concept” (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 33). According to CSS, a view of security is a consequence of how people see the world, how people think politics works. This then influences what constitutes a threat to them, and what needs to be protected (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 33). CSS regards military force as only one possible threat to security. Consequently, other threats such as poverty, oppression and environmental degradation, are also worthy of consideration since people are threatened by many issues (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 34-35). This results in the CSS principle of a “broadened security agenda” (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 34-35). In the CSS approach, the individual becomes the referent security object, since military, political, economic, environmental and societal threats affect people (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 35). The principle here is that states are comprised of human communities who have “corporeal, material existence and experiences” (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 35). Furthermore, CSS adds emancipation as a central principle to its security approach. Emancipation not only provides a link to the broadened Critical Theory (and ideas derived from Marxian thought), but also differentiates this approach from other ‘critical’ approaches to security (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 35).

Emancipation refers to freedoms, CSS highlights how constraints often impact on an individual’s well-being, therefore affecting their security. CSS says that the real world of “corporeal, material existence and experiences”, should be the main focus of security (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 35-36). Booth (1991: 319), elaborates further. He describes ‘security’ as the absence of threats. War - or its threat - is a constraint, but poverty, poor education, political oppression, and such like, are also

constraints (Booth 1991: 319). Booth (1991: 319), maintains that security and emancipation are "two sides of the same coin". He suggests that emancipation - not power, or order - produces true security. Consequently, for Booth (1991), emancipation from a theoretical perspective, *is* security. In essence, the aim of CSS is to transform society by providing more security and freedom (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 35).

2.2.1 Human security

Human security is seen by CSS as a possible recourse to contemporary global security threats as it addresses issues of poverty; inequality; climate change; disease pandemics; migration; trafficking of people, weapons and drugs; the degradation of the environment; and conflict due to poor governance. CSS argues that whilst our world appears stable, these intersectional and progressively transnational issues are in fact expanding, as globalisation intensifies. Since the end of the Cold war (1991) and the changing concept of security, CSS posits that the challenge is to determine how human security, with its people-centred emphasis, can adapt to meeting humanity's needs (Acharya 2011: xiii). Moreover, the question arises as to how human security can be a "tool" to rally for the provision of "safety and well-being [for] individuals, states and the international community" (Acharya 2011: xiii).

2.2.1.1 ***The changing nature of security***

Traditional security studies has had an unambiguous mandate: to solve the problem of war and instability in world politics. Its object of analysis was the state. Its goal was to explain why states enter into war. Its view originates in neorealist International Relations (IR) theory (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 31). From this perspective, war is deemed as "*the* enduring recurrent feature of the international system". This perspective accepts the state and the anarchic nature of the system, as given, whilst assuming that change in world politics is almost impossible (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 32).

In his analysis of Critical Theory, Cox recognises that the formation of power relations is an assumed one, which is not necessarily static (Leysens 2001: 220). Cox transcends the neorealist state-centric framework by connecting material conditions, ideas and institutions into his understanding of how 'world orders' are created

(Moolakkattu 2011: 439). This provides the link to CSS, since Cox considered a "vibrant civil society" to be essential for a transformational agenda (Moolakkattu 2011: 439). According to Cox, this civil society would develop intellectuals to represent the marginalised; thus, fostering a community-level solidarity, participatory democracy, non-violent methods of conflict resolution, pluralism and multilateralism to achieve this aim (Moolakkattu 2011: 439). In the early 1980's, Cox divided the study of world politics into two categories. That of 'Problem-solving Theory' and that of 'Critical theory' (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 31). 'Problem-solving Theory' establishes the state and key actors as the focus of world politics. Therefore, war between states is *the* main problem to be solved (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 31). CSS however, suggests that this state-centrism erroneously acts to justify and preserve this *status quo*. The implication for developing countries therefore, is that states are often the source of *in*security and structural violence, thus causing poverty and repression (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 32). 'Critical Theory', on the other hand, contends that world politics should assume war between states to be only one of a *range* of problems to be resolved (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 31). Critical Theory argues that by focusing only on this poses the risk of missing key dimensions – multiple contemporary security issues - that do not easily fit into a problem-solving mindset (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 31). The CSS framework therefore, expects security studies to extend beyond a problem-solving approach "*within* the *status quo*", and to rather engage with the problem "*of* the *status quo*" (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 32). Cox recommends the need to critically interrogate how problems are constructed. He concludes therefore, that the two theories – 'Problem-solving theory' and 'Critical Theory' - have different approaches to knowledge (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 31).

Whilst 'Problem-solving Theory' assumes that knowledge is attained and produced by scholars in a value-neutral way, 'Critical Theory' assumes that knowledge is intrinsically social by nature. This is because Critical Theory assumes that scholars are embedded in the social world which they are analysing. Therefore, for Critical Theory, distinguishing between 'facts' and 'values' is difficult (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 31). This results in some issues being emphasised, and others not. Furthermore, the sub-conscious decision to do so is determined by education, beliefs, social position, and the like. Consequently, for Critical Theory, addressing problems

in world politics is never a neutral act, but is determined by what is deemed important, or not (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 31). Thus, the way in which a particular theory interprets and presents the world will affect how it is viewed, how decisions are made, where we give attention, choose to distribute resources, and so on. This led Cox to declare that theory is always *for* someone and *for* some purpose (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 31).

Criticisms of traditional security studies and post-Cold War peace studies are therefore broadly linked to a 'critical turn' in international studies. The latter aims to develop a re-conceptualization of security (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 30&33). The peace studies focus was in realising 'negative peace' (absence of war), as well as 'positive peace' by pursuing socio-economic justice as a means to redressing the fundamental causes of conflict (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 30). Seeking 'positive peace' for peace studies led to issues such as health, environmental stability and economic welfare, together with military might, being considered within this broader perspective. This was however, influential in the development of CSS (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 30). The broad peace studies agenda, together with developments in Cox's 'Critical Theory' informed the development of CSS with its broader security view (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 30).

Buzan, in his pivotal book *People States and Fear* (1991) portrays security as a political tool used by governments to create awareness for priority security issues by ascribing significance to the '*who*', the '*what*' and the '*how*'. This ultimately guided Williams (2013: 1), to define security as "the alleviation of threats to cherished values" to determine *who* gets *what*, *when*, and *how*. Buzan emphasised that security at the end of the Cold War was about human collectives, not only states, and he proposed prioritising political, economic, societal and environmental security, together with military security.

Williams (2013: 2), suggests that this new way of thinking about security expands contextual flexibility. This enables 'great power politics', technology and important events to sway and influence. According to Gallie (1956: 167), security is a subjective term, a "contested concept", which is based either on the accumulation of power, or on cooperation and emancipation through justice and human rights (Williams 2013: 6-7). Security from this perspective, implies a relationship, not a commodity. It implies

a tacit absence of threat, which facilitate experiences that achieve security, which support joint survival, which do not yield to "mutual destruction" (Williams 2013: 7). As justice and human rights are prioritised - emancipatory politics, or 'survival-plus' - ensues (Williams 2013: 7). While traditional security conflates the concepts of survival and security, Booth argues that "[s]urvival is being alive, security is living" which makes security equivalent to 'survival-plus'. This allows people to establish conditions of existence with an absence of threats, so as to maximise their opportunities and life-choices (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 37).

2.2.1.2 ***Development of the human security concept***

The end of the Cold War characterised by its bipolar 'factions' in 1989 mandated rethinking the question of *who* should be secured as people. Furthermore, the growing humanitarian needs of people became progressively more important. The fluidity of contextual issues now suggests that states no longer enjoy the privilege of being the key referent object for security. There is increasing global acknowledgement that not all groups, or all threats, are of equal political significance. Over time, a new approach to security found its articulation as the human security framework within the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report (HDR) (1994). This framework encompasses a narrow component – freedom from fear - where security is territorial and militarily inclined, and a broad component – freedom from want - where threats to human security encompass economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political freedoms (UNDP 1994: 24 & 25). These dimensions of security and their concomitant freedoms can be described briefly as follows:

Economic security, according to the UNDP HDR (1994: 25), requires a guaranteed basic income, either from a productive job that provides remuneration, or from a social grant system. The number of available jobs in the developed world fails to keep pace with the increasing labour force, of which many are women (UNDP 1994: 25). The youth are more likely to be unemployed in both the developed and developing world, but in Africa it is a main factor in political tensions and ethnic violence (UNDP 1994: 25). A shift to underemployment, unproductive and poorly paid work, temporary and part-timework, and precarious sectors means increasing *in*security of incomes (UNDP 1994: 25). Low and insecure incomes equal increasing poverty, particularly in the

developing world (UNDP 1994: 26). Homelessness is rising throughout the world due to economic *in*security (UNDP 1994: 26).

Food security, according to the UNDP (1994: 27), requires both a physical and economic access to food so that "all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preference for an active and healthy life" (Hosu & Qamata 2019: 1). A "ready access" or "entitlement" to food is determined by a person's ability to grow or buy their own food, or to receive food from a public distribution system (UNDP 1994: 27). The report (1994: 27) further states that food availability is "a necessary condition of security", but that people still starve, despite sufficient food availability, because "access to food" relates to asset availability, as well as a guaranteed income.

Health security, according to the UNDP (1994: 27), says that infectious and parasitic disease are the major causes of death in developing countries. In both the developed and developing worlds the threats to health security are experienced mostly by the poor, by people in rural areas, and children (UNDP 1994: 28). The disparity between access to health, and the spending on health care, is determined by how rich or poor a state is (UNDP 1994: 28). Poor women during childbirth are particularly vulnerable since their inability to access safe and affordable family planning and support during pregnancy and delivery result in preventable deaths (UNDP 1994: 28). Maternal mortality in the global south is 18 times greater than in the global north (UNDP 1994: 28). HIV/Aids remain a source of health *in*security in developing countries (UNDP 1994: 28).

Environmental security ensures a healthy physical environment for human beings (UNDP 1994: 28). The nature of environmental damage differs between the developed and developing world. But the effects are similar. The threats are also chronic and long-lasting. (UNDP 1994: 29). Water pollution, due to poor sanitation, is linked to water scarcity. This is a huge threat to developing countries and contributes to ethnic strife (UNDP 1994: 29). Loss of forests and deforestation, coupled with overgrazing, poor conservation and desertification creates land pressure in the developing world (UNDP 1994: 29). Air pollution damages forests and impacts agricultural production causing economic losses in the developed world (UNDP 1994: 29). Industrialisation and population growth degrade eco-systems (UNDP 1994: 28).

Although droughts and floods are intensifying, population growth forces people into marginalised territory due to poverty and land shortages, which increases their exposure to ever more frequent natural disasters (UNDP 1994: 29).

Personal security requires that people are secure from physical violence which takes the form of: threats from the state (torture), threats from other states (war), ethnic tension, gangs (crime and street violence), rape and domestic abuse of women, child abuse, and threats to self (suicide and drug use) (UNDP 1994: 30). Traffic accidents are a leading cause of death in the developed and developing world (UNDP 1994: 30). Workplace violence and harassment are increasing (UNDP 1994: 30). Women suffer more personal threats. Few societies treat them equally, and gender *in*security and physical violence are persistent (UNDP 1994: 30). Rape, in the developed and developing world is a problem (UNDP 1994: 30). Children are subject to abuses and neglect in developed countries, whilst poverty in developing countries compels them to take on heavy work too young at a cost to their health (UNDP 1994: 30).

Community security is described as family, communities, organisations, and racial/ethnic groups providing cultural identity and a set of values (UNDP 1994: 31). Communities are under threat due to the decline of traditional languages and cultures, challenges to oppressive practices by modernity and legal actions, rising ethnic tensions, poor access to opportunities, religious discord, the vulnerability of Indigenous People; poverty; depression and despair (UNDP 1994: 31-32).

Political security means that people co-exist in a society that honours their basic human rights (UNDP 1994: 32). Political repression, systematic torture, ill treatment or disappearance are still problematic (UNDP 1994: 32). Violations of human rights occur most frequently during political unrest (UNDP 1994: 32). Police and their repressive tactics are often perpetrators of human rights violations in the global north (UNDP 1994: 33). Press freedom is less prevalent in West and South Asia and North Africa (UNDP 1994: 33). Political *in*security is prevalent in countries with a high military spending to social spending ratio (UNDP 1994: 33).

Considering all of these dimensions, Gasper (2013: 169-170) contends that the human security framework is so expansive that it accounts not only for the physical safety of individuals, but also “their ability to secure and hold basic goods”. To Gasper’s mind

this also partners with 'human development'. Fierke (2015: 159), moreover, perceives the human security framework as being beneficial for political actors wanting to pursue extensive partnerships, whilst Alkire (2013: 64), observes that the broadness of the framework provides the 'space' for a human security discourse, thus opening up the possibility of prioritising contextual issues. Furthermore, it is emphasised that the universality of human security regardless of how rich or poor, developed or underdeveloped the state is, the commonality of threats such as unemployment, pollution, crime, drugs and human rights violations apply to all. This affirms that the interdependence of the security components is inevitable (UNDP 1994: 22). According to Gasper (2013: 171), human security often appears as an "uneasy merger of human development and peace themes, via the bridge of the term 'security'". He says that the concept unites the "agenda items of peace, security and development". The UNDP HDR (1994: 22) asserts that globalisation ensures that responses to the *in*securities of famine, disease epidemics and terrorism are shared by all people and are no longer confined to a sovereign territory. The UNDP HDR (1994: 24) goes on to say that in essence, lasting global peace can only be assured when the human security 'fronts' prevent both freedom from fear and freedom from want. It can be argued therefore, that human security must encompass not only the absence of violent conflict, but also human rights, good governance, and access to education and health care. This whilst ensuring that people have quality of life, coupled with opportunities and choices to fulfil their potential. In summary, since the interconnectivity and sustainability of the human security concept rests on positive and negative freedoms, national security can be said to be maintained (Annan 2000, van Ginkel & Newman 2000: 79 and Thakur 1997: 53-54).

In a South African context, the human security framework can be inferred from the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996). Commonalities with the framework are reflected in its Preamble (1996: 2), various statutes in the Bill of Rights (1996: 7 s9(1), (2), (3), and s10), and Chapter 11 (1996: 121 s198 (a)), the essence of which is as follows:

South Africa, as a democratic sovereign state, can be said to use its supreme law to address the past by upholding democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights. As a result, in a South African context, national security facilitates a

peaceful life for all, free from fear and want so lives are improved and an individual's potential reached. According to the Constitution, all are equal before the law, and all benefit from law and are equally protected to enjoy all rights and freedoms. Furthermore, national legislation and other measures promote equality to all previously disadvantaged by discrimination. As a result, the Constitution (1996) calls for no discrimination based on race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth are tolerated by the state, and the individual's inherent dignity is respected and protected.

Re-conceptualising the UNDP HDR (1994) into a framework capable of addressing South Africa's unique requirements therefore assists in framing the relationship between human security and *quality* education in the South African context. CSS is helpful since it countenances education as a security issue, due to the socio-historic causes of current education inequality. Equally, a people-centred security, as the direct and indirect threat of poor-quality education, can be said to impact on all seven dimensions of the human security framework.

2.2.1.3 ***Human security discourse today***

The independent Commission for Human Security (CHS) was launched at the United Nations Millennium Summit in 2000. Under the initiative of the Government of Japan, the Human Security Now (2003) report was also released almost ten years after the original UNDP HDR (1994). The latter report is a "general agreement" regarding the importance of freedom from fear and freedom from want. It is also a response to the increase in "dramatic crises" (CHS report 2003: iv). The report emphasises the fear that "existing institutions and policies" remain unable to deal with issues of: declining multilateralism; dwindling respect for human rights; failing promises to eliminate poverty and deprivation; archaic sectarian education systems; and a propensity to disregard global responsibilities in a progressively interconnected world (CHS report 2003: iv). The report clarifies globalisation's role in creating economic opportunities. Pointedly, by including peoples and countries previously excluded, the CHS report (2003: iv) affirms the progression and continuing support for democratic norms and values. Furthermore, community organisations are increasing and together with civil society, and the Millennium Development Goals (MDG's), being replaced by

(Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's)), are now recognised as major initiatives to remove deprivations and improve human security. As a result of global change, the CHS report (2003), was seen as a necessary progression from the seminal UNDP HDR (1994). As a mechanism to harness strategic priorities, and emanating domestically, it is said by the CHS (2003) report that the human security concept must adapt to additional challenges, over and above pervasive problems and vulnerabilities, to remain viable (Acharya 2001: 442 & 444, Hendricks 2006: 1 and Thomas 2013: 311). The report has led to a human security discourse, which, according to Gasper (2013: 170), is broader than the single concept of human security.

This new discourse acknowledges the input from the CHS (2003) report, and especially the notion that the traditional, state-centric idea of security is obsolete, and that human security must respond to the complex, interrelated security threats extending beyond national boundaries (CHS report 2003: 2). It is argued that whilst states must provide essential security, they in fact often fail to fulfil their security obligations. States therefore, are potentially a source of threat to their own people (CHS report 2003: 2 & Trobbiani 2013: 3). By approaching human security comprehensively, and by acknowledging the intersectionality between development, human rights and national security, the discourse now suggests that new opportunities can be incorporated to address threats (United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security. 2009: 9). The discourse says that by focusing on the protection and empowerment of the individual (referent object), will require a re-conceptualisation of security (Annan 1998). In this sense, although the state still remains the most effective mechanism for security and redistribution of wealth, stability, and a legitimate "human democracy", is also nevertheless required (Annan 1998, Celliers 2004: 49 and Trobbiani 2013: 7).

It is assumed now that perceived legitimacy is improved when a state protects its citizens. This perception also highlights the multitude of threats impacting on humanity (Trobbiani 2013: 7 and United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security. 2009: 6-7). The discourse now says that state security and human security are synergistic and complementary. This then calls for promoting an integrated, coordinated and people-centred approach to advance peace, security and development within, and across nations (CHS report 2003: 6 and United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security. 2009:

6-7). Celliers (2004: 11) for example, maintains that states cannot exclusively provide for individual security. This is because the national security concept refers specifically to the security of the state against insurgencies. Trobbiani (2013: 11) concurs. Trobbiani (2013: 11) suggests that since threats change over time and space, changes to the domestic role of the state are necessitated. Celliers (2004: 46), explains that globalisation requires state and non-state actors to share power. Therefore, he argues that the state is in no position to dominate security or its governance, either conceptually or practically. This is because development, defence and security have moved beyond the state system. However, Trobbiani (2013: 8) insists that the centrality of the state is essential for the linkage of state capacity with security management. As a result, a connection between domestic security and the narrow interpretation of freedom from fear is created (Trobbiani 2013: 8). The proviso is that an institutionally strong state should guarantee and implement security through its police, justice system, correctional services, military and the intelligence community (Celliers 2004: 11). This is so as to avoid human rights abuses, to provide physical protection and individual safety, as well as to provide equal access to the law (Celliers 2004: 11). The caveat here however, is that governance of institutions can be a threat to human security. Consequently, it is said that rules, norms and values must support the institutions as well, so as to be effective (Celliers 2004: 11 & Trobbiani 2013: 8). Under this discourse it is said that human security can potentially unite different states, agencies and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in partnerships (Paris 2001: 88). However, Celliers (2004: 48) and the CHS report (2003: 11) caution that other actors – international organisations, local communities and civil society - are not state alternatives, and can only participate in supplementing the development and security capacity of a state, thus holding government accountable, and shielding citizens from threat.

The CHS report (2003) acknowledges that empowered people are resilient. It asserts that people are able to develop their full potential by finding ways and means to participate in solutions that ensure human security for themselves and others (CHS: 2003: 10-11). Empowerment however, is said to require education for informational support, and so as to improve society, whilst enabling collective action. Particularly, if the dignity of people is violated (CHS: 2003: 11). Empowerment however, is thus conceptualised as public spaces tolerating opposition; encouraging local leadership

and cultivating public discussion; a thriving and supportive holistic environment where press freedom, information freedom, freedom of belief, and where freedom to organise are guaranteed by democratic elections and inclusive policies (CHS: 2003: 11). This idea of protection and empowerment - freedom from fear and want - emphasise the human security synergy. It is clear that almost all situations of *in*security require the presence of both, but their "form and balance" is contextual (CHS: 2003: 10). Zondi (2017: 186 & 207), iterates this synergy as a fusion of security thinking with the human development doctrine. He states that it is a relationship that upholds and promotes human well-being by affording equal opportunities, whilst providing a free, secure space to pursue choice, with dignity (Zondi 2017: 186 & 207). The CHS report (2003), is thus persuasive in that it promotes the provision of basic needs *plus* stability in a nexus between development and human security. This is because irrespective of whether the broad or narrow concept of human security is adopted, human security will not be achieved without development (Gasper 2013: 176).

The human security discourse however, goes even further. It attempts to redress some of the confusion caused by the peace, security and development agendas under the human security 'umbrella' (Gasper 2013: 171). It is said that through this notion of discourse that key aspects can be considered. This allows for prioritisation and stability. The discourse includes the normative claim, which claims that not only "the content of individual's lives" is important, but also stability. This is because the broad components, which are not necessarily connected in theory, are in fact connected in the real world (Gasper 2013: 176). Therefore, just as economic, political, social, health and military systems do not operate in silo's, so national and personal security cannot be secured only by military means (Gasper 2013: 176).

Gasper (2013: 176), suggests that in almost all respects, the human security discourse is analytically integrated with basic human needs. This is due to the human security norm in which basic human needs have a human rights status, and are therefore inviolable. This is underscored by Alkire (2003: 27), when she posits that human security is distinctly styled as 'freedoms'. Human rights are perceived as a necessary link to the basic needs discourse because individuals are valued, and they to be prioritised (Gasper 2013: 179). If human rights are acknowledged as norms, then they can be utilised as a mechanism in political struggle to demand required needs. This

is because basic rights are necessary to satisfy all other rights (Gasper 2013: 179). Galtung concludes that indeed "human security is the fulfilment of basic human rights that are in turn the fulfilment of basic human needs" (Gasper 2013: 181). Alkire (2003: 25) establishes that "human security does bridge a number of previous concepts". These include: the focus on reasoned freedoms from human development discourse; the reluctance to sacrifice anyone from the human rights discourse; and by the emphasis on prioritising the basic human needs discourse (Alkire 2003: 25). By viewing human security as an intellectual 'boundary object', and in an attempt to bridge the concept, the discourse's focus and concern can be mobilized. Furthermore, explanatory and normative agendas can be connected, and diverse intellectual and policy communities can be linked (Gasper 2013: 182-183). Assessing human security as a boundary work therefore integrates and connects across disciplinary boundaries, by imbuing ethical concerns for equity, particularly in policy issues (Gasper 2013: 185). By focusing on basic needs, it is said that human security work can prioritise for better policy relevance (Gasper 2013: 186). Ultimately, it facilitates action, because the focus is on individuals, their vulnerabilities and basic needs (Gasper 2013: 186). Considering people as agents "across the 'vital core' of their lives" - not simply within the explicit dimensions of, for example, violence, health, or the impact of environmental degradation, and in the language of fear - the exercise of integration can be extended to include emotions (Gasper 2013: 186). Thus, the range of concerns extends beyond economic growth to include a focus on priorities within the broader range of concerns – basic human needs and stability (Gasper 2013: 189).

2.2.1.4 ***The 'vital core' of human security***

Alkire (2013: 89), maintains that human security "takes its shape from the human being" as the 'vital core' which must be secured. Claiming that the term is imprecise Alkire (2013: 89), argues that the 'vital core' is a basic set of functions that relate to survival, livelihood and dignity. By implication, human security - formed *by* people, *for* people who need protection, so that they can realise their potential, preserve their dignity and enjoy the essential freedoms of life – relies on institutions to protect at least this basic core (Alkire 2013: 89). According to Alkire, (2013: 89), identifying what constitutes the 'vital core' is informed by medical/psychological research, as well as

by consensus and threat awareness. This is because cogent human security is specific about *what* to protect (Alkire 2013: 89).

Responses to human security threats are formed by peoples' reflections based on their own experiences, knowledge and their values and needs (Alkire 2013: 90). Identifying what constitutes the 'vital core' includes resolving whether the core is limited to physical survival, or should include what Alkire (2013: 90), refers to as "bodily integrity". In other words, dignity, political voice and livelihood. Alkire (2013: 90) poses a number of questions to determine the procedure for specifying the 'vital core'. These include, how overtly institutions formulate the human security agenda; how human security is protected in a globalised world; how threats and agendas are "evaluated and reviewed"; and what are the key threats to human security? She suggests that a human-focus, rather than a threat-focus to human security, may manifest human *in*security for which no immediate response is possible (Alkire 2013: 90). This is due to the possibility that no institutional response exists for particular "fears and needs" (Alkire 2013: 90).

Human security is intentionally protective. It recognises that people are threatened by events beyond their control (Alkire 2013: 62). Unexpected threats are therefore particularly damaging, requiring mitigation, and acknowledgement, preferably before, or as the threat occurs (Alkire 2013: 62). This suggests that institutions (states) cannot protect every facet of human well-being. However, states should protect people, but they should protect them from critical (severe), and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations, to protect these essential freedoms (CHS report 2003: 4). Although Alkire (2013: 62), concurs with the main strategies required for providing human security i.e. the identification and prevention of materialising threats; the alleviation of harm; and provision of coping mechanisms for those suffering; she also suggests a further strategy for human security protection. This is *respect* for human security, which as a strategy, implies that *all* actors should ensure their actions do not cause any human *in*security. The 'vital core' thus implies the provision of fundamental human rights as they pertain to security for survival, livelihood and dignity (Alkire 2013: 63). It also implies however, that respect is required from all institutions and individuals (Alkire 2013: 63). This suggests that all institutional, corporate or individual actors, must ensure that their actions do not threaten human security (Alkire 2013: 63). A

people-centred, not *threat*-centred human security therefore, necessitates effective political, economic, military, social, cultural and environmental systems, coupled with a proactive approach to threats, so as to safeguard human life (Alkire 2013: 62 and CHS report 2003: 4).

Broadness in a 'space', further warrants this new human security discourse. The discourse countenances that states need to establish their own 'vital core' dimensions according to their contextual, spatial and temporal factors. Alkire's (2013: 63) discourse, considers a non-technical term - the 'vital core' – to describe an opaque element to human security. This is defined as the "space for capabilities" and the freedom "to do and to be" or, as the CHS report (2003: 4) submits, to have "freedoms that are the essence of life". Consequently, Alkire (2013: 61) provides a 'new' working definition for human security. She states that, "[t]he objective of human security is to safeguard the 'vital core' of all human lives from critical pervasive threats, in a way that is consistent with long-term human fulfilment". Acknowledging that this working definition offers no specificity regarding rights and freedoms for the 'vital core', Alkire (2013: 63) perceives the task of prioritisation as a value judgement, to be determined by the appropriate institution.

2.2.1.5 ***Critiques of the human security concept***

The human security leitmotif is not however, without its detractors. According to Paris (2001: 87-88), the concept of human security is flawed because contemporary 'definitions' are expansively ambiguous, with most definitions of human security articulating the necessity for the wellbeing of "ordinary people". Chandler (2008: 236) iterates this ambiguity, as well as the lack of a precise definition, stating that it is problematic for the concept. According to Paris (2001: 87-88) and Chandler (2008: 236), a vague definition implies that policy-makers do not have sufficient guidance to determine and prioritise policy aims. The ambiguity further reduces the concept's usefulness, as there is no suitable analytical framework. Paris (2001: 88) does however acknowledge, that the human security concept is powerful.

A plethora of literature furthermore approaches human security from a liberal/neoliberal perspective. This is logical, given liberalism's association with democracy, freedom, opportunity and choice, and the protection of human rights.

These ideologies and the human security concept, appear a natural 'fit' with an equal importance given to non-state actors and issues other than war – such as economics - and processes other than conflict - such as cooperation (Haynes *et al* 2011: 133). Liberals focus on political freedom, they promote democracy, and claim to promote equality; whilst neoliberalists focus on economics. They promote preserving the concentration of wealth, as well as the unequal distribution of both natural resources and property (Haynes *et al* 2011: 133 & 705). They also find the notion of a welfare state an anathema (Haynes *et al* 2011: 133 & 705). Both ideologies regard a free market as essential (Haynes *et al* 2011: 137 & 705). The general assumption is that liberalism, and neoliberalism, are the panacea for the human security concept. It is assumed that liberty, democracy, the rule of law, the promotion of human rights and free markets can ensure equal security, equality and a better life for all (Haynes *et al* 2011: 135 & 705).

These ideologies however, fail to consider the differing contextual needs of developing, often post-colonial states. According to Celliers (2004: 13), the cornerstones of these ideologies are promoted as a necessary requirement for the success of governments on the African continent. Yet, according to Celliers (2004) they do not provide for any structural change in the inequality *status quo*. So, they do not appeal to the broader concept of human security. Critics argue that, in South Africa's case for example, human security does not address societal inequalities and historic injustices, or the human security 'want', for a life of equality, opportunity and choice. The critical underpinnings of the critiques by Celliers (2004), Zondi (2017), and Africa (2015) emphasise disparities in the international system as well as the struggle between "traditional, state-based, interest-based approaches" and "new, de-territorialized, values-based approaches" which focus on individual human needs (Chandler 2008: 427). According to these critiques, policymaking often reflects a security paradigm that reproduces current power relations, inequalities and insecurities, and provides little challenge to the interconnection, interdependence and mutual vulnerabilities of security threats which require collective, collaborative *people-centred* responses (Chandler 2008: 427).

Considering the phenomenon of African conflict resolution and mitigation, Celliers' (2004: 49), concludes, that despite our global and interconnected world "investment

capital [still] seeks the highest returns", with predictability being a key consideration. Security therefore, remains the benchmark "prerequisite for development that needs to attract more than risk capital" (Celliers' 2004: 49). For Celliers (2004: 49), therefore, the state remains the main source of security. Acknowledging that African ownership is demonstrated in security and development debates, Celliers (2004: 50) also recognises that the New Partnership for Africa's Development Agency (NEPAD)[12] and the African Union (AU), for example, have changed the context of African engagement to one of "African ownership and participation in conflict resolution and mitigation". Celliers (2004: 50) however, deliberates on African governments' responses to the human security concept. He wonders whether the practice of 'good governance', capacity building, and the fostering of partnerships with the private sector to pursue mutually beneficial goals is perhaps nothing more than an echo of international donor requirements (Celliers 2004: 50). He questions whether there is a genuine commitment to change (Celliers 2004: 50). Deliberating on the independent and responsible role of civil society and research NGOs, necessarily working together with states for essential security, Celliers (2004: 51), suggests that if African states continue to perceive them as "hostile interlocuters" there can be no promotion of the human security aim for long-term stability.

Zondi (2017), when considering regional human security within the Southern African Development Community (SADC), challenges the levels of "coherence and synergy" between the organisation's security and development wings. He elaborates that no venture undertaken by the AU or the Regional Economic Communities (RECs), of which SADC is one, unites security and economic delivery for the *empowerment* of people (Zondi 2017: 185 &188). He argues that this is due to a lack of conceptual and practical cohesion in pursuance of the broad understanding of human security (Zondi 2017: 185 &188). Zondi (2017: 188 & 198) concludes that human security is premised on empowerment for effective human agency, whilst submitting that humans are adept at dealing with adversity if given proper support. His proposal is that society must be empowered by institutional support from the state, so as to improve "health, education, social security, housing, employment and human capital development" policy-making

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[12] NEPAD is rresponsible for executing the African Union's (AU's) Agenda 2063, the development strategy aims to transform Africa by providing a key vision and policy framework to fast-track economic co-operation and integration between African countries. African Union. 2019. Internet: https://au.int/en/NEPAD. Access: 10 October 2019.

(Zondi 2017: 202). Furthermore, he asserts that forming social contracts between state and citizens so that institutions are transformed, resources distributed and social order is restored, will facilitate dealing with threats (Zondi 2017: 202).

In the South African context, Africa (2015: 183) considers the human security agenda to have all the makings of a strong initiative. However, she observes that poor policy implementation, as well as an imbalance between the security and development nexus, together with an antipathy towards creating the individual as the main referent for security, has impeded efforts (Africa 2015: 183). The South African Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy introduced in 1996, was a macroeconomic policy framework aimed at stimulating the faster economic growth required to provide resources to meet social investment needs (SAHO 2019b). The policy was also aimed at reducing fiscal deficits, lowering inflation, maintaining exchange rate stability, decreasing barriers to trade and liberalizing capital flows (SAHO 2019b). GEAR demanded that "the interests of big business and the 'Washington Consensus'" were put before those of the poor (Africa 2015: 183). Over time, Africa observes that the tension between market-friendly policies needed to grow the economy thus creating revenue needed for service delivery was escalated (Africa 2015: 183). Whilst emphasising that the development of a capable state has distanced civil society organisations from their role as social partners with government, it has also seen "organised civic participation" diminishing, and government's role expanding (Africa 2015: 184). Engagement has often thus become violent and confrontational (Africa 2015: 184), as redressing historic legacies are continuously dodged, and empowerment through agency remains a slow and inadequate process.

The critiques offered by Celliers (2004), Zondi (2017), and Africa (2015), bear testimony to the fact that more is required from governments of developing countries and emerging economies than simply 'ticking' liberal 'boxes'. Africans need and want not only freedoms, but meaningful employment and dignity – they want agency. This is the capability to exert power for themselves and their society. This stresses the essence of human security, which is that society, the private sector and civil partnerships – people - together with the state and its contribution, are essential for equality and empowerment. Whereas this position is necessarily a global one, contextually there will always be *specific* issues that require a human security

discourse. Though the human security concept entails people having the freedom to enjoy democratic good governance, protection by rule of law, justice for all and maintenance of human rights, the prerequisite is that emancipation cannot be simply existential. Emancipation must entail human development by expanding human capabilities, and consequently providing the dignity to enjoy that freedom.

2.2.1.6 ***Human security: A proposed South African 'turn': Towards the provision of quality education***

Although the seven security dimensions within the UNDP HDR (1994) human security framework cover almost every conceivable threat to human security, education is not mentioned explicitly. While South Africa's adherence to a human security agenda is underpinned by its Constitution (1996), individuals still experience many *in*securities. Specific among these individuals are school children.

2.2.2 Education inequality

The South African human security context demands a broadening of the human security framework to include education. By including education, the impact that a lack of *quality* education might have on future income, could be addressed. Contextually, South Africa's socio-economic problems are poverty; low economic growth; high youth unemployment, and extreme income inequality. A study by Branson *et al* (2012: 3-4) establishes a direct link between education inequality and income inequality. Statistical data further indicates a quantifiable drop-out rate between grades eight and twelve, suggesting that students are leaving the school system before completing their matriculation. This issue is a source of human *in*security, and could, over time, pose a threat to South African stability.

If security is the absence of a threat then, by implication, *in*security suggests a pattern of threats and vulnerabilities, which when decreased or eliminated remove that threat or vulnerability (Hough *et al* 2008: 1). Hough *et al* (2008: 1), suggest that vulnerabilities are "relatively identifiable and concrete", but that *actual* threats are not necessarily perceived because the process for doing so is not objective. Congruently, *perceived* threats do not necessarily have "real substance" (Hough *et al* 2008: 1). A spectrum of threats ranges from: trivial and routine; serious and routine or; drastic and unprecedented (Hough *et al* 2008: 1). It can therefore be concluded, and consistent

with CSS, that the classification of a specific threat as a national security issue is a "political choice", as opposed to an objective fact. The specific national security criteria that trigger the identification of a security threat, can also be extrapolated domestically by: proximity; probability of occurrence; specificity; consequences and historical setting (Hough *et al* 2008: 1). However, it remains a political choice to make a decision regarding the gravity of the threat (Hough *et al* 2008: 1). Therefore, threat definition is determined as: capabilities multiplied by intentions, probability, consequences and time (Hough *et al* 2008: 1). Thus, if any factor is missing/obscure/remote, there is no apparent threat. The source of threats may be military, political, economic, societal or environmental in nature, and they can emanate either from the domestic or external environment, or be a blend of both. So, for example, economic or environmental threats may impact on the political sphere due to their bearing on state boundaries, political institutions and/or governing regimes (Hough *et al* 2008: 2). A distinction exists between serious security issues requiring immediate attention, and security risks that do not pose an immediate danger but which are strategic in nature and still have serious implications (Hough *et al* 2008: 3). Threat versus risk indicators are identified and monitored with a 'high, medium or low' probability allocation (Hough *et al* 2008: 3). A security *threat* assessment further determines risks with: a high probability of occurrence or, of negative impact. Revealing risk is thus a manifesting process (Hough *et al* 2008: 3). A security *risk* assessment deals specifically with probability and impacts (Hough *et al* 2008: 3). According to Hough *et al* (2008: 3), the source and nature of security threats changes when the referent object for security changes from a state-centred to people-centred approach. Blake (2018: 9 & 10), cites three scholars who expand on the Hough *et al* (2008) threat definition. O'Manique and Fourie (2012: 246), include the referent object, the right of the referent object to survive, and the actors – together with their agency – to resolve the security issue. McInnes (2013: 6-7), contends that security issues are framed by two parameters: the first - what security is - and the second - whose security is paramount; whilst Shaw (n.d.: 40-41), proposes that security issues are positioned *a priori* as independent variables, and then coupled to the salient strategic issues, as dependent variables. Blake (2018: 10) however, proposes a more straightforward approach. He suggests that when a security issue is identified, a security threat assessment is conducted based on the definition. In this sense, a threat to national security is an action or sequence of events that threatens to degrade the quality of life for peoples of a state

drastically and over a relatively brief span of time. It could also significantly threaten to narrow the range of policy choices available to the government of a state, or to private, non-governmental entities (persons, groups, corporations) within [a] state (Blake 2018: 10). An exploratory view of the level threat a poor-quality education poses for South African security follows in Chapter 4.

2.2.2.1 ***The inequality concept and its link to education***

According to the *World Inequality Report* (2018), South African inequality levels have increased since the end of apartheid. By implication, South Africa's broad human security agenda of peace, security and development, should theoretically play a role in offsetting an unequal South African socio-economic structure. Yet, neither democracy nor a substantial education budget, has improved educational outcomes. The majority of learners still receive poor-quality education. Continued societal inequality hampers economic growth, it perpetuates poverty, it impacts social mobility and cohesion, and it strengthens discriminatory stereotypical norms, thus giving impetus to an inevitable rise in political and social tensions (UNDP 2013: 9).

Inequality - the state of not being equal - particularly in status, rights, and opportunities, is defined as the equality of *outcomes,* and the equality of *opportunity* (Afonso *et al* 2015). The poor are proxies for the "effects of asset and education inequality", and the two cannot be separated (Afonso *et al* 2015 and Branson *et al* 2012: 4). *Quality* education, as the only feasible means of enhancing earnings potential, should afford successful learners the opportunity to resolve marginalisation and segregation (Van der Berg 2002: 1). With almost universal access to education in South Africa a given, it is now necessary for a re-focus on access to *quality* education, so as to establish a universal foundation for all, and to secure both *means* and *opportunities* for living (Afonso *et al* 2015), as well as providing citizens with equality, dignity, and security thus ensuring a peaceful Republic.

2.2.2.2 ***The concept of education inequality***

South African education inequality can be defined in terms of the Spaull (2013) analogy of a "tale of two schools". One school is functional, wealthy and able to educate learners who are principally of white or Indian race, whilst the other is primarily black, poor, dysfunctional, and unable to equip learners with the literacy and numeracy

skills required (Spaull 2013: 444). Extant literature establishes a link between the *quality* and *period* of schooling learners receive, and it directly connects it to their future employment prospects. Completed secondary school, and post-secondary school education, provide greater prospects for access to the labour market (Branson *et al* 2012: 5 & 12). Providing poor-quality schooling to the poor entrenches their disadvantage in the labour-market, it cements their poverty, and it perpetuates their inequality.

Underprivileged black learners are the primary recipients of poor-quality education in South Africa. Therefore, it can be argued that they are most likely to suffer from income inequality, and resultant poverty (Van der Berg 2002: 18). Literacy and numeracy tests, together with poor matriculation results, reflect the quality of education provided by the South African school system (Van der Berg 2002: 23). Patterns in poor literacy and numeracy tests indicate persistent problems in the quality of education provided in poor communities. This constrains the ability of the education system to provide youth with a route out of poverty (Van der Berg *et al* 2011: 3). According to Van der Berg *et al* 2011: 1), these education system outcomes reinforce patterns of poverty and privilege, instead of challenging them. Residents in predominantly poor black neighbourhoods attend schools where discipline is weak. There is also poor management, as well as very few highly qualified and experienced teachers (Van der Berg *et al* 2011: 3). The relationship between poverty and poor-quality education is additionally reinforced through various social mechanisms, which include parental agency, the influence of a child's peers, and the effect of the wider neighbourhood (Van der Berg *et al* 2011: 3). Van der Berg *et al* (2011: 4) further suggest that community effects, combined with the socio- economic status of schools, are more pronounced than the individual-level effect of socio-economic status. Therefore, an individual child's socio-economic background is less important for performance than the area they live in and the school attended. However, poverty alone does not account for the poor performance of South African children. Other countries under the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ) umbrella, perform better in reading than their South African counterparts, despite their poverty (Van der Berg *et al* 2011: 8). The South African situation is attributed to learners from poor communities in South Africa facing a double burden: the burden of poverty (at both an individual and institutional-socio

level), and the burden of attending a school that still bears the scars of neglect and underfunding from the apartheid dispensation (Van der Berg *et al* 2011: 8).

Education can be said to play an important role in future labour market prospects. Therefore, leaving school early, and/or having received a poor-quality education, exacerbates the problem of obtaining stable and lucrative employment (Van der Berg *et al* 2011: 8). Wages are the most important income source for the majority of households. Thus, lucrative employment is a means to escape poverty (Van der Berg *et al* 2011: 8). Poverty is often perpetuated through poor educational attainment and poor-quality education. Labour market prospects are grim, and a vicious cycle ensues that impedes social mobility (Van der Berg *et al* 2011: 8). It therefore follows that a *quality* education that increases the number of secondary school and tertiary graduates, will improve job and earnings *prospects.* This will surmount generational and racial inequalities, thereby enabling youth, over time, to realise equality of *outcomes* and *opportunity*.

2.2.2.3 ***Human security and education***

Education is fundamental to all of the human security dimensions. Any level of inequality will impact human security. Without *quality* education, men, but especially women, children, the aged and disabled, will remain disadvantaged, and unable to access sustainable employment. Furthermore, they will be unable to become productive workers, and will have little potential to improve their lives. Protracted marginalisation and discrimination in education has an insidious side, which restricts both an individual's own role as parent, and as their role as a citizen who is capable of effecting social change. Education is not only about jobs and earning potential. Education, and the life skills it provides, opens up a new world. Education provides the tools to understand health and childcare, knowledge about caring for the environment, and for being able to (legally) drive a car. Through *quality* education, equitable economic growth can be fostered, and the poverty cycle, which is linked to malnutrition, TB and HIV/Aids, can be broken. Importantly also, if South Africa is to be an acknowledged global role-player, it needs an educated citizenry. Additionally, education leads to the simultaneous creation of empowering measures which assist in building strong, resilient communities (Tadjbakhsh 2005: 24-25). Drawing the link between human security and education through each dimension of the UNDP HDR

(1994) framework, reinforces the necessity for explicitly including *quality* education within the human security framework in the South African context.

2.2.2.4 ***Education inequality: The impact on educational security***

The integral role education plays within the seven dimensions of the UNDP HDR (1994) framework is evident in the South African context. This is due to education's ability to: contribute to aspects of the economy; potentially provide employment; and stabilise society. Consequently, education's apparent role as an added dimension is what is being explored.

Simply put, education inequality is the unequal access to *quality* education. The idea of education inequality appears vague, contextual and conceptual. However, explanations abound, for why and how it occurs. Perhaps the closest general description is encapsulated in its antonym - *quality* education – which is the "equitable distribution of educational and other social goods", with "education development as a moral, social and political goal" (Mason 2008: xxiii). There is a general consensus that when learners come from families where parents are less-educated and low-income, the learners are ill-prepared for school. They also do not have the financial means to resolve this inadequacy. Since education inequality relates to an unequal distribution of resources that includes: qualified teachers; books; technologies; and school funding; amongst other issues, these learners remain socially and income disadvantaged (Spaull 2015: 36). This indicates that inequality transmits across generations (Spaull 2015: 36). Education inequality refers to "uneven education access, quality and relevance and with [the idea that] individual schools being awarded different social worth" (Boyden 2013: 582). Murray (2012: 2), states that school education promises a "route out of poverty". Therefore, "more equitable, better-quality schooling and training" is needed that can properly translate into "realistic opportunities for young people" (Murray 2012: 2). By providing "high-quality education to all students", large variations in school outcomes are minimised, due to an "equitable distribution of resources and opportunities" (OECD 2012).

The UNESCO Learning Portal (*n.d.*) determines three broad principles for *quality* education. These are, "the need for relevance, for equity of access and outcome, and for proper observance of individual rights". *Quality* education can therefore be defined

as: equalities of access, survival, output, and outcome (UNESCO Learning Portal (*n.d.*)). Contextually, while this translates to an almost universal access to primary school, irrespective of poverty; there is less than a 50% probability the learner will remain in school for the full twelve-year cycle. There is also a low probability that a child will learn the same things, at the same level, at a defined point in the school system. This is due to high grade repetition, inadequate teaching, and poor resources, in poor township and rural schools. Finally, there is a low probability that children from various social groupings will live relatively similar lives, subsequent to, and as a result of schooling, due to the intergenerational transmission of poverty and income inequality disparities.

Education inequality is determined by "what is learned and how learning occurs… [and is] as important as access to education" (UNESCO 2003: 1). How efficiently learning occurs is strongly determined by the teacher's subject knowledge and pedagogical skills, the availability of textbooks and other learning materials. and the time spent by pupils actually learning their lessons" (UNESCO 1993: 21). These are issues that many poor South African schools struggle against, together with "crumbling infrastructure, overcrowded classrooms and relatively poor educational outcomes" (Amnesty International. 2020). According to Amnesty International (2020), these issues are "perpetuating inequality and… failing too many of its children". Finally, since inequalities are multidimensional, so too must be the response, because equitable growth policies, education and health services, underpinned by effective social protection, all play a role in education security.

2.3. Conclusion

This chapter introduced a conceptual framework that contextualised South Africa's overarching efforts at human security. This included the study's value proposition which argued that access *to quality* education is a means to ensure that individuals have opportunities to fulfil their potential. This value proposition is seen as an alternative, the counterpart to reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing future conflict. This can be achieved by striving for freedom from fear *and* freedom from want, and by providing people with dignity. This chapter showed that in order to transform and become emancipatory, security must move beyond mere survival to a survival-plus mode. This requires a new discourse whereby the

contextual human security framework is broadened to include education. By including education as a 'vital core' function of human security, the argument was made that the state must prioritise *quality* education in order to purposefully improve the lives of people. The critiques of the human security concept highlighted the deficiencies of the liberal/neoliberal approach in uplifting and securing people. A case was made for a human security 'turn' in South Africa which needs to be extended so as to include education as a dimension over and above the current dimensions of the UNDP HDR (1994). It was shown that South African education inequality is a 'tale of two schools'. Marginalised, predominantly black learners still receive poor-quality education that does not provide them a route out of poverty and reduces their labour market prospects. Essentially, it was shown that poverty is perpetuated as the learners remain unempowered and, unable to achieve upward mobility. In a sense, they become trapped in a 'poverty cycle', which perpetuates their *in*security.

It was concluded that whilst education is a constituent part of all the dimensions of the human security framework, it is not explicit within the framework. The new human security discourse however, suggests that there is 'space' to create a contextual 'vital core', that includes dimensions such as education. The next chapter therefore, focuses on education in South Africa in all its facets, to support the argument that it cannot be ignored as South African human security and stability might be at risk.

CHAPTER 3

AN INCONVENIENT TRUTH: THE LINK BETWEEN EDUCATIONAL INEQUALITIES IN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS AND HUMAN *IN*SECURITY

3.1 Introduction

> "*I have seen very few countries in the world that have such inadequate educational conditions. I was shocked at what I saw in some of the rural areas and homelands. Education is of fundamental importance. There is no social, political, or economic problem you can solve without adequate education.*" *- Robert McNamara*[13]

The above McNamara quote is an indictment of apartheid and its legacy for the education of non-whites in South Africa. Unfortunately, it also serves as a reminder that many schools and communities in South Africa still live with the consequences of political and economic choices that were made during this era of racial segregation. This segregation is still reflected in contemporary South African education. In modern-day South Africa a child's birthplace, parental wealth, and their race continues to define their educational experience.

Research demonstrates that education inequality perpetuates income inequality. This poses an existential threat to South African stability and security. The focus on education inequality in this chapter explores the concept of inequality specifically and its link to education, as well as the relationship between poor-quality education and human *in*security. It is also shown that education inequality manifests in extremely high drop-out rates in South Africa. This is deemed to be a perpetuation of human *in*security, thus illustrating how poor-quality education may contribute to being a significant threat to South African stability.

In 1994 a democratic government was elected to create an equal, fair and just South Africa for all its citizens. The government committed to addressing the 'legacy policies' which had so divided society. Where apartheid had legislatively excluded the majority

[13] Ex-president of the World Bank, during visit to South Africa in 1982.

African population, it had also 'included' them, but only as 'inferior' beings, consequently under-funding their development and exploiting them (Cronin 2020).

Since 1994, the historical apartheid education policy legacy has proven to be persistent. This reflects on government failure to significantly address the problem of township and rural schooling. According to Isaacs & Maserow (2015: 4) good teaching is not all that is required for educational *quality*; as educational inequality will only decrease once:

"every school has water, electricity, security, transport, adequate nutrition and sanitation, sufficient textbooks, libraries, laboratories, sex education and condom distribution, zero tolerance for corporal punishment, functioning school governing bodies, strong student organisation, accountable school leadership, and is supported by responsive and effective provincial and district educational management structures".

Schools, as learning spaces in South Africa, still manifest in the inequalities of "class, race and language" (Isaacs & Maserow 2015: 4). This perpetuates the struggle for human and constitutional rights. Teachers in over-crowded and under-resourced rural and township schools are enormously challenged. Evidence-based research demonstrates that the quality of teaching in these schools is inadequate. This exemplifies an unfair distribution not only of material resources, but also of human resources (Isaacs & Maserow 2015: 5).

3.2 The significance of historic structural policies on South African education inequality

This section proceeds to provide a contextual background to illustrate how selected Acts, as historical structural policy, enforced legislation so as to entrench the marginalisation of the majority of people in South Africa up until April 1994.

3.2.1 Legislating segregation

The problem of the 'Native question' in South Africa was brought about by the increasing subjugation of black people through an historic inequality of land rights. It became a progressively important 'problem' for government to solve, and this led ultimately, to legislated segregation in the *Native Land Act 27* of *1913*. (Feinberg 1993: 65-66; Walker 2017: 2 and Weinberg 2013). The intersectionality of politics and race,

over time, enabled the seizure and division of territory by both Afrikaners and the British, so as to purposefully remove black people and consolidate areas for white settlement. Thus, reinforcing spatial segregation.

The end of the second Anglo-Boer War (1902) saw 'united' Afrikaners and British collaborating to establish the Union of South Africa - finally completed in 1910 – aimed at consolidating their respective wealth. The intersectionality of politics and race was further exemplified not only with black people being excluded from any meaningful participation in the Union's formation, but also with the South African Labour Party's 1910 inaugural manifesto, repeated in 1912, calling for "the separation of native and white races as far as possible" (Feinberg 1993: 86).

The Act initially allocated 7% of the country's land to the reserves. These reserves were for legal occupation by Africans under the premise that black people should not own or rent land as the equals of white people (Weinberg 2013). Anti-squatting provisions also prevented share-cropping where a squatter was defined as a native tenant who paid for his tenancy using money or sharing part of his produce with the farmer (Feinberg 1993: 84). Walker (2017: 7) contests whose interests the Act was in fact designed to serve, i.e., whether it was the interests of white farmers wanting to reduce black land, labour and market competition; or the interests of white mining bosses wanting to maintain African reserves to supply the migrant labour system. Evidence supports the former, but there can be no denying that both groups profited. The Union government asserted European constructs of exclusive ownership and it reasoned that indigenous systems of land rights did not constitute property rights. This justified extensive areas of African-held land as 'Crown Land', enabling transfer to white settlers (Weinberg 2013).

Land seizure denied Africans access to a pivotal asset, either as land owned, or land leased from white farmers. Their evictions often brought impoverishment and further curtailed their independence. Black farmer security was additionally weakened through the government granting low-interest loans to white farmers. This assisted their purchase of agricultural machinery, and consequently expedited black farmer evictions. No black farmer, either in, or outside of reserves, was entitled to these low-interest loans, making competition with white farmers arduous. Black farmers could not improve farming methods, or develop and enlarge their farms. Whilst black

farmers could re-locate to a reserve, there was often insufficient fertile land for crops. This resulted in approximately half of the African farming communities re-locating to urban areas.

The reserve land allocation was increased to 13.2% in the Native and Land Trust Act 18 of 1936 (Weinberg 2013). This Act also restricted the buying and selling of land by Africans to reserves and scheduled areas (Weinberg 2013). However, the cost of more land for the reserves was twofold: firstly, it reformed agricultural structures by precluding any African from living on a white-owned farm unless in the capacity of labourer; secondly, with the passing of the Representation of Natives Act 12 of 1936 (the same year), the qualified non-racial franchise in the Cape was abolished. Feinberg (1993: 69) clarifies that this was the initial reason for the 1913 Act being unconstitutional in that province. Thus, according to Walker (2017: 9) the Representation of Natives Act 12 of 1936 imposed a common legal framework for 'native policy' over the entire country.

Although segregation did not begin with the 1913 Act, it both legislated and deeply-rooted racial segregation through the creation of reserves/Bantustans/homelands.[14] These spatial divisions were the building blocks for separate development. A number of later Acts, including the Group Areas Act 41 of 1950, equally entrenched legislation for land dispossession and segregation. This led to the creation of congested township communities on the fringes of towns and cities throughout South Africa.

3.2.2 Legislating separate development

The consequences of the Group Areas Act 41 of 1950 are well described in the *Township Transformation Timeline* (2009). This timeline describes the historic emergence, conditions and profile of South African townships, according to a timeline from the 1900's to the present:

The years 1900 - 1922, saw the emergence of a fragmented and decentralised segregation policy with mixed-race townships appearing on the peripheries of towns and cities (Lester *et al* 2009: 13). In order to preserve an urban labour force,

[14] The following terms: reserves, Bantustans and homelands, are used interchangeably throughout.

government permitted township developments, but provided little investment, resulting in poor living conditions (Lester *et al* 2009: 13).

An important precursor to the Group Areas Act 41 of 1950, was the Union governments Native Urban Areas Act 21 of 1923. This Act legislated separate development and it controlled the influx of Africans to urban areas. Local municipalities were therefore empowered to segregate housing. This limited African property rights; it policed African communities; and it controlled movement with a pass system. From 1923 – 1947 segregation was consolidated as the reliance on African labour increased, and the importance of townships escalated. The level of investment in townships increased, but remained insufficient, due to the rapid urbanisation of Africans during World War II, which emphasised the dearth of infrastructure in South African towns and cities. As a result, squatting on empty land and informal settlements emerged, and living conditions remained poor and overcrowded (Lester *et al* 2009: 13). This housing struggle led to racially diverse neighbourhoods, which motivated the relocation of Africans. Government became directly involved in oversight and funding, leading to the regulation of townships (Lester *et al* 2009: 13).

The 1948 – 1975 apartheid period was the control stage where a number of Acts and amendments followed in swift succession. These paved the way for the Group Areas Act 41 of 1950. This Act legislated racial segregation and prevented the integration of people within racially demarcated areas. This Act was a lynchpin, designed to enforce apartheid ideology by addressing racially diverse neighbourhoods through forced removals, whilst imposing a policy of separate development. Although ‘group areas’ did not originate with the Act, it was the mechanism used for creating them. The Act aimed to control all property, land transfers and occupation rights throughout the country, except in the homelands/reserves, where ‘group areas’ for specific races to reside in, were established. Its retroactive application empowered local government to enter an area, bulldoze houses and relocate anyone not of the assigned group. Government extensively developed townships - defined under apartheid legislation as areas designated for occupation only by classified Africans, coloureds and Indians - but informal settlements increased (Lester *et al* 2009: 6). Township development decreased from the 1960’s onwards with a move towards homeland/reserve development (Lester *et al* 2009: 13). The physical, social and economic segregation

of townships from the towns and cities progressively isolated its residents (Lester *et al* 2009: 13). Forced removals, and banning African people who lived and worked in areas demarcated as white, destroyed communities, and it impacted negatively on established business and economic opportunities in general. The knock-on effects were catastrophic. Driven into poverty, unable to purchase or rent housing/premises in designated white areas, forced African men in particular, into hostels. Families were separated to service labour-intensive industries like the mines, railways, docks and manufacturing. Economic opportunities were limited, and access to urban amenities such as schools, churches/mosques and government institutions were restricted.

The 1976 – 1993 period saw public resistance. Civil unrest and international sanctions, as well as increased urbanisation and a failing economy, led to the undoing of apartheid. Full property rights and 99-year leaseholds were afforded to many. However, despite improved funding and widespread private sector housing developments in townships, houses remained small, and of poor quality. Although Africans could now move to the inner cities and suburbs, South African cities remained structured by apartheid, and informal settlements exploded. Townships and informal settlements remained characterised by poor services, infrastructure and amenities, and a dearth of affordable public transport (Lester *et al* 2009: 13).

Democratic elections in 1994 saw important changes during the following ten years. Local governments were transformed to reflect new municipal boundaries throughout South Africa. Legislated apartheid was removed. However, there were limits to capacity and processes. Townships remained marginalised, despite improved access to housing, services and amenities, due to largely inadequate capacity and management throughout all "spheres of government" (Lester *et al* 2009: 14).

Urban integration continued between 2004 - 2009. Provincial and local government upgraded townships, but funding, capacity and inadequate coordination, remained an issue. Various government-initiated projects focused on integrating human settlements into towns and cities. However, responsibility for township development was delegated to local government, where it remained a challenge due to insufficient authority, funding and capabilities. The private sector's role was also problematic, due to the impact on existing township businesses.

Thus, the historic structural apartheid legacies have left an enduring stain on South African spatial and social development. Its unsatisfactory housing structures etch the landscape, informing where and how the African poor and working class live, work, go to school and socially interact.

3.2.3 The historic factors of education inequality in South Africa

The following section illustrates how these structural legacies provided the fundamental legislation to support an apartheid educational system that intentionally subjugated the majority of people in South Africa, until April 1994. It will further clarify how this legislation has had long-lasting ramifications for education in contemporary South Africa.

3.2.3.1 ***The evolution of schooling pre-1948***

The first school was established in the Cape in 1658 specifically for slaves to learn Dutch, while the second school was established in 1663, primarily for the children of colonists (Molteno 1990: 45-46). At this time, children were not separated on the basis of colour, but rather by class, based on the distinction between slaves and colonists (Molteno 1990: 46). Schooling was *ad hoc* during the 17th and 18th centuries, but the 18th century saw the advent of mission schools, mainly for the Khoikhoi people (Molteno 1990: 48). A Department of Education was established in the Cape in 1839, but state control provided limited funding, and education was mainly left to churches and missionary societies. The first mission schools for Africans were established in King William's Town (1799), the Orange Free State (1823), Natal (1835) and the Transvaal (1842) (Molteno 1990: 49). However, only a fraction of children received schooling, which was characterised by a poor standard of teaching and minimal secondary education. By the mid-19th century more African children were enrolled in school, but the purpose of schooling was only to bring an "elementary instruction" that served colonialist interests and disciplined the poor masses (Molteno 1990: 50). The impact of schooling did nevertheless result in the emergence of a new 'elite' (Molteno 1990: 50). The newfound knowledge of the 'elite' threatened the authority of tribal Chiefs, and exploded any illusion of cohesive tribalism (Molteno 1990: 50). Furthermore, the 'elites' adopted the colonial worldview and religion, and accepted the "new order", thus aiding in the dissemination of colonial ideas, values, loyalties and

authority (Molteno 1990: 50-51). Thus, schooling played its role in social subjugation and control of the African populace (Molteno 1990: 51).

By the mid 1800's, the colonialists aim was to 'develop' Africans into "useful servants" by teaching them elementary literacy and the language of their "new masters", providing: relevant vocabulary for their role within colonialism, and training and disciplining them in manual labour skills (Molteno 1990: 51-52). Africans were thus educated for subordination, but had to integrate economically, whilst being politically excluded, and separated socially (Molteno 1990: 52). A few 'elites' were allowed to form an 'educated' class of preachers and teachers to serve as intermediaries between colonialists and other Africans (Molteno 1990: 52). Towards the mid-1800's the state took an interest in "native education" because, as the Eiselen Commission[15] later reported, Africans were increasingly shaping both economics and politics (Molteno 1990: 53). Africans themselves recognised that an academic education was essential to rise above the menial labour role, and therefore a necessity for entry into the "colonial order" (Molteno 1990: 53).

The period 1919 - 1945 saw the rise of the "racially founded nation-state" in South Africa, where a history of racist ideas and ideology was rooted in Social Darwinism, social imperialism and the eugenics movement (Chisholm 2002: 96-97). These 'isms', together with the eugenics movement, shaped the development of the segregationist policy during this early part of the 20th century. Chisholm (2002: 97), posits that outside agencies such as UNESCO helped to move the emphasis from "biologically based scientific racism" to a "cultural essentialism" during the 1950's. However, the "poor-white" mainly Afrikaans-speaking 'problem', together with a growing Afrikaner nationalism, also led state researchers to "fear that hereditarian arguments could be used against Afrikaner interests" (Chisholm 2002: 97). Liberal segregationists, therefore, wanted to improve the efficiency of education, so as to enhance the position of poor-whites, and thus, consolidate white supremacy in South Africa (Chisholm 2002: 98).

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[15] The Eiselen Commission was an advisory board established in 1951 to investigate native education in South Africa. Native education had become highly controversial by 1948 and the Commission was crucial for the National Party's (NP's) expansive ideological position (Kros, C. 2010: 84).

3.2.3.2 *The origin of Bantu Education*

During the period 1948 - 1990 the focus that provided the basis for apartheid education was a commitment to rational planning and efficiency, together with cultural anthropology (Chisholm 2002: 98). The ostensibly Christian National Education Policy of 1948 fostered a curriculum that assigned distinct direct, and indirect values on pupils of different genders and race, thus promoting ethnic pride, racial identity and 'separateness', with an excessive amount of time devoted to religious instruction, school and grounds cleaning, and brick-making (Fiske & Ladd 2004: 45, Molteno 1990: 67 and Tabata 1980: 39).

The National Party (NP) government appointed the Eiselen Commission in 1949, assigning it to deliberate the conditions for 'Native Education'. Both Fleisch (1994: 236) and Kros (2010: 84), argue that this Commission was crucial for promoting the social planning and the ideological position of the NP. Fleisch (1994: 236), claims that the Commission was intent on designing a system to provide educational competence, and to change the nature of the state to a centralised bureaucracy paving the way for apartheid, where civil society had no role. The Eiselen Commission (1951) report, formed the basis for the Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953. The Commission concluded that government's recourse was to take radical action to control African education. It advised that control of black education was essential for South Africa's socio-economic plans.

The Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953 eliminated state-aided missionary schools. It transferred control from churches and provincial administrations to the government of the Union of South Africa. These schools were replaced with public schools registered with the state and controlled by the Bantu Education Department which resided under the Native Affairs Department (NAD) (Fiske & Ladd 2004: 45). The Act, as a segregation law, legalised a consolidated approach and it facilitated standardisation of the pervading discriminatory policies in black education by enforcing separate educational institutions. This approach was in line with the NP government's quest for control of 'Native' education as a means to implement state policy. Under this dispensation Africans had no vote, no rights and were kept ignorant so as to remain in the service of whites. The Act established that schooling would be compulsory for white, coloured and Indian children, but not for black children. A historical perspective

of black education is perhaps best epitomised in the following 1950's quote from Dr H. Verwoerd,[16] as a representative of the NP government:

"There is no place for [the Bantu] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour ... What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? That is quite absurd. Education must train people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live."

African education was to be financed by a direct tax on Africans. This was separate from state expenditure, and it resulted in two and a half times more being spent on white pupils than on urban black pupils (Fiske & Ladd: 2004: 44 and Historical Papers Research Archive: *n.d*: 8). Indian and coloured pupils received more than black pupils, but also less than their white counterparts (Fiske & Ladd: 2004: 44 and Historical Papers Research Archive: *n.d*: 8). The disparity in funding was even greater for pupils in the reserves. The aim was to provide a better *quality* of education for white pupils to perpetuate white supremacy (Fiske & Ladd: 2004: 45). This, despite the fact that the money for education came from South Africa's wealth, which Africans helped to produce through their labour, as well as from direct and indirect taxes paid by all tax-payers.

Bantu education, centralised under the NAD, was clearly an attempt to position education within an ideological framework that had little to do with education *per se*. It aimed at promoting African culture with a focus on rural life and work (Kallaway 2002: 12). Essentially, any form of international educational reform, post-World War II, was excluded from apartheid education for the black child (Kallaway 2002: 12). Reading, writing and arithmetic were almost ignored and only an elementary knowledge of English and Afrikaans was provided (Sparks 1990: 224-225 and Tabata 1980: 40-41). As Dr Verwoerd stated in Parliament, there was no use in teaching "the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice" (Sparks 1990: 224-225 and Tabata 1980: 40-41). It was a system that stifled ambition and trained the working class (Sparks 1990: 224-225 and Tabata 1980: 40-41). Additionally, only textbooks promulgated by the NAD, and specially written for the black child could be used, whilst

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[16] Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, South African Minister for Native Affairs (Prime Minister from 1958 to 66), speaking about his government's education policies in the 1950s. As quoted in apartheid - A History by Brian Lapping, 1987. Internet: https://www.thoughtco.com/apartheid-quotes-bantu-education-43436. Access: 12 August 2019.

libraries were put up for auction to 'protect' young black minds from 'dangerous' ideas (Tabata 1980: 41). School books were not only shared, but were unavailable for a pupil to take home for further study. A system of double shifts, of three hours each, was implemented, so that as Dr Verwoerd[17] stipulated, both "the teacher and the class-room… serve[s] two different groups of pupils every day. The same applies to …furniture, school requisites and class-reading books".

The value system propagated by the Nationalists were enforced through school inspectors to keep teachers in line (Fiske and Ladd 2004: 45). Teachers who had undergone training under the previous system, in particular the university graduates, were considered dangerous, and replaced *post haste* (Tabata 1980: 41). Deprived of any professional status, at the mercy of the NAD, teachers were required to be 'on duty' twenty-four hours a day, and annual leave was a privilege, not a right (Tabata 1980: 42-43). If a teacher taught at a farm school, the farm owner acted as manager, and could force the teacher to do farm work (Tabata 1980: 41-42). Essentially, a teacher's position was "reduced to that of master-and-servant", and they could be dismissed under any pretext (Tabata 1980: 43). If teachers were found 'guilty' of misconduct – for any one of thirteen points, including criticism of the NAD – they were persecuted by the Department (Tabata 1980: 43). These teachers were prohibited from teaching, were chased out of the reserves and towns, and separated from their families, who became destitute, as they were denied the means of support (Tabata 1980: 43). Trainee teachers were directly employed by the NAD to replace the university graduates at primary school level (Sparks 1990: 224-225 and Tabata 1980: 43). They were poorly trained, and had to enter a training course for one to three years, where they were carefully screened, selected and indoctrinated before being allowed to teach (Sparks 1990: 224-225 and Tabata 1980: 43). They were paid the same wages as unskilled labourers which created (rightful) resentment at the inequalities of opportunity. According to Bloch (2009: 45), in 1979, 82.2% of black teachers had less than a matric, whereas no white teacher had less than a tertiary qualification. Again paradoxically, teaching was one of the few professions that the

[17] Dr Verwoerd's quotes are excerpts from statements he made in the Senate in June 1954, as the Minister of Native Affairs.

middle-class, or educated blacks could enter, but the knock-on effect was lack of dedication and resentment (Bloch 2009: 45).

The NP stance - that most Bantu education should be provided within the reserves with "its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society" – created 'tribalized communities', which was motivated by the situation of tribalizing of secondary school education in the homelands (Bloch 2009: 44 and Tabata 1980: 38). There was no place for Africans in European communities, other than as workers, so they could never be in doubt of their inferiority to Europeans. By providing a segregated, inferior schooling for blacks, and a schooling in inferiority, there was little chance of cultural advancement, freedom of education or social progress for Africans or indeed, *all* South Africans, irrespective of race (Historical Papers Research Archive: *n.d*: 16 and Molteno 1990: 65).

During the late 1960's, the NP realised the need for trained labour, and it subsequently increased funding for Bantu Education. This allowed more African children to attend school. Nevertheless, these schools were sorely lacking in facilities - especially when compared to schools for other racial groups, particularly whites. African pupils attended school with fifty other children in the same class, often in dilapidated buildings, open to the elements with broken windows and filthy and inadequate toilet facilities (Sparks 1990: 224-225). Despite increasing numbers of students, no new schools were built in Soweto, between 1962 and 1971 due to the reserve/homeland policy, which required students to attend schools in these areas. In the early 1970's however, business compelled government to improve the Bantu Education system, as it needed a better trained labour force. Consequently, forty schools were built in Soweto alone. This increased the number of secondary school pupils from 12 656 to 34 656, but still only one in five Soweto pupils could attend a secondary school (SAHO 2019). Fiske & Ladd (2004: 48) claim that between 1965 and 1975 the African secondary school enrolment rose five-fold, to 280 000 throughout the country.

State and academic research moved from a positivist and psychological orientation during the 60's and 70's to a more pragmatic approach in the 80's where it borrowed from external sources so as to modernise the system (Chisholm 2002: 98). In 1981 the De Lange commission of inquiry report facilitated a shift in the public discourse of education from the Christian National Education policy to manpower planning issues

(Chisholm 2002: 99). During this period, various reports from Wits university emphasised the conflict between libertarian and authoritarian approaches to education (Chisholm 2002: 99). The first report highlighted the need for skilled labour and the need for the expansion of educational institutions. It further emphasised the need for a review of what was taught in schools, what the dangers of political indoctrination were, the training of African teachers, and the report recommended a decentralised approach to deal with cultural differences (Chisholm 2002: 99). The second report focused on education and the economy. It used "modernisation and human capital theory" to argue that for economic growth to occur, investment had to be made in human capital *and* African education (Chisholm 2002: 99). Amongst other issues, the *quality* of education, and the supply of teachers (both black and white) were recommended, but this made little immediate impact (Chisholm 2002: 99). However, given that Afrikaans-speaking universities provided the state with public servants, their research remained closed off from the rest of the world. Their research was little more that a legitimising exercise for existing policy (Chisholm 2002: 100). In short, the basis of black teacher's education curricula promoted "authoritarian, hierarchical and infantilising" pedagogic styles (Chisholm 2002: 100). When negotiations towards democracy started in 1990 the private sector had set up think tanks based in (supposedly) value-free social science and they borrowed new educational ideas from abroad (Chisholm 2002: 101). Working together with social movements in education that were external to the state, they supported the creation of research units in select universities whose aim was to concretize a forward-thinking education policy (Chisholm 2002: 101).

During the interregnum of 1990 – 1994, the NP government rallied resources to produce the Education Renewal Strategy and Curriculum Model for South Africa. Non-state entities, such as the National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC) produced the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI), which had both local and global influences (Chisholm 2002: 101). Concurrently, the National Training Board (NTB) produced the National Training Strategy (Chisholm 2002: 101). In 1994, the emerging African National Congress (ANC) education policy drew on NEPI, NTB and social policies under development globally (Chisholm 2002: 101). NGO's and universities started programmes to stimulate education policy research. Territorial battles between welfarist and market-driven policies led to "consultancy research",

which replaced old ideologies with market ideologies, liberal humanist universal values of democracy, equality, redress and non-racialism (Chisholm 2002: 102).

3.3 Contemporary factors driving education inequality

The importance of this section lies in examining how these historical legacies translate into the long-lasting ramifications that exist in South African education today. Several factors contribute to contemporary education inequality. Many of these are related to poverty and legacy issues. However, some of the more contemporary factors that do impact on educational inequality and learner performance are: over-crowded and ill-equipped classrooms; poorly-trained teachers, insufficient teachers and teaching time, and poor literacy and numeracy skills.

3.3.1 Over-crowded and poorly-resourced classrooms

The *average* class size in public schools in South Africa, is one teacher for every 30.9 learners (RSA Education Statistics 2016). But there are instances of 50 or more learners in a class (Fiske & Ladd 2004: 55). Pendlebury (2008: 27) asserts that while "the average ratio of learners-to-teachers for public primary schools is below the official norm of 40:1", over-crowded classrooms and "high learner-to-teacher ratios remain a dominant feature" in some of South Africa's schools especially those schools that cater to learners from disadvantaged communities. Low literacy and numeracy levels are attributable, in part, to over-crowded classrooms, because teachers struggle to meet all learners needs. It is also exacerbated by poor teacher training, underqualified/unqualified teachers, poor commitment to teaching by teachers, inadequate home support for learners, and a shortage of resources (Modisaotsile 2012: 2).

Providing equal access to education implies equal and holistic equity to Learner-Teacher-Support Materials (LTSMs) as well as tools and/or resources used to enhance teaching and understanding of the subject content (Modisaotsile 2012: 4). Egregiously neglected under the Bantu Education system, previously disadvantaged schools in South Africa today still face an inequality of access to resources and facilities, such as libraries and laboratory materials (Modisaotsile 2012: 4). This further affects the availability of teachers to these schools, as many prefer not to teach at

schools with old, or poor resources, as this impedes both teacher and learner performance (Modisaotsile 2012: 4).

3.3.2 Teacher training, teachers and inconsistent teaching

According to a 2005 Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) study, it is estimated that approximately 18 000 - 22 000 teachers leave the teaching profession annually, either voluntarily or forcibly (Arends: 2011: 2). It is assumed therefore, that they should be replaced by an equivalent number. However, only an estimated 6 000 - 10 000 new teachers graduate annually (Arends: 2011: 2). Some of these may not enter teaching, or may go abroad to teach (Arends: 2011: 2).

The closure of teacher training colleges followed a government decision to centre teacher training at universities (Modisaotsile 2012: 5). Universities however, have proven incapable of producing sufficient teachers to meet the supply and demand, with 15 000 new teachers graduating each year – significantly below the required 25 000 (Maphalala & Mpofu 2019). The figure of 25 000 is necessary for maintaining an effective teacher-pupil ratio (Maphalala & Mpofu 2019). Adendorff *et al* (2015: 66) describe the shortages of teachers as being relative as opposed to absolute. Furthermore, they *generally* clarify the shortages as being in favour of teachers qualifying in the Senior and Further Education and Training (FET) phases, with too few teachers qualifying in the Foundation and Intermediate phases (Adendorff *et al* 2015: 66). There is a consensus that too few graduates are willing to move to poor, more remote rural schools (Modisaotsile 2012: 5; Adendorff *et al* 2015: 67 and Maphalala & Mpofu 2019).

Pendlebury (2008: 27) argues that teacher and learner absenteeism have an effect on the amount and quality of learning time. High teacher absenteeism lowers educational quality and does not underpin the value of education (Pendlebury 2008: 27). The HSRC study calculated that teachers in black schools teach an average of 3,5 hours a day, compared to 6,5 hours in former white schools, a difference which amounts to three years of schooling (Modisaotsile 2012: 4). Arbitrary starts to the school year, lateness for class, and time wastage through copying notes from the chalkboard all impact on the time available for meaningful learning (Pendlebury 2008: 27).

3.3.3 Poor literacy and numeracy skills

Spaull (2015: 34), defines *quality* education as "the acquisition of the knowledge, skills and values that society deems valuable" which is usually articulated in the curriculum. South Africa can compare its learners' levels of learning and their acquisition of knowledge, with those of learners from other countries. This has been done through a series of cross-national assessments of educational achievements which the country participates in (Spaull 2015: 34). The assessments include: Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS), the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ), and the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS). Spaull (2015: 34), claims that it is inadvisable to use grade twelve, or the Annual National Assessment (ANA) results to determine what learners in South Africa know and can do. He argues that the grade twelve results only reflect the performance of half the learners who started schooling 12 years earlier, due to a 50% drop-out rate prior to matric, and that the ANAs are still in their infancy (Spaull 2015: 34). The ANAs yield different scores because the difficulty levels of these tests differ between years and across grades (Spaull 2015: 34). Moreover, these scores do not necessarily indicate improvements or deteriorations in learner performance (Spaull 2015: 34). The international assessments however, are developed by global psychometric experts and are comparable over time (Spaull 2015: 34).

The SACMEQ data of 2007 emphasised large geographic inequalities in the country: 41% of rural grade six learners were functionally illiterate, compared to only 13% of urban learners in the same grade (Spaull 2015: 34). The performance of these grade six learners was worse than learners in poorer African countries such as Kenya and Tanzania (Spaull 2015: 34). The 2011 pre-PIRLS study emphasised the existence of significant linguistic inequalities. For example, of the learners who were taught and learnt in Xitsonga, Tshivenda or Sepedi, 50% were unable to read by the end of grade four, compared to 11% of English and Afrikaans speaking learners (Spaull 2015: 34). Spaull (2015: 34) asserts that if, by the end of grade four, learners are still unable to read fluently, they will be unable to meaningfully engage with the rest of the curriculum. This is due to the grades one and three curriculum focusing on 'learning to read', whilst from grade four onwards, the curriculum focuses on 'reading to learn' (Spaull 2015:

34). As a result, these learners fall more and more behind because they are pushed through to the next grade despite their learning deficit (Spaull 2015: 34).

The only cross-national assessment that South Africa participates in (for learners aged 15 and above) is the TIMSS. This tests maths and science at grade eight and nine level (Spaull 2015: 34). Due to poor assessment results over a number of years it was decided that the international grade eight tests were too difficult for South African grade eights (Spaull 2015: 35). In 2003, grade eight and grade nine learners wrote the grade eight test, but in 2011 only grade nine learners wrote the grade eight test (Spaull 2015: 35). Although grade nine learners' performance improved by approximately one-and-a-half grade levels of learning between 2003 and 2011, South Africa still performed the weakest of all participating countries (Spaull 2015: 35). The average grade nine learner performs between two and three grade levels lower than the average grade eight learner from other middle-income countries (Spaull 2015: 35).

An interesting and relevant caveat to the literacy and numeracy skills of South African children today, is the low educational attainment and achievement of their parents and caregivers. Fiske & Ladd (2004: 56), maintain that as recently as1996 one in five South Africans had never been to school. 92% of them were black, and 61% of these were women, and many lived in rural areas. Only one in two Africans above age 15 were literate, compared to 97% of whites (Fiske & Ladd 2004: 56). Only one in seven Africans had obtained a matric, whilst 62% of whites had done so (Fiske & Ladd 2004: 56). Finally, only one in 33 Africans had tertiary education, as opposed to 24% of whites (Fiske & Ladd 2004: 56). Logically, this can be said to have an enormous impact on today's children as parents with an education are better able to assist and support their children.

3.4 Consequences of persistent education inequality

The previously mentioned factors highlighted contemporary educational inequality and performance in South Africa. There are however, ramifications of Bantu Education that continue to have a bearing on the *quality* of education - and the resultant educational outcomes - in South African schools. Some of these factors which continue to manifest as consequences of education inequality are school governing

bodies (SGBs); school leadership; school violence; sexual offences and teenage pregnancy, and the family.

3.4.1 The efficacy of school governing bodies

Historically, school governing bodies (SGBs) were characterised by a top-down approach to decision-making. This is because teachers, learners, parents and communities were excluded from the decision-making processes during apartheid. Only NAD-appointed Principals and Inspectors could make decisions for schools (Modisaotsile 2012: 4). SGBs are established in terms of the South African Schools Act 84 of 1996. According to section 15 of this Act, a public school is a juristic person. Hence it has a legal capacity to perform its functions, and a school may buy, sell, hire or own property, enter into contracts, make investments, and sue or be sued (Mestry 2004: 127). A SGB function is the professional management of the school by the Principal, under the authority of the Head of Department (HoD). The SGB has delegated powers to effectively organise and control teaching, learning and associated activities at the school (Mestry 2004: 127). The Principal must manage school finances, and is accountable to all members of the school community. The Principal must also ensure that a school is governed in the interests of those stakeholders (Mestry 2004: 127). Many SGBs are weak. Many Principals and SGB members lack the necessary financial knowledge and school administration skills (Mestry 2004: 126). Fiske & Ladd (2004: 59) iterate that this is a problem. In some areas the majority of parents have either never attended school, or have had minimal schooling, which has enormous implications for the SGB. This constitutes a challenge and places SGBs under tremendous pressure, as they are unable to work out practical solutions to practical problems (Mestry 2004: 126). Furthermore, the Department of Basic Education (DBE) has no support mechanisms in place to assist schools with financial issues and problems (Mestry 2004: 127).

3.4.2 Shoddy school leadership

Schools need strong leadership. Historically, leadership in black schools was poor. Historically only seven years of teaching experience was required to become a Principal (Fiske & Ladd 2004: 55). The result is that many Principals in rural schools “lack the training and skills” needed for improvement of their institutions (Fiske & Ladd

2004: 56). It is said that good leadership fosters an "orderly and nurturing learning environment" (Hartnack 2017: 13). Principals from poorly resourced schools can still be successful if they provide a disciplined environment for teachers and learners, and if they insist on attendance and punctuality from teachers who should teach when scheduled, and remain sober (Saunders 2011). A disciplined environment has proven conducive for good teaching and learning (Saunders 2011). In several areas, teacher unions are part of the problem as there is a "jostling for power over promotions". According to Saunders (2011), it is not necessarily a lack of funds that causes the "crisis in the schooling of black pupils", but rather the harmful effects of "poorly committed, dysfunctional teachers" (Saunders 2011).

3.4.3 School violence: A microcosm of South African society

South African school violence is not exceptional, it is a global problem. However, Fiske & Ladd (2004: 55), claim that school violence in South Africa is a legacy issue. They observe that many township schools "look like armed camps" intended to keep schools and children safe from vandals and gangs. Violence breaks out in schools when: learners at the school are gang members; schools have inadequate safety infrastructure around their premises; and/or access control is poorly monitored (Kreifels & Warton (*n.d.*)). Gangsterism in South Africa is rife in many communities and often linked to drugs. Dysfunctional communities, many of which have never recovered from the impact of forced removals under the Group Areas Act, have high alcohol and drug problems (Bloch 2009: 79). The direct/indirect involvement with gangs has a destructive effect on learning that ranges from "attendance… to fear and actual physical injury, including rape" (Bloch 2009: 79). Gustafsson (2011: 24 & 25) further suggests that school violence statistics are "below what media attention … would suggest is true", Modisaotsile (2012: 3) disagrees, arguing that "[v]iolence in schools remains a key issue" with male and female learners experiencing rape, sexual abuse and violence "often by teachers".

Kreifels & Warton (*n.d.*), establish that violence may be physical or non-physical. It can occur as learner-on-learner, learner-on-teacher, teacher-on-teacher, and teacher-on-learner violence. Almost a fifth of secondary school learners admit to experiencing some physical or verbal abuse at school - the bulk of which takes the form of corporal punishment by teachers. Gustafsson (2011: 25), confirms that in terms of theft,

physical violence, teasing or exclusion, the statistical values between genders is very close, suggesting that both genders experience violence to the same degree.

School violence violates a learner's constitutional right to "freedom and security of the person, including the right to be free from all forms of violence" (Constitution 1996: s12(1)(c)). School violence negatively impacts: the rights of the learner and teacher; the teacher's ability to teach; and the learner's ability to learn. It negatively impacts: surrounding communities, intersecting with violence which learners or teachers encounter on their way to/from school, during school hours, or during after-school activities (Burton *et al* 2009: 61). It also impacts on South Africa's development goals, resulting in health (physical and mental) and economic costs (Kreifels & Warton *n.d.*). School environments that cause fear and anxiety impact the educational environment as learners are prevented from accessing and/or benefitting from educational opportunities (Kreifels & Warton *n.d.*). Moreover, the physical, emotional, psycho-social and academic repercussions can result in low self-esteem, social isolation from peers, and depression (Kreifels & Warton *n.d.*). The Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention (CJCP) (2016: 6), asserts that schools

"are environments where children not only acquire scholastic knowledge, but also where they learn to know, to be, to do and to live together. Violence in schools impacts negatively on all these processes, creating instead, a place where children learn fear and distrust, where they develop distorted perceptions of identity, self and worth, and where they acquire negative social capital, if the violence and safety-related threats are not effectively managed."

It is therefore considered essential that school safety is regarded as a precondition for learning, not additional to it (CJCP 2016: 6). School violence is not a police or DBE responsibility, but requires the effective implementation of the National School Safety Framework (NSSF) (Makota & Leoschut 2016: 22). This framework establishes, implements and monitors minimum school safety standards, against which schools can be held accountable (Makota & Leoschut 2016: 18). Corrective measures to minimise school violence, such as safety policies and disciplinary systems, psycho-social interventions to modify learner behaviour, and anti-bullying interventions promote a climate of intolerance to violence (Makota & Leoschut 2016: 22).

3.4.4 Unsafe spaces: Sexual offences and teenage pregnancy

According to Kreifels & Warton (*n.d.*), the occurrence of rates of sexual offences amongst South African children are similar for both genders. Girls however, are more likely to experience "contact'' sexual violence (such as rape and sexual assault) often at the hands of their teachers. (Kreifels & Warton (*n.d.*)). Boys however, are more likely to experience "non-contact'' sexual violence, like being forced to watch pornographic material (Kreifels & Warton (*n.d.*)). Additional to the psycho-social, emotional and academic consequences of school-related sexual violence, is the health consequences for the victim (Kreifels & Warton (*n.d.*)). Contact sexual offences in schools increase the risk for sexually transmitted infections, including HIV/Aids, owing to its high prevalence in South Africa (Kreifels & Warton (*n.d.*)). Furthermore, sexual offences in schools increase the risk for unwanted pregnancies (Kreifels & Warton (*n.d.*)).

Teenage pregnancy is problematic both internationally and in South Africa. Teenage pregnancy limits a young mother's future career prospects and it contributes to a lower socio-economic status for her, and her child (Modisaotsile 2012: 5). Considering that completing school is essential for both the mother and child's "long-term well-being", less discrimination against pregnant female learners is required (Spaull 2015: 37). Spaull (2015: 37) does however, cite studies that show young mothers often return to school. The data indicates that about one in four (22%) teenage mothers in urban areas, and one in two (58%) teenage mothers in rural areas return to complete their schooling after giving birth.

3.4.5 Family Factors: An indictment of the past

According to Fiske & Ladd (2004: 58), many black schools lack a 'culture of learning'. Learners often see few economic or other benefits to academic achievement. Teachers fighting against this negative attitude will frequently have no support from parents or caregivers (Fiske & Ladd 2004: 58). Many of these parents/caregivers are struggling through their own issues, from safety to depression, and they perceive education as the teacher's business (Fiske & Ladd 2004: 58). There is also a lingering fear (from Bantu education under apartheid) that education is a tool for political subjugation (Fiske & Ladd 2004: 58). Fiske & Ladd (2004: 59), argue that this problem

is due to the sense of "dependence imposed on Africans by the apartheid system". Modisaotsile (2012: 3), iterates that parents need to take an interest in all aspects of school activities, ranging from academic projects to after-school activities, as well as their child's school relationships. She further states that parents must take responsibility to ensure their children attend school daily, and that their homework is completed (Modisaotsile 2012: 3). Sadly, many parents work long hours, and travel long distances. On returning home they are too tired, or indifferent to a child's homework responsibilities. With often a limited schooling and restricted literacy and numeracy skills of their own, many parents are at a disadvantage. A study by Feinstein and Symons however, found that high parental interest in a learner's education is associated with better exam results. Inversely, children whose parents show little or no interest are generally low achievers (Modisaotsile 2012: 3). It is concluded therefore that if parents are involved in decision-making processes that affect their children they may react to challenges, and assist with solving issues in the education system (Modisaotsile 2012: 3).

3.4.6 School communities: Past and present realities

Hartnack (2017: 3) claims that the community features of high dropout rates include: limited social amenities; poor housing; high crime; as well as peer group influences (such as high achieving/motivated peers versus peers participating in crime, drugs and violence). He further states that the pull of early employment opportunities (especially in poor households where the opportunity cost of schooling is high), and social discrimination and prejudice (particularly aimed at minority or underprivileged learners), are neighbourhood characteristics that impact on schooling (Hartnack 2017: 3). Kreifels & Warton ((*n.d.*)), suggest that although violence in communities may increase the risk for violence in schools, it is not inevitable. They argue that well-managed, safe schools play a role in mitigating the risk. Mkhabela (2010: 62), suggests that community involvement cannot be underestimated. When communities value education for their children they articulate local school needs, they hold officials accountable and they mobilise local resources to fill gaps when government response is not adequate (Mkhabela 2010: 62). Families can be powerful, take command, and work towards the child's well-being (Mkhabela 2010: 62). Communities can take part in defining and shaping their children's education. In this sense, promoting and

protecting basic human values is a "political civic act", and should involve all sectors of society (Mkhabela 2010: 63). Civic education potentially raises awareness and commitment among citizens about their public rights, responsibilities and obligations. Thus, the positive outcomes for education within communities cannot be overemphasised (Mkhabela 2010: 63). As a public good therefore, education can be advanced, protected, and preserved by community role players, stakeholders as well as educational institutions, to ensure a better future for all (Mkhabela 2010: 62).

3.5 A 'snapshot' of education inequality manifesting as high drop-out rates in South Africa: the future foretold

The South African Schools Act 84 of 1996, section 3(1) states that all children in South Africa must

> "attend school from the first school day of the year in which such learner reaches the age of seven years until the last day of the year in which such learner reaches the age of fifteen years or the ninth grade whichever comes first".

South Africa has a high participation rate within this grade one to grade nine band of compulsory education (95%+) (Branson *et al* 2013: 12 and Fleisch *et al* 2009: 41). However, when school ceases to be compulsory, school attendance falls progressively (Hartnack 2017: 1). School drop-out is defined as "leaving education without obtaining a minimal credential" (De Witte *et al*. 2013: 1). The minimum qualification in South Africa is a National Senior Certificate (NSC), which is also known as a matriculation (matric) and is written at the end of grade twelve. Spaull (2015: 36), determines that there are approximately one million children in each grade up to grade nine. However, there are only an approximate half million learners in grade twelve (matric). The other half million cohorts have dropped out - mainly in grades ten and eleven. It is therefore only the 'best' 50% of learners that remain in the schooling system (Spaull 2015: 36). However, only about 40% of that cohort will graduate from grade twelve. This is a low figure by international standards (Spaull 2015: 36). It is then fair to say, that 60% of South Africa's youth have no educational qualifications (Spaull 2015: 36). Whilst the Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) system might provide the drop-outs with an opportunity to continue their schooling, very few South African youth access this kind of education and training post-school (Spaull 2015: 36).

The aforementioned challenges that many township and rural schools face in contemporary South Africa feed into learner's reasons for dropping-out of school. The high drop-out rate can be traced back to the poor-quality education that continues to scourge the face of education in the country.

South African youth, when surveyed, cite *their* reasons for dropping-out of school as: a lack of finances (37%); wanting to look for a job; failing grades; and pregnancy (27%) (for female learners) (Gustafsson 2011: 21). Fleisch *et al* (2012: 530), provide additional reasons. These include poverty; a lack of scholar transport and long distances to school; insecure labour and land tenure of parents; school fees; inadequate infrastructure and service provision; and limited secondary school options. Fleisch *et al* (2012: 530), also refer to children from rural areas who are fostered by family members in cities. Some reports state that this has no negative effects on children. However, other findings suggest that when children live with a biological parent there is more money invested in them, and their schooling outcomes are better. A 2015 Business Tech report, citing key findings from a StatisticsSA's General Household Survey (GHS) (2014), includes the following reasons for children, ages seven to eighteen, dropping-out, or not attending school: no money for school fees (23.5%); unable to perform academically (17.7%); too many family commitments (11.6%); suffering from an illness and/or a disability (10.4%); see education as useless (9.4%); education completed to the level they wanted (7.8%); working at home (6.7%); struggling to get to school (0.5%); and 12.3% cited other, unspecified reasons. Clearly, extreme poverty and lack of money affects children's ability to attend school. This is due to required school fees, stationery, books, uniform and public transport. The perceived futility of school, due to poor academic performance and limited secondary school options, as well as poor infrastructure and teaching, reflects not only poor-quality education, but also the inequities of contemporary education. Despite broadminded South African legislation regarding teenage pregnancy that allows learners to return to school post-pregnancy, only an approximate third return to complete their schooling (Spaull 2015: 37).

Countless studies have analysed the drop-out phenomenon. Most have identified factors such as health problems, absenteeism, child labour, high opportunity costs, and early marriage of girls (UNESCO 1993: 22). The Universal Declaration of Human

Rights (UNDHR 1948) clearly states that everyone has a right to education. However, when there is ready *access* to schooling, as in South Africa's case, then individuals and society depend on children actually being able to learn, due to the opportunity provided (UNESCO 1993: 22). The question is, are all children provided a *quality* education that enables them to incorporate useful knowledge, reasoning ability, skills, and values? (UNESCO 1993: 22).

Poor literacy and numeracy skills result in grade repetition. Whilst South African school drop-out rates are highest in grades ten and eleven, drop-outs begin in grades five (1%), six (2%) and seven (3%), and by grade eight (6%), it is already a problem (Gustafsson 2011: 21). Very often those who drop-out prior to grade nine do so because they are over-age for their grade. This suggests that once learners drop-out, they do not return to school and become 'lost' to the system (Gustafsson 2011: 21). From grade eleven the drop-out rate is slightly worse for girls, possibly due to pregnancy. In response to a National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS) survey question, on whether secondary school learners intend successfully completing matric, 99% of learners say they do. This underscores the high social value attached to completing school. But the fact that around 60% of youth do not obtain the matric qualification indicates how large the sense of educational failure must be amongst them (Gustafsson 2011: 21). Kika & Kotze (2019: 1) describe grade repetition as an "important measure of education". The former is an outcome of a previous failure, and it is a predictor of subsequent failure. The practice of requiring learners to repeat a grade, is justified on the grounds that it affords underachieving learners with the opportunity to better understand the content of their current grade, as well as to acquire developmentally appropriate skills (Kika & Kotze 2019: 1). This is a controversial issue. Gustafsson (2011: 6) claims that "poor assessment techniques" in historically black schools results in learners unnecessarily repeating grades, whilst being "unjustly discouraged" from continuing with their secondary schooling. Grade repetition has a perceived negative impact on other educational and socio-emotional outcomes. Martin (2011: 739), found that grade retention was a negative predictor of academic homework completion, and low self-esteem. Jimerson & Ferguson (2007: 314) found that grade repetition failed to demonstrate an improvement in academic achievement, and that learner dropout rates were three to seven times higher than their promoted peers, whilst there was an increase in aggression and disruptive behaviours. Fine &

Davis (2003: 401), found that grade retention resulted in a lesser likelihood of secondary school completion, or post-secondary school enrolment. It is argued that exposure to violence and the resultant symptoms of depression prohibit academic performance, and the ability to interact socially in a positive manner (Kreifels & Warton *n.d.*). After incidents of violence victims are often less motivated and struggle to concentrate (Kreifels & Warton *n.d.*). They may miss classes and eventually drop-out of school to avoid further victimisation and/or because they experience difficulties academically (Kreifels & Warton *n.d.*).

3.5.1 Statistical data illustrating the drop-out rate in South African schools

The following longitudinal secondary data sets regarding the drop-out rate in South African schools are extrapolated from the DBE statistics. They are provided as empirical support to show the extent of the South African school drop-out rate. The original DBE statistics provide a breakdown of independent and public schools on a per province, per gender, and per sector basis.

The South African national schooling system recognises two categories of schools: independent (interchangeably known as private), and public. The DBE refers to them collectively as 'ordinary schools'. Public schools are state controlled, whilst independent schools are either privately governed, overseen by a board of governors or trustees or they may be run by an owner with no governing body (ISASA). State subsidies to independent schools are permitted, but not guaranteed. A school must be registered for at least a year before it qualifies for a subsidy (ISASA).[18]

The tables that follow record ten, non-consecutive years reflecting a twelve-year schooling cycle for a South African child, starting in grade one, and ending in grade twelve. A child entering school at age seven in grade one in 2002, would effectively complete grade twelve in 2014 at age eighteen. A child entering school in grade one in 2006, would effectively complete grade twelve in 2018. The years represented in

[18] ISASA: Independent Schools Association of Southern Africa. Overview of Independent Schools. Internet: https://www.isasa.org/overview-of-independent-schools/#:~:text=The%20South%20African%20Schools%20Act,independent%20schools%20are%20privately%20governed.&text=State%20subsidies%20to%20independent%20institutions%20are%20permitted%2C%20but%20not%20guaranteed. Access: 27 August 2020. And: ISASA: Independent Schools Association of Southern Africa. State Subsidies for Independent Schools. Internet: https://www.isasa.org/state-subsidies-for-independent-schools/. Access: 27 August 2020.

these tables are 2002 - 2006 and 2014 - 2018. The figures for grades other than grades one and twelve are included, as they provide an indication of both the movement of learners and the grades in which they begin dropping-out of school. The following tables represent one twelve-year schooling cycle for the period 2006 - 2018. The grade one figure in 2006 and the grade twelve figure in 2018 are highlighted in bold. The remainder of the cycles: 2002 – 2014; 2003 – 2015; 2004 – 2016; and 2005 - 2017 are attached in Appendix A1-A5.

Table 1: Number of learners in ordinary schools: by grade: 2006

Year	Sector	Pre-Gr. R Phase	Foundation Phase					Intermediate Phase			
		Pre-Gr. R	Gr. R	Gr. 1	Gr. 2	Gr. 3	Total	Gr. 4	Gr. 5	Gr. 6	Total
2006	Ordinary Independent and Public schools	32 342	441 587	**1 185 198**	1 081 652	1 099 319	3 807 756	1 072 780	1 026 031	919 487	3 018 298

2006 Contd.

Year	Sector	Senior Phase				Total (GET Band)	FET Band				Grand Total of Learners
		Gr. 7	Gr. 8	Gr. 9	Total		Gr. 10	Gr. 11	Gr. 12	Total	
2006	Ordinary Independent and Public schools	872 051	1 020 734	970 946	2 863 731	9 689 785	1 093 297	890 564	568 664	2 552 525	12 293 785

Source: 2006 SNAP Survey (conducted on the 10th school day).
Note 1: Data excludes learners at stand-alone ECD* sites, special schools, public ABET** centres and public FET***[19] colleges.
Note 2: 19 133 learners not grouped in any of the grades provided.
RSA Dept of Basic Education. Published February 2008. Education Statistics in South Africa 2006. Internet: https://www.dhet.gov.za/DHET%20Statistics%20Publication/DoE%20Stats%20at%20a%20Glance%202006.pdf. Access: 27 August 2020: pages 9-10.

Table 2: Number of learners in ordinary schools: by grade: 2018*[20]

Year	Sector	Pre-Gr. R Phase	Foundation Phase					Intermediate Phase			
		Pre-Gr. R	Gr. R	Gr. 1	Gr. 2	Gr. 3	Total	Gr. 4	Gr. 5	Gr. 6	Total
2018	Ordinary Independent and Public schools	12 653	811 516	1 163 477	1 117 527	1 102 908	4 195 428	1 145 084	1 060 638	1 012 602	3 218 324

[19] *ECD sites = Early Childhood Development sites
**public ABET centres = Adult Basic Education and Training
***public FET colleges = Further Education and Training

[20] The comprehensive 'Education Statistics in South Africa' reports were not available. The preliminary figures, as published by the DBE as a 'School Realities Report' for specific years are used, and denoted by a *.

2018 Contd.

Year	Sector	Senior Phase				Total (GET Band)	FET Band				Grand Total of Learners
		Gr. 7	Gr. 8	Gr. 9	Total		Gr. 10	Gr. 11	Gr. 12	Total	
2018	Ordinary Independent and Public schools	966 151	995 994	890 836	2 852 981	10 266 733	1 033 799	862 009	**643 802**	2 539 610	12 819 542

Note 1: Data excludes learners at stand-alone ECD sites and special schools.
Note 2: 546 learners not grouped in any of the grades provided.
RSA Dept of Basic Education. Published March 2019. School Realities Report 2018. Internet: https://www.education.gov.za/Portals/0/Documents/Reports/2018%20School%20Realities.pdf?ver=2019-03-26-095602-257. Access: 27 August 2020: pages 2-3.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter explored the constraints of historic structural policies on the lives of black South Africans. The insidious appropriation of land led to a subsequent loss of livelihoods. Forced removals splintered families and communities. This resulted in the loss of businesses and sources of income. The establishment of a separate Bantu education system created inferior schooling for what were deemed an 'inferior' people. In effect, apartheid systematised the entire African population into chronic poverty through an ideological framework that promulgated white supremacy. Many factors of education inequality sustained the segregation ideal. However, this chapter showed that in contemporary South Africa the 'inconvenient truth' is that these inequalities remain persistent, especially in poor rural and township schools. And all of this despite a significant education budget. Contemporary factors of education inequality which were explored, included over-crowded classrooms, and additional facets that contribute to poor teaching and literacy and numeracy skills. The consequences of chronic education inequality today are evident in poor school leadership, school violence, ineffective school governing bodies, sexual abuses, families and poverty, and crime-riddled communities. All of these consequences have their roots in racial segregation policies. The descriptive quantitative data for drop-out rates in South African schools illustrated the severity of the problem. In one school cycle, from 2006 – 2018, more than half a million children left the school system. This can be considered to be an 'inconvenient truth'. For many predominantly black, poor South African children, education is still largely defined by the legacies that their parents endured. Furthermore, a *quality* education remains elusive to them. The spatial and racial policies of apartheid still determine an individual's income, education and employment opportunities, meaning that where children live, and where they can go

to school, has a profound effect on the *quality* of schooling they receive and consequently, their work and life choices. This too is an ‘inconvenient truth’.

It can be concluded that if the number of marginalised youths grows exponentially, so will their view of threats to their immediate security. This might result in intolerance as well as violent protests - as perceptions of oppression and injustice increase. The following chapter will analyse whether the ‘tipping point’ in South Africa has been reached in respect of how unemployed/unemployable youth might pose a threat to the country’s human security.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS: HAS SOUTH AFRICA REACHED ITS HUMAN SECURITY 'TIPPING POINT'?

4.1 Introduction

> *"There can be no keener revelation of a society's soul than the way it treats its children."*
>
> *– Nelson Mandela*

Education is immensely powerful and it goes beyond just attaining skills to earn a living or to create wealth. Education provides the opportunity to contribute towards nation building and creating peaceful societies. It is a vehicle that individuals in a society can use to discover, find truth and explore endless possibilities. In a material sense, educated individuals generally earn more, whilst from an opportunity perspective they have more choice and can fulfil their dreams, whilst living out their 'capabilities'. An educated society experiences less crime, and educated individuals can constructively participate in their civic duties. Education plays a role in society's growth and progress. Educated people are able to contribute to science, technology, and culture amongst others, whilst maintaining peaceful communities through tolerance and communication. Education provides a legacy for children to build on, to live meaningful lives, to create unified communities. It also makes a difference by allowing people to live with dignity. If a country's children are treated and educated well today, the generational legacy will continue.

As has been shown through the study there is still a high degree of inequality in the poorest of South African schools. This deprivation disables the autonomy of millions of learners (over time), and potentially fuels sufficient desperation to cause civil and societal unrest as the inability to find meaningful work becomes ever greater.

The effect of education inequality and the lack of equity in schooling during the apartheid era meant that schools were not centres of education. They were what Fiske & Ladd (2004: 41) and Tabata (1980: 37) describe as centres for indoctrination and a means for dealing with the 'Native problem'. Tabata (1980: 37) criticises apartheid for stealing education from Africans and for frustrating their move to modernity, whilst

enclosing them in a “spiritual and intellectual ghetto”. Paradoxically, apartheid also ensured more African pupils attended schools than ever before. However, ‘mass’ schooling, saw an increase in teacher/pupil ratios, and it highlighted explicit disparities in the inequality of per capita funding between white and black pupils (Bloch 2009: 45). The funding provided was, depending on the year, anywhere from a ratio of ten to one to a ratio of sixteen to one in favour of white pupils. Schools in the reserves in particular, became even more neglected (Bloch 2009: 45). The aim of this disparity, according to Fiske & Ladd (2004: 45), was to provide better education for white pupils to perpetuate white supremacy. Creating tribalized communities in the reserves motivated providing an inferior school education there, because Africans would never be part of European communities, other than as menial workers (Bloch 2009: 44 & Tabata 1980: 38).

The notion that educational needs can be met simply by providing each child with access to a school, is to de-value the role that education plays in the lives of individuals. Providing *quality* education is about acknowledging that children are an integral part of society. As the UNESCO (2003: 2) report states - *quality* education needs to “address the social and other dimensions of learning” because education needs to contribute to “sustainable human development, peace and security, and the quality of life at individual, family, societal and global levels”. According to UNESCO (2003: 2) education must be embedded within contemporary local and world contexts. Education is an investment in the future of the country, and it is an investment in *individuals* and their potential. Essentially, education is the belief that better prospects are possible. As a key Critical Security Studies (CSS) tenet, emancipation is part of ‘real world’ security and it implies freeing individual and group actors from physical and human fetters and promoting freedom of choice (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 35-36). Furthermore, as Booth (1991: 319), describes security and emancipation as being “two sides of the same coin”. According to Booth (1991: 319) emancipation, not power or order, produces true security. However, as the South African context has especially shown, not all education is equal. This is inconsistent with the proposition that a *quality* education needs to be provided to *all* children for it to meaningfully improve *all* lives. South African pupils of all races need to be provided a *quality* education, so as to experience the joy of learning, and to realise that education is a valuable commodity. This would discourage dropping-out of school.

4.2 The notion of *quality* education as a prerequisite for human security in South Africa

Education is implicit in the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report (HDR) (1994). It is also highlighted in the subsequent Commission for Human Security (CHS) (2003) report, together with other authoritative documents, such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (1989). Therefore, education can be considered to be a human right. This means that there is a "universal moral imperative" for all individuals to have educational opportunities (Lake & Pendlebury 2009: 19). This moral understanding of human rights is further underpinned in international conventions such as the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR) (1948). The UNDHR (1948) recognises that the right to education, together with other rights, is necessary for global peace and democracy. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996), explicitly advocates for human rights and for the removal of the structural inequalities of the past. Within the Constitution (1996), education is a justiciable right, and the Bill of Rights obliges all three branches of the South African government to give effect to the right to education. Thus, government is accountable through the courts if it fails to meet its educational obligations. The right to education; the right of access to adequate housing; the right to health-care services; the right to sufficient food and water; and the right to social security, constitute an anthology of socio-economic rights. These socio-economic rights are (arguably) necessary conditions for individuals to exercise their political-civic rights. Other rights, such as the right to freedom and security of the person; freedom of religion, belief and opinion; and freedom of expression are germane to *rights in* education and *rights through* education (Lake & Pendlebury 2009: 20-21). Although education is a right it also allows for the empowerment of individuals to both claim and realise their other rights. As such, the notion of *quality* education implies a need to give education greater priority in a contextual sense. It can be inferred that it is only through *quality* education that individuals can appreciate and exercise their full range of human rights since *quality* education can provide them with the freedom to make choices. It is argued in this study that it is only a *quality* education that can enhance what Sen (1990: 43-44) refers to as an individual's "capability" to lead a life of value through an expansion of their real freedoms.

Sen (2002: 3) posits that there is a responsibility by the state to provide basic education in order to help satisfy the right to security. Education therefore, becomes central to understanding the "demands of human security". He further argues that this responsibility rests not only in the role of the state, but that it is applicable to all institutions and agencies that can help promote human rights to reduce the impact of human *in*security (Sen 2002: 3). Moreover, he suggests that the link between the state and these institutions and agencies is a recognition that education has value and that this value requires a normative change to accommodate it. This viewpoint relies on the cooperation between the state, institutions and agencies. This is what Paris (2001: 88) is alluding to when he says that states have the potential to unite in partnerships to achieve human security. Celliers (2004: 46), also alluded to this point by explaining that globalisation requires the sharing of power between state and non-state actors. He went on to say that the state therefore, is in no position to dominate security or its governance, either conceptually or practically because development, defence and security have moved beyond the state system. Celliers (2004: 48) and the CHS report (2003: 11), caution however, that these institutions and agencies are never state alternatives, but are supplementary for development and security. In this sense, government must be held accountable to shield citizens from threat.

Sen (2002: 2) states that human security is inherently connected with "securing capability". Thus, education can be said to influence human security in five ways. Firstly, Sen (2002: 4) perceives the condition of being illiterate and innumerate to be a form of *in*security. Consequently, he asserts that providing a *quality* education one reduces this *in*security. Secondly, Sen (2002: 4) recognises the importance of education in helping people to secure jobs and sustainable employment. This is especially critical in a globalised world. Thirdly, Sen (2002: 4) posits that illiterate people are limited in their ability to understand and invoke their legal rights. He says that poor schooling can lead to *in*securities because individuals are deprived of ways and means to counter their deprivation. Fourthly, he argues that illiteracy can silence the 'political voice' of the marginalised, which directly contributes to their *in*security (Sen 2002: 4). Education is power and therefore allows people to be vocal. This 'vocality' has a protective role. Hence, it is central to human security (Sen 2002: 4). Fifth, Sen (2002: 4-5) identifies that education, whilst providing economic independence, also provides for social emancipation. This impacts particularly on

women and the family. According to Sen, when women can move beyond mere survival *because* they are educated, they have lower fertility rates, and their empowerment further reduces child mortality rates (Sen 2002: 5). In conclusion, Sen (2002: 5-6), advocates for a pluralistic education. He posits that narrow curricula propagate an insular way of understanding the world. This can then lead to intolerance and inflammatory situations which affects people's human security in general.

Sen does not refer to *quality* education *per se*. However, the concept is implicit in his emphasis on literacy and numeracy, as well as his belief that education is a human right which serves as a means for people to exercise their freedom to make choices, and having the educational means to find gainful employment. *Quality* education can be said to constitute part of the 'vital core' of a South African human security framework.

Alkire (2013: 89), explains that human security "takes its shape from the human being" as the 'vital core' that must be secured. Alkire (2013: 89) says that although the term is imprecise, the 'vital core' establishes a basic set of functions that relate to survival, livelihood and dignity. The implication is that human security is formed *by* people, *for* people who need protection (Alkire 2013: 89). This is so that they can realise their potential, preserve their dignity and enjoy the essential freedoms of life. However, this also relies on institutions to protect at least this basic core (Alkire 2013: 89). The 'vital core' is informed by medical/psychological research, by consensus and threat awareness. This is because cogent human security is specific about *what* to protect (Alkire 2013: 89). Responses to human security threats are therefore formed by peoples' reflections based on their own experiences, knowledge and their values and needs (Alkire 2013: 90). To identify what constitutes the 'vital core' includes resolving whether the core is limited to physical survival, or whether it should include what Alkire (2013: 90), refers to as "bodily integrity". In other words, dignity, political voice and livelihood. South Africa, in terms of its Constitution, *does* provide educational *access* for all, as a constitutional right. What is not explicit in the Constitution (1996) however, is the *quality* of education to be provided. Whilst this study has established that South Africa has achieved almost universal access to schooling, it has also been highlighted that the education provided is of poor-quality particularly for those children from marginalised homes. Although the concept of a *quality* education should address any

structural legacies from the past, it can be seen that these structural legacies persist in the most insidious manner. It can be argued that although South Africa adopts the concept of human security, its implementation, in terms of addressing the country's historic education inequality, has been inconsistent and reflexive. Africa (2015:183) in particular, regards poor policy implementation, and the imbalance between the development and security nexus, coupled with a reluctance to make the individual the main referent for security, as the main reasons for the South African human security *status quo*. Whilst it cannot be denied that traditional state security should never be disregarded, in the South African context, there seems to be a greater need to uplift people, to reverse legacies, and to provide dignity and safety for an equal society. The Critical Security Studies (CSS) framework can be said to provide this bridge since it engages with the problem "*of* the *status quo*" and it allows one to view security as a relationship that supports emancipatory politics (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015: 32). The state, therefore has an obligation to provide security in the traditional sense, but it also needs to work together with institutions and agencies to provide security *beyond* the traditional 'protecting sovereignty through military means' boundary.

The human security discourse which was discussed earlier integrates analytically with basic human needs (Gasper 2013: 176). This is because of the human rights status of basic human needs which provide for a normative understanding of human security. Alkire (2003: 27) concurs with this viewpoint by affirming that human security is shaped around dimensions relating to 'freedoms'. Human rights and the basic needs discourse are therefore linked because the individual is valued and needs to be prioritised (Gasper 2013: 179). Accepting that human rights are normative also means that they can be instrumental in political struggle. They can be used to demand required needs because basic rights are necessary to satisfy all other rights (Gasper 2013: 179). In the South African context, human security can be said to provide a bridge between 'freedoms', and the provision of human rights for all through the prioritisation of education (Alkire 2003: 25). In this sense, when human security is viewed as an intellectual 'boundary object' the focus of discourse and concern can be mobilized and it can become explanatory. Furthermore, by assessing human security as boundary work - which integrates and connects disciplines – then the instilling of ethical concerns for equity is facilitated, particularly with regards to policy issues (Gasper 2013: 185). Focusing on basic needs, and enhancing policy relevance can

therefore become a process that assists in the prioritisation of education (Gasper 2013: 186). Furthermore, providing *quality* education as a 'vital core' to individual lives can extend the range of concerns that go beyond economic growth, and allow for a focus on priorities within the broader range of concerns, such as basic human needs and stability (Gasper 2013: 189). Contextually therefore, education can become this link, by responding to the interconnection and interdependence between the diverse and opaque structural spheres of politics, economics, income inequality and social justice.

As has been previously indicated, a South African 'turn' in its human security framework should prioritise education because of the negative impact that a lack of *quality* education might have on future income. Poverty, low economic growth, high youth unemployment, and extreme income inequality are severe contextual problems. Therefore, there is a direct link between education inequality and income inequality (Branson *et al* 2012: 3-4). This education inequality resonates in the chronic and quantifiable drop-out rates in South African schools. Education in South Africa does not sufficiently provide the safety net, nor the means, for children to enhance their earnings potential and thus resolve their marginalisation and segregation. In the South African context, contemporary education inequality reinforces poverty and privilege. It entrenches the poor's labour market disadvantages, and it perpetuates their inequality. This issue is a source of human *in*security, and it can, over time, pose a threat to South African stability and security. Therefore, advocating for the inclusion of *quality* education in the South African framework for human security will not only assist in building a resilient and robust democracy, but will also provide people with 'capabilities' to expand their 'freedoms'. In so doing, the tenets of human rights within the Constitution can become a lived reality for *all* South Africans.

Education inequality cannot be seen in isolation. It is founded on social inequality. Social inequality is defined as "unequal opportunities and rewards for different societal or statuses within a society".[21] A further definition refers to social inequality as the "relational processes in society" that can affect, limit or harm a "group's social status,

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[21] Study.com. (*n.d.*) What Is Social Inequality in Sociology? - Definition, Effects & Causes. Internet: https://study.com/academy/lesson/what-is-social-inequality-in-sociology-definition-effects-causes.html. Access: 12 August 2020.

social class, and social circle".[22] Binelli *et al* (2015: 240) define social inequality as measuring disparities in actual and in potential future outcomes. They develop this definition, maintaining that social inequality is an "intrinsically multi-dimensional concept, which captures disparities along a number of dimensions that matter for the lives of individuals and the societies where they live" (Binelli *et al* 2015: 240). Using Amartya Sen's capability approach they argue that "wellbeing and effective freedom to achieve" is dependent "not only on what a person has actually achieved, but also, and as importantly, on what a person expects to be able to achieve in the future" (Binelli *et al* 2015: 240). Therefore, since the capabilities approach rests on two associated concepts: first, that choice for alternative life trajectories extends beyond mere material wealth as an indicator of individual freedom; and second, that what an individual expects from their future, will have significant behavioural consequences in the present (Binelli *et al* 2015: 240). Thus, according to Binelli *et al* (2015: 240), a power of expectations exists to relieve or minimize the impact of (future) uncertainty. This power of expectation enables individuals to better construct plans, and thus choices, about future activities whilst in the probabilistic sense, the mere (un)likelihood of future opportunities changes individuals' choices in the present (Binelli *et al* 2015: 240). Finally, Binelli *et al* (2015: 240) argue that what individuals expect of their future outcomes relies heavily on what they expect, or perceive to have access to, with perceived access to health care and education - essential to all future outcomes that an individual can expect to achieve – being intrinsically vital. Whilst much can be said about the cause and effect of social inequality in South Africa it is evident that power (or lack thereof) and (perceived) access to essential services, coupled with race, unemployment and a lack of wealth, which are a result of legislated apartheid policies, negatively affect current poverty levels.

Since 1994, equality and equity, both measured by the amount spent by government on each child, has been calibrated across racial lines. According to the World Bank's collection of development indicators, the South African education allocation was approximately 18.87% of the annual budget in 2018. Yet, the quality of education in South African public schools has failed to improve. While there are a small minority

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[22] ScienceDaily. (n.d.) Social inequality. Internet: https://www.sciencedaily.com/terms/social_inequality.htm. Access: 12 August 2020.

of black learners attending former white schools, together with a small amount of well-performing black schools in some townships, the overall South African educational outcomes remain poor, with low literacy and numeracy test scores (RSA National Planning Commission 2011: 14). The numbers show that the majority of matriculants do not gain a university entrance, and while some improvements in pass rates are noted, only about 15% of learners achieve an average mark of 40%, or more. In fact, only half of the learners who enrol in grade one continues to grade twelve (RSA National Planning Commission 2011: 14 and Modisaotsile 2012: 1). According to s29 of the Constitution (1996), the state guarantees a child's right to basic education. Enshrining this right into the Constitution indicates its importance. If education is deemed sufficiently important to the state and access is guaranteed, then it should stand to reason that the state must provide *quality* education so as to correct the social injustices of the past. Literate, well-educated people are better placed to find sustainable employment, and create job opportunities for others, which is essential for eliminating poverty (Gustafsson 2011: 4 and Modisaotsile 2012: 2). Moreover, an educated people underpin the requirements for meeting the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)[23]. The SDG4 for example, aims to "ensure inclusive and equitable *quality* (own emphasis) education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all". This firmly positions education *beyond* mere access (United Nations: Department of Economic and Social Affairs (*n.d.*)). However, despite an almost universal enrolment of seven-year-olds in South Africa, education *output* remains dire due to poor-quality input.

Education is a fundamental requirement to achieving success in each of the human security dimensions, be they economic, health, political, community, environmental, personal or food. But in South Africa it requires *prioritisation*. Extrapolating on Alkire's (2013) approach of prioritising a 'vital core' dimension – in this case contemporary South African education – clarifies education inequality as an emerging threat, which trades as a lack of societal protection. The idea of protection and empowerment -

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[23] Adopted by all United Nations member states in 2015, the Sustainable Development Goals – 2030 provide a peace and prosperity plan for people and the planet, for the present and the future. There are 17 SDGs calling for urgent action by both developing and developed countries, working together in a global partnership. There is recognition that ending poverty and other deprivations requires strategies to improve health and education, reduce inequality and increase economic growth, whilst addressing climate change, and preserving the oceans and forests. United Nations: Department of Economic and Social Affairs: Sustainable Development. (*n.d.*). The 17 Goals. Internet: https://sdgs.un.org/goals. Access: 21 October 2020.

freedom from fear and want - emphasises the human security synergy. Almost all situations of *in*security require the presence of both, but their “form and balance” is contextual (CHS: 2003: 10).

The previous chapters have shown that education should be a central element/dimension to the more contextual human security framework. It is clear that the phenomenon of *quality* education has a direct bearing on South African human security. In 1994 South Africa inherited many structural legacies that had entrenched the segregation of its people. These policies had marginalised the majority and pushed them into poverty. Democracy, an enlightened Constitution as well as political will, were seemingly supposed to bring about change, equality, and a better life for all. But, certainly for poor South African children, this is not a reality. If upwards of 60% of all learners are not completing their full twelve-year school cycle, and are dropping-out prior to matriculation, then the potential societal powder-keg of perpetuated poor-quality education is exposed. This reveals that South Africans suffer from education *in*security, which manifests across all of the other human security dimensions. This confirms the need to explicitly include *quality* education within the contextual human security framework.

4.3 Poor-quality education and the impact on economic security

The following section provides only an analysis of a single dimension of the human security framework, namely, economic security, as it relates to contemporary education inequality. Whilst education inequality impacts on all dimensions of the human security framework, economic security has been chosen for its potential to specifically cause human *in*security. The premise here is that South African inequality is one of the highest globally, and that this can be redressed by providing better economic growth, and getting more people working. However, it is intuitive that in order for people to work they need an education that makes them employable.

Contextually, South Africa’s socio-economic problems are poverty; low economic growth; high youth unemployment, and extreme inequality. As alluded to previously, inequality *per se* is the state of not being equal, especially in status, rights, and

opportunities.[24] This definition references both the equality of *outcomes* - the "material dimensions of well-being" - whereby people own various levels of material wealth, which impacts their standard of living; and the equality of *opportunity* - the personal and social circumstances of [race][25], age, gender, family background and disability - that impact on access to education or employment (Afonso *et al* 2015).

The World Bank (2019) describes South Africa as a dual economy with one of the highest rates of inequality globally. High inequality is perpetuated by a legacy of exclusion and economic growth which is not pro-poor. As a result, insufficient jobs are generated (World Bank 2019). Because of low intergenerational mobility where inequalities are passed down, inequality does not change over time (World Bank 2019). Globalisation has certainly impacted South African poverty and inequality levels. Undeniably, globalisation increases "market size". It has also provided a 'spring-board' for some countries to "export their way out of poverty" (Naidoo 2011). However, the downside is that globalisation also contributes to increasing inequality. According to Naidoo (2011), improving educational standards and increasing knowledge can influence income and wealth, but only in a functioning labour market and an economy that creates jobs (Naidoo 2011).

The South African overall unemployment rate is high. But youth unemployment (ages 15-24) comprises an immense 53.53%[26] (CEIC Data *n.d.*). Additionally, the labour absorption rate in the formal economy is in decline (Ligthelm 2006: 37). South African youth are generally low-skilled, have little employment experience, and two thirds have never worked (RSA National Treasury 2011: 5). A youth bulge therefore has the potential for serious social, political and economic instability (RSA National Planning Commission 2012: 98). Some causes of unemployment are cited by government as: apartheid legacies; poor education and training; labour demand and supply mismatch; and slow economic growth (RSA GCIS Insight Newsletter Issue 13 *n.d.*). The South African economy is becoming more skills-intensive, but a substantial number of the

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[24] Adapted from Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary. In: Afonso, H.; LaFleur, M. & Alarcon, D. 2015. Concepts of Inequality: Development Issues No.1. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA): Development Policy and Analysis Division.

[25] The researcher has added race here, as inequality in South Africa has an historic legacy that impacts in particular across racial lines.

[26] Data from 2017 4th quarter.

potential workforce do not have hard skills. The remedy for this challenge is a *quality* education, inclusive economic growth, and stimulus for the informal market (Budlender 2017: 3).

Economic *in*security can lead to homelessness which, in South Africa, dates back to apartheid (Cross *et al* 2010: 15 & Olufemi 1998: 223-225). The Constitution (1996) 26(1), guarantees the right to "adequate housing" for all, but in 2014, the estimated urban housing backlog was approximately 2.3 million units (Obioha 2019: 5). Rapid urbanisation, means that the *status quo* remains, growing annually by 178 000 units (Obioha 2019: 5). Consequently, 2.2 million households live in "makeshift structures" in informal settlements, according to a StatisticsSA (2017) *General Household Survey*. In these settlements, overcrowding, threat of eviction, homelessness, and a general lack of access to services, are manifest (Obioha 2019: 5). Rudimentary roads with no street lights, road names, or house numbers means emergency response vehicles struggle to access those in need. This results in little protection, and high crime (Mkhombo 1999: 40).

Providing inferior schooling to the poor entrenches their disadvantage in the labour-market. This undermines any chance for upward mobility and indeed limits opportunities. The implication is that while economic growth may provide more jobs and positively impact on poverty, there will only be a marginal impact on inequality (Van der Berg 2011: 13). Furthermore, Branson *et al* (2012: 5) submit that South Africans not only have a high earnings inequality, but also a high unemployment rate. This emphasises the connection between education and inequality. An inadequately educated citizenry limits employability to unskilled labour, and it establishes education's role in determining who is employed and how. As the beneficiaries of an inferior education therefore, underprivileged black learners are most likely to suffer from income inequality and resultant poverty.

Importantly, Afonso *et al* (2015), posit that equality of *opportunity* in terms of education is dependent on education systems. Thus, the state plays a central role in preparing an individual to see, and take advantage, of prospective opportunities. An education, realistically perceived by the poor as the only feasible means of improving earnings potential, should ostensibly afford successful learners an opportunity to resolve the marginalisation and segregation that continues to permeate South African society

(Van der Berg 2002: 1). A *quality* education should therefore provide a poor learner with the opportunity for upward mobility. Furthermore, studies indicate that although economic growth has a limited effect on inequality, *income* inequality has a negative effect on economic growth. This severely affects the poor as a "proxy for the effects of asset and education inequality" (Afonso *et al* 2015). Thus, the two cannot be separated (Afonso *et al* 2015 and Branson *et al* 2012: 4). Consequently, if education impacts on *income* equality, then a shift in government focus – to a universal foundation of *quality* education for all – secures not only a *means* of living, but also life *opportunities*, which enables individuals to enjoy both dignity *and* security.

Schooling and education should have been the great equaliser for South African society post-1994. However, education has instead been profoundly characterised by Spaull's analogy of the "tale of two schools", where education for primarily poor, black learners is unable to equip them with the literacy and numeracy skills they require (Spaull 2013: 444). Less than half of all school entrants do not complete grade twelve. This perpetuates the apartheid legacy of an unskilled labour force, and contributes to market distortions, whereby youth attempt to enter the labour market with little secondary or higher education (Budlender 2017: 3 & RSA National Treasury 2011: 42). Generally, the cause for widespread unemployment is the disparity between the skills required for the contemporary South African economy and the low-skilled human resources it has at its disposal (Hausmann 2008: 6). Schooling inaccurately indicates skills level, whilst poor-quality education feeds into a poor workplace learning capacity RSA National Treasury 2011: 15). These are the primary reasons employers give for their low youth employment figures (RSA National Treasury 2011: 15). As a result, unskilled, inexperienced workers are perceived as employment risks with attendant real costs (RSA National Treasury 2011: 5). Spaull (2013b: 6) iterates, that poor-quality schooling at both primary and secondary level severely impedes the "youth's capacity to exploit further training opportunities". The resultant skills gap among predominantly black youth from an underperforming educational system is therefore likely to continue (Spaull: 2013b: 6). The severity of unemployment amongst South African youth is increasing. There is also an increase in both the proportion of unemployed youths that have never worked, and the proportion that have been looking for work for more than a year (Spaull 2013b: 7).

Much of the literature establishes the link between the quality and the *period* of schooling which learners receive. This directly impacts on future employment prospects, since a completed secondary and post-secondary education provides the greatest opportunity for accessing the labour market (Branson *et al* 2012: 5 & 12). Both Moll (1998) and Branson *et al* (2012), suggest that "computational skills" grounded in quality "mathematical skills" are required by the labour market. These skills are in short supply as this type of education is inferior in many township and rural schools (Hunter 2015: 42). The poor performance of learners in the TIMSS assessments are evidence of this. The domino-effect of increasing unemployment and income inequality, coupled with the frustrations of lack of choice and loss of dignity, results in increasing crime. Concurrently, human rights are infringed, and the human security rights of learners as provided for in the Constitution – come to threaten South African stability. Additionally, budget cuts, high youth unemployment, mistrust of the police, and low morale amongst youth who cannot find jobs and feel 'unheard' can be a tinder box of disaster (Naidoo 2011).

As indicated previously, race has a significant impact on educational inequalities and school drop-out levels in South Africa. The economic structure of the country remains split along racial and spatial lines. Here poverty for black South Africans living in former reserves/homelands, and black and coloured communities in townships, persists (Hartnack 2017: 3). Spaull (2015: 36), refers to previous South African studies to show how the poor-quality of education given to the poor eventually becomes a poverty trap. As a result, poor, mainly black children, are not only starting behind, but staying behind. It is thus not clear how the South African schooling system can in fact impart the knowledge, reasoning ability, skills and values that learners need to contribute to society and become socially mobile (Spaull 2015: 36). The strong correlations between race, geography and poverty, means that black children in rural areas are particularly disadvantaged, with few prospects for improving their social mobility (Spaull 2015: 36). Gardiner (2008), iterates this view. Gardiner shows that in urban areas, more individuals between ages 25 and 34 completed matriculation than their rural counterparts. Double the number of urbanites achieved a post-school qualification compared to rural individuals, and evidence suggests that rural learners are more likely to leave school early. Moreover, the Nelson Mandela Foundation (2005: 138) observes that children [in rural areas] do not have their constitutional right

to education realised, and that their rights within education or through education are limited. While the *Schools that Work* report (2007) issued by the Department of Education, reflects that "[s]ocio-economic background clearly has an over-riding effect on results, as does [the] former Department [of Education under apartheid] the school belonged to". Hence there can be no doubt that "the school a learner attends have [a] strong predictive effect on results, in terms of social position and in terms of schools' effectiveness" (RSA Department of Education 2007: 55).

Housing and land, according to Cronin (2020), are important legacies which have not been satisfactorily addressed in the 25 years of democracy. He goes as far as saying that the apartheid policies have been perpetuated and even "aggravated" by the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (Cronin 2020). In most instances current housing developments perpetuate apartheid urban spatial-development models. Built on the peripheries of towns and cities the expense and sustainability of public transport becomes hugely challenging, not just for transport companies, but municipalities and commuters alike. These challenges impact the accessibility of work and other institutional facilities, thus replicating patterns of the racialised poverty, unemployment and inequality of apartheid (Cronin 2020).

Because of globalisation, growing marginalization based on social class, rurality, gender and ethnicity throughout the world, means that South Africa has to position itself competitively. An increasing skills gap, challenges the country's means to be competitive within and between countries. However, it may be argued that South Africa's youth bulge positions the country well. This is provided that the quality of education can be improved sufficiently. According to Bloch (2011), foundations in literacy and numeracy are essential for the "high level skills we need as a nation". Educated and competent people are essential for the emergent Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR). In terms of education and moving into the future, literacy and numeracy, are critical to meet the demands for tertiary education, and the skilled work required by the 4IR. These 4IR skills are needed for South Africa to develop, grow, and to address crippling poverty and inequality (Bloch 2011). Furthermore, a digital divide has the potential to widen the already existing *quality* education gap. Therefore, learners lacking a literacy and numeracy foundation means that they will continue to

struggle and progress in the basic education system. Ultimately, stability is essential to compete internationally and attract foreign investment.

This does not bode well for human security in South Africa. From a human security perspective, it is essential to create sustainable employment for as many learners as possible. It is empowering for individuals to access sustainable employment and reach their potential. It provides them with freedom of choice, and the ability to realise their dreams - vital elements of a human security approach. The more youth have the skills to find sustainable employment, the less their need for state support, and their potential to contribute to society increases. Furthermore, literate, well-educated people are better placed to find sustainable employment, *and* create job opportunities for others, which is essential for eliminating poverty (Gustafsson 2011: 4 and Modisaotsile 2012: 2). The Centre for Enterprise Development (2013: 1) found that the further down the educational scale an individual is, then unemployment will progressively increase. Therefore, one can conclude that any post-school qualification increases job prospects. The evidence suggests that slightly less than 5% of people with university degrees are unemployed. For people with non-degree tertiary education unemployment is about 16%, and approximately 29% of grade twelve graduates are unemployed. For individuals with less than twelve years schooling unemployment is at 42%. Clearly these chronic unemployment figures are unsustainable. The perpetuation of the learner drop-out rate only tells us about the direct, human cost of education inequality. However, there are profound, long-term social, economic and potential political consequences of this state of affairs as well. (Williams 2013: 289).

Providing poor-quality education reflects a disrespect for citizens from state actors, who continue to marginalise learners. Therefore, repositioning government security policies, for a contextual and prevention-oriented response to education inequality is required. Institutions and procedures need to mitigate possible threats, particularly as education inequality threatens to 'degrade the quality of life for peoples of a state drastically and over a … span of time' (Blake 2018: 10). Mitigating the threat of poor-quality education not only requires immediate and drastic action, but government really has few choices as the implication for the future is that business and industry has insufficient skilled workers, whilst unemployment figures rise exponentially as

unemployable youth are unable to realise opportunities and find sustainable work. An inclusive and purpose-driven human security agenda, which prioritises the marginalisation and educational issues at the core of South African society, has the potential to restore hope and dignity. Prioritising *quality* education for all therefore, could ensure that everyone is employable, and that citizens are provided with choices, and therefore the freedom to be.

4.4 Interpreting the statistics to show the drop-out rate in South African secondary schools

The following Table 3 is a compilation of the enrolment numbers for grades one and grades twelve in each year of a twelve-year scholastic cycle of learners. This data is extrapolated from the longitudinal secondary data sets provided in Chapter 3 and Appendix A of this study. The aim of Table 3 is to provide a snapshot of the drop-out rate over time so as to see if it is indeed as chronic as the literature has indicated.

Firstly, the numbers have improved slightly in that the amount of school drop-outs has reduced between the first cycle of 2002 – 2014, and the last cycle explored, which was 2006 – 2018. That is a 10.85% improvement in a five-year period and an incremental improvement year-on-year.

The 2002 – 2014 scholastic cycle indicates that less than half of all learners (44.45%) completed grade twelve, and 55.55% dropped-out of the school system. It is acknowledged that some learners may have returned to school in a following year, for example pregnant female learners, whilst a few learners may have entered FET colleges. However, the vast majority will not have returned to school.

The 2003 – 2015 scholastic cycle shows an increase (53.41%) of learners who completed grade twelve, and a decrease (46.59%) in the number of learners who did not complete matric. A positive sign is a decline of 6.82% in the drop-out rate.

In the 2004 – 2016 scholastic cycle, 54.07% of the total number of learners who had enrolled in grade one went on to complete grade twelve. The drop-out rate was 45.93%, again showing a decline, albeit a very small decrease of 0.67% from the previous cycle.

The 2005 – 2017 scholastic cycle showed a small reduction in the figure (53.59%) of those learners who completed grade twelve, an approximate half a percentage point less than the previous cycle. The implication was that the drop-out rate increased slightly to 46.41%.

The 2006 – 2018 scholastic cycle, shows the highest number of learners to complete grade twelve (55.3%) in the data that was explored. This indicates a drop-out rate of 44.7%. and a reduction from the previous cycle of 1.71%.

The statistical data indicates therefore, that there is a quantifiable drop-out rate and that learners are leaving the school system before completing their matriculation. However, the numbers also indicate small year-on-year improvements in the drop-out rate. The annual drop-out rate reduction percentage is tiny, and needs to be significantly reduced at a much faster pace, but nevertheless it is encouraging that there is some positive movement.

Finally, a brief (and simplistic) comparative internet survey of high school drop-out rates in the United States of America (25%), Chile (5.4%), Brazil (20.2%), India (17.06%), Vietnam (40%), Spain (17.3%), the United Kingdom (6.2%), Kenya (13%), and Tanzania (40%).found that *this* 'global' average high school drop-out rate is 20.46%. This is obviously a simplistic and very generalised statistic, but if this is used as the 'global norm' then South Africa's current drop-out rate can be considered extremely high. Furthermore, if the current rate of decrease continues as is, at an approximate 10% reduction over every 5-year period, it will take South Africa a minimum of a further 12-years to achieve a drop-out rate of approximately 20%. This is too long a period for the *status quo* to change because, again at the current rate, this in effect feeds a further 7.2 million youth with no educational qualifications, into the job market over the next 12-year period. This means a further 7.2 million people without prospects for an improved life, without means for upward mobility, and without human security. Consequently, South African inequality will have little prospects for change. The implication is that human security in general in South Africa, is placed under further strain, as the more people suffer from dire human *in*security means that they will resort to whatever means possible for their basic survival, as survival-plus is beyond attainment.

Table 3: Grade one and grade twelve enrolments over a full scholastic cycle

Year	Number of learners enrolled in grade one in year indicated	Year	Number of learners who completed grade twelve in year indicated	% of learners who enrolled in grade one and COMPLETED grade twelve	% of learners who enrolled in grade one and did NOT COMPLETE grade twelve (probable drop-out)
2002	1 286 591	**2014**	571 819	44.45%	**55.55%**
2003	1 277 499	**2015**	687 230	53.41%	**46.59%**
2004	1 303 016	**2016**	704 533	54.07%	**45.93%**
2005	1 233 581	**2017**	661 116	53.59%	**46.41%**
2006	1 163 477	**2018**	643 802	55.3%	**44.7%**

Of course, what none of the above figures for South Africa indicate are all the factors, contemporary and historical, that contribute to learners leaving the school system.

Learners from disadvantaged schools in South Africa face many challenges. Many historical educational legacies, that also relate to poverty, continue to hamper children's schooling progress today. There are issues of over-crowded and poorly-resourced classrooms. Disadvantaged schools often have higher learner-teacher ratios, which account, in part, to poor literacy and numeracy levels. There is also still an unequal access to resources, libraries and laboratories. School textbooks are often in short supply, or not delivered on time. With insufficient teachers in the school system, and universities unable to produce sufficient numbers, there are too few graduates willing to move to poorer communities. This is exacerbated by a high teacher absenteeism rate, or teachers that are late for class, or busy with meetings during class periods. Irrespective of the reason, educational quality is lowered as a result. Importantly, the *value* of education is not instilled in learners. If there is no 'learning culture' then children will fail to see the benefits of education. Coupled with this is the fact that there is enormous unemployment in the country. This imposes on the learner the notion that academic achievement has no economic or other benefits. Teachers too have to fight this negative attitude from their learners, often with no support from learners' parents or caregivers. Learners parents/caregivers are also

often battling through their own issues of safety, employment (or lack thereof) and depression. There is a perception, due to the legacy of Bantu education, that education is the teacher's business. Parents and caregivers often have limited education and restricted literacy and numeracy skills of their own, which disadvantages them in assisting with homework. Hence parents/caregivers and communities need to value education for their children. This can be achieved by holding teachers and Principals to account, by at the very least, insisting on teachers timely, committed and prepared attendance in the classroom.

Legacy education has a knock-on effect within schools too. Many Principals and school governing body (SGB) members lack the necessary financial knowledge and school administration skills required to effectively manage a school. Parental representation on SGBs is mandatory, but accounts for little if there are no skills to drive the processes required to improve their school facilities or acquire better qualified human resources for their children. Perhaps one the worst indictments of apartheid Bantu education is that it removed the agency from parents and teaching staff, a legacy that lives on today in South African schools in poor communities.

South African schools are a reflection of the communities they serve. Violence, gangsterism, and drug-dealing and alcohol abuse are often rife in many poor communities. The result is that violence seeps into the school environment, impacting on learners and teaching staff alike. Schools are not necessarily safe spaces conducive to learning, and violence has physical, psychological and academic repercussions. This violence can also be of a sexual nature, increasing the risk for teenage pregnancy. This in turn, limits a young mother's future educational/career prospects, and can influence her, and her child's socio-economic status.

To add to these significant challenges, South African children generally have very poor literacy and numeracy skills. In all the international assessment tests that South African learners participate in, their performance is consistently close to the bottom percentile. Yet, society depends on children actually being able to learn, and all children should receive a *quality* education that enables them to incorporate useful knowledge, develop reasoning abilities, skills, and values. Poor literacy and numeracy skills not only reflect a poor-quality education, but also lead to grade repetition, which in turn, leads to school drop-outs. Over-age learners often drop-out prior to grade nine

because they are over-age for their grade. There are perceived negative impacts on other educational and socio-emotional outcomes due to grade repetition. Studies have found that this results in low self-esteem. It does not improve academic achievement, and it increases aggressive and disruptive behaviours. There is also less likelihood of secondary school completion, or even post-secondary school enrolment.

Undoubtably the legacies of the past, which continue to be perpetrated in the present, have an overall negative impact on education inequality. Poverty in particular, makes itself felt when learners drop-out due to a lack of finances for school fees. This includes a lack of funds for transport, school uniform, and school stationery, or because their parents have insecure labour and land tenure. This results in family commitments that mean learners must look for a job. Learners drop-out of school because they are not able to perform academically and are failing grades. Or it could be that secondary school options are limited, and infrastructure and service provision are inadequate. Some learners see education as useless, and have a perceived futility of school. Reasons for learners dropping-out of school reflect not only the consequences of poor-quality education, but also the general inequalities pervasive in South African society.

It is evident that there are many varied, mostly socio-economic reasons that contribute to the drop-out rate in South Africa's schools. South African schooling has a 95%+ participation rate within the grade one to grade nine band of compulsory education. But in grades ten and eleven, the drop-out rates are the highest. Whilst learners drop-out from grade five, by grade eight this phenomenon is already problematic. Once schooling ceases to be compulsory, school attendance falls progressively. This highlights the relevance of developing a culture of learning, so that learners see and experience the value of education. A learner who drops out of school leaves the education system without obtaining a minimum qualification, which in South Africa is the National Senior Certificate (NSC). As a result, their work opportunities are reduced significantly. If an approximate million learners enrol in grade one each year, but only half actually go on to write the matric examinations, then half a million of the cohort has dropped out of school during the scholastic journey. This suggests therefore, that only the 'best' 50% of learners remain in the education system, but only about 40% of

that cohort will graduate with a matric certificate. It can then be said that 60% of South African youth have no educational qualifications. This in turn can lead to an enormous sense of educational failure amongst learners who drop-out out of the schooling system.

While all aspects of education inequality are concerning, the drop-out rate is a very clear manifestation of it. This can be attributed to implicit and explicit educational issues, but also to socio-economic problems. It appears that the drop-out rate is slowly reducing over time. Although the drop-out rate is a cause for concern, the aforementioned data does indicate improvement. Therefore, it is not deemed *per se*, to be the only issue within the education inequality 'basket' that warrants specific attention. If, for example, the literacy and numeracy skills of learners were improved, and a culture of learning, a culture of *lifelong* learning, where the value of education is revered was promoted, then it is posited that the problem of school drop-outs would drastically reduce without intervention. The school drop- out rate is a source of human *in*security, and it has significant implication for economic security. As it stands, the factors and ramifications that contribute to a chronic, and unsustainable school drop-out rate can be traced back to the poor-quality education that continues to scourge the face of education in the country.

4.5 Conclusion

According to Mandela, "education is the most powerful weapon" and this chapter has revealed not only education's power when it is appropriate, ethical and principled, but also 'education's' power when it is 'sold' as something that it isn't. The power that Mandela was referring to was supposed to provide families the opportunities for better lives, a relief from poverty, and helping them to create the future of their dreams. Instead a "tipping point" has been reached.

This chapter in considering the notion of *quality* education as a perquisite for human security highlighted the Constitution and the justiciable rights contained therein. It was argued that education empowers individuals to claim and exercise other rights. Therefore, a *quality* education implies that education should be prioritised contextually, as individuals then have the freedom to make choices and lead a life of value. It was argued that the state is obliged to provide education and meet all human security

demands. However, all institutions and agencies, not just the state, had a responsibility to promote human rights and reduce the negative impact of human *in*security. It was argued that education is power and gives people freedoms and its value is promoted in a normative change when incorporated by the state and other institutions. As has been emphasised, institutions and agencies are not state alternatives but are supplementary to development and security, and to this extent government must be held accountable to protect citizens from threat. This chapter has alluded to *quality* education as a constituent part across all of the human security dimensions as, in the absence of *quality* education, individuals remain *in*secure. Moreover, these institutions deliver basic protection, but a security 'vital core', provides specificity about *what* to protect as these 'vital core' constituents are contingent on whether they should be limited to physical survival, or whether they should also include dignity, political voice and livelihood (Alkire 2013: 90). It was argued that although South Africa adopts the concept of human security, its implementation, in terms of addressing the country's historic education inequality, is inconsistent and reflexive. This is attributed in the South African context to poor policy implementation, a disparity between the development and security nexus, coupled with a reluctance to make the individual the main referent for security. South Africa's security agenda needs to be broadened to provide for the upliftment of its people, to reverse legacies, and to provide dignity and safety for an equal society. Viewing security therefore, as a relationship that supports emancipatory politics means the state is obliged to provide both the traditional form of security, whilst working together with institutions and agencies to provide a survival-plus security.

Furthermore, this chapter also alluded to poor-quality education and its impact on economic security. Whilst education inequality impacts on all dimensions of the human security framework, economic security was chosen for its potential to specifically cause human *in*security. South African inequality is one of the highest globally, but this can be redressed by providing better economic growth, and getting more people working. However, it is intuitive that in order for people to work they need an education that makes them employable. High inequality is perpetuated by a legacy of exclusion and economic growth which is not pro-poor, but insufficient jobs have been generated. Low intergenerational mobility where inequalities are passed down, means that inequality has not changed over time, and globalisation has impacted

South African poverty and inequality levels. It was determined that improved educational standards and increased knowledge influences income and wealth, but only if the labour market functions and the economy creates jobs (Naidoo 2011). This chapter showed that South African youth unemployment is exceptionally high therefore, poor-quality education impacts negatively on their ability to experience freedom from fear and want. A *quality* education will provide learners with capabilities for meaningful and productive employment, to develop sustainable livelihoods. It was emphasised that improved *quality* of education for *all* school learners would equip them better for the labour market, and assist in developing job and earnings prospects. On a national level this would lead to improved long-term economic growth potential, as generational and racial inequality in South Africa would only be overcome through improved jobs and earnings *prospects*.

The final part of this chapter interpreted the statistics showing the drop-out rate South African secondary schools. Data was used from longitudinal secondary data sets obtained from the DBE. The results showed that the drop-out rate is indeed an unwelcome phenomenon. Although the statistics indicate a slowing down, the drop-out rate remains significantly high. Distinctive historical and contemporary factors that contribute to the drop-out rate were highlighted. It was determined that a learner who drops out of school leaves the education system without obtaining a minimum qualification, which in South Africa is the National Senior Certificate (NSC). As a result, their work opportunities are significantly reduced. It was shown that if an approximate million learners enrol in grade one each year, but only half actually go on to write the matric examinations, then half a million of the cohort has dropped out of school during the scholastic journey. This suggests therefore, that only half of learners remained in the education system, but only 40% of that cohort will graduate with a matric certificate. It can then be said that 60% of South African youth have no educational qualifications. This in turn can lead to an enormous sense of educational failure amongst learners who drop-out.

CHAPTER 5

AN OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH, FINDINGS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this study was to explore why and how the concepts of human security and poor-quality education are potentially associated in the South African context, as well as how this association may constitute a potential threat to the country's stability and security. An analysis of the potential threat of poor-quality education to human security and its impact on South African stability and security over time was facilitated by exploring: the concept of human security contextually; and the link between the South African school drop-out rate (as a manifestation of education inequality) and human security.

5.2 Overview of the research

An overview of the human security concepts revealed that, although not without its detractors, it is indeed evolving as a concept. Current discourse from both Gasper (2013) and Alkire (2013) suggest that contextual prioritisation is a possible solution – to make the concept 'fit for purpose'.

Using the Welsh school approach of CSS as a theoretical underpinning helped the study show that the changing nature of security, to include emancipatory ideals, is a suitable mechanism for broadening the human security conceptual framework beyond its current dimensions. Not only is CSS a broader security view that regards the individual as important and the main referent object for security, but CSS also adds emancipation as a principle to its security approach and aims to transform society by providing more security and freedoms. Emancipatory politics is ideal in the South African context and it was argued that this will provide the space for the prioritisation of *quality* education

The UNDP (1994) human security framework was the conceptual basis of exploration. The framework relies on seven dimensions of security, but education is not explicitly stated. The South African human security framework is based on its Constitution which does provide for educational rights. However, the Constitution makes reference

to *access* to education, the *quality* of said education is neither explicitly nor implicitly implied. In order to expand the human security framework in the South African context to include the notion of *quality* education, critiques and discourse on the concept were explored.

This study has shown that inequality not only *increased,* but *continues* to increase in the South African context after apartheid, *despite* government attempting to follow a human security agenda. Human security, by implication, should have mitigated against the highly unequal socio-economic structure. Yet, twenty-six years into democracy, and despite a healthy education budget, education inequality prevails.

As stated, the research set out to explore *why* and *how* education inequality manifesting in a persistent learner drop-out rate remains so high in a country with almost universal *access* to schooling, and to determine if there is indeed a potential threat to human security. The *how* and *why* was achieved through a literature study that explored the historical legacy of structural policies affecting education. These policies contributed to entrenching poverty in the lives of black South Africans and provided them no opportunities for obtaining a *quality* education. In fact, quite the opposite. The factors that created, or contributed to education inequality during apartheid were explored. In exploring contemporary factors of educational inequalities, it became evident that the apartheid factors still impact on learners today. This occurs through the ramifications of poverty, crumbling infrastructure, poor teaching, inadequate school management, and the attitude many parents/caregivers have towards education, the education system and the value of learning. All these issues ultimately impact on learners and contribute in some way to the drop-out rate in South African schools. This information was then extrapolated to the concept of human security to determine if a threat exists.

5.3 Findings

The research showed that the current rate of learner drop-outs poses a threat to the Republic's human security, but also considers that *quality* education would be a significant antidote over time. The drop-out rate was illustrated in the consolidated longitudinal secondary data sets from the DBE. Even though the data indicates a

reduction in the drop-out rates over time, it is happening too slowly and therefore, it is deemed a source of *in*security.

Exploring the UNDP HDR (1994) human security framework revealed that there is acknowledgement from several scholars that the given dimensions of the framework may not embrace a particular country's particular human security needs. Therefore, discourse encourages prioritising contextual security needs by creating a specific 'vital core' for security. The Constitution (1996), as the framework for human security in the South African context is lacking in that it does not ensure a quality education for *all* children, but it is deemed sufficiently vital. It is vital not only to operationalise employment for individuals, or provide skilled workers for industry and business, but also to provide an emancipation to individuals that allows them to realise opportunity, find not only sustainable, but meaningful work, to provide them well-being and dignity.

This study has demonstrated that education inequality is an inherent threat to South African human security and its economic security in particular. Underpinned by an inherited historical legacy, the threat posed by education inequality has not reduced. Despite governments ongoing efforts to re-strategize its approach to education – including a substantial financial resource allocation – the results have been disappointing. The DBE has not rectified the structural educational inequalities of the past, which exacerbate educational inequalities in the present. This vulnerability is damaging to learners and destroys the potential of those that drop-out of the system.

The persistently high drop-out rate in particular, provides evidence of ongoing education inequality and it is likely that it will not decrease significantly in the foreseeable future. Not only does the drop-out rate fuel the already high levels of poverty and unemployment; it also brings about a decay in the moral fibre of society by perpetuating, amongst others, inequality and a sense of hopelessness. Moreover, a contemporary ramification of education inequality spills over into areas such as crime as the marginalised youth seek a means to survive.

Therefore, instead of an improved quality of education post-1994, the opposite has occurred and is an imminent threat to South African economic security, and ultimately its human security. South Africa is at a 'tipping point' regarding its quality of education. It is not foreseen that this threat will be reduced to a manageable level unless drastic

measures are implemented to respond meaningfully to the challenges associated with over-crowded and poorly-resourced classrooms, inadequate teacher training, teaching delivery and inconsistent teaching, which have a negative and long-term impact on learner literacy and numeracy skills. If security is the "alleviation of threats to cherished values" then, in the South African context the assumption can be made that unless the condition of poor-quality education is mitigated, the future for poor, mainly black South African children/youth is bleak. They will be unable to rely on an education or meaningful learning to access sustainable work, and without a decent wage the divide between the 'haves' and the 'have nots' will only increase. This will fuel the inequality divide and leave the poor in a 'poverty trap' with very little opportunity for an emancipated life of well-being and dignity. Essentially, education inequality will become a threat that 'degrades the quality of people's lives'. It is clear therefore, that education inequality is a threat to marginalised and vulnerable South African learners, and their overall human security is at risk. Inadequate education means that unemployment progressively increases. For those learners that have dropped-out of school, with high unemployment rates and no qualifications, they will have few options besides menial work or crime, thus perpetuating their inequality and their state of human *in*security.

An attempt at determining threat requires deciding *whose* security matters? This study has emphasised throughout, that the security of South African children/learners is possibly threatened by the state providing poor-quality education. In the long-term South African children will be unable to access the job market for sustainable work if their education does not provide them basic educational skills. This could exacerbate the severity, extent and duration of the pervasive inequality within the country. It could also exacerbate the knowledge and skills divide based on race, as it has been established that it is predominantly poor, black children that experience the worst of poor-quality education. This will impact on human security through all its dimensions, as more and more youth, are unable to realise opportunities, will be unemployed and unemployable, particularly as within the world of work there is a global move towards the highly skilled Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR).

Thus, the study has shown that the stage is set for further human *in*security. As has been shown perpetuating education inequality not only hampers economic growth, but

it maintains the poverty cycle. This impacts on upward mobility, and it devastates societal cohesion whilst strengthening discriminatory stereotypical norms that ultimately provide the impetus for rising political and social tensions (UNDP 2013: 5). South African *in*security is characterised currently by severe crime, social unrest and violent protest actions, which are accompanied by demands for basic services, the redistribution of wealth and land, and access to opportunities and dignity.

5.4 Recommendations

It is acknowledged that the aspect of threat and human security warrants further investigation since education inequality is prevalent throughout the schooling system, and the severe impact thereof manifests throughout the country. This ongoing and unpredictable weakness impacts domestically as access to resources and the basic necessities of life decrease. However, the state, its institutions and procedures need to mitigate the threat which requires immediate and drastic action, but it still remains a 'political choice' for government to make a decision regarding the gravity of the threat.

Poverty and social inequality have many contributory factors. In part however, these can be reduced through efficient, effective and *quality* education and training systems. This will create a more just South Africa, and it has the potential to increase and improve opportunities for all. Therefore, *quality* education needs to be designed for economic productivity, sustainable livelihoods and the promotion of human dignity to intentionally maintain a peaceful democracy, to benefit *all* of South African society. By improving the lives of its poorest, *every* South African would experience better safety and security, not only in the literal sense, but from a human security perspective too. This is because opportunities became visible *and* attainable. In order to achieve this the South African human security framework needs to 'turn' to prioritise education due to the negative impact that a lack of *quality* education might have on future income and opportunities. Ultimately, a peaceful and truly democratic society is manifested when an educationally capable society produces economically productive people whose personal well-being and dignity is improved *and* promoted.

5.5 Conclusion

This study explored what the research statement proposed: that a partial way to addressing the quest to decrease income inequality in South Africa is reliant on the provision of *quality* education for black learners (indeed *all* learners). The aim thereof is to improve their employment opportunities and potential material outcomes. The study also explored the persistent learner drop-out rate, and perceives that this is indeed a threat to South African human security. In order to reach this conclusion this study explored *why*, and *how*, the concepts of human security and poor-quality education are potentially associated in the South African context, and determined how this might constitute a threat to the country's stability and security by focusing on exploring the concept of human security in a South African context, and exploring the link between the South African school drop-out rate (as a manifestation of education inequality) and human security. This prompted an analysis of the potential threat of poor-quality education to human security and its ensuing impact on South African stability and security.

Finally, a freedom from both fear and want uplifts people, provides them dignity and keeps them safe, whilst simultaneously building national security and ensuring its territorial sovereignty. The words of (then) UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, perhaps summed up the South African 'dilemma' best, when he said "the future of peace and prosperity that we seek for all the world's people needs a foundation of tolerance, security, equality and justice". Without doubt, *quality* education for *all* children is instrumental to attaining peace and prosperity in South Africa.

Appendix A

12-year cycle 1: 2002 – 2014

Table 4: Number of learners in ordinary schools: by grade: 2002

Year	Sector	Pre-Gr. R Phase	Foundation Phase					Intermediate Phase			
		Pre-Gr. R	Gr. R	Gr. 1	Gr. 2	Gr. 3	Total	Gr. 4	Gr. 5	Gr. 6	Total
2002	Ordinary Independent and Public schools	38 811	278 726	1 286 591	1 012 892	949 721	3 527 930	1 076 107	1 142 806	1 038 679	3 257 592

2002 Contd.

Year	Sector	Senior Phase				Total (GET Band)	FET Band				Grand Total of Learners
		Gr. 7	Gr. 8	Gr. 9	Total		Gr. 10	Gr. 11	Gr. 12	Total	
2002	Ordinary Independent and Public schools	958 932	936 392	1 089 404	2984 728	9 770 250	876 175	719 952	486 786	2 082 913	11 917 017

Source: 2002 SNAP Survey (conducted on the 10th school day). Free State, North West and Northern Cape: Pre-Grade R learners not included in the SNAP Survey.
Note 1: Data excludes learners at stand-alone ECD sites, ELSEN (special) schools, ABET centres and public FET institutions.
Note 2: Eastern Cape and North West: ELSEN learners are included in the different grades.
RSA Dept of Basic Education Published December 2004. Education Statistics in South Africa at a Glance in 2002. Internet: https://www.dhet.gov.za/PSET%20Statistics/DoE%20Stats%20at%20a%20Glance%202002.pdf. Access: 27 August 2020: pages 8-9.

Table 5: Number of learners in ordinary schools: by grade: 2014

Year	Sector	Pre-Gr. R Phase	Foundation Phase					Intermediate Phase			
		Pre-Gr. R	Gr. R	Gr. 1	Gr. 2	Gr. 3	Total	Gr. 4	Gr. 5	Gr. 6	Total
2014	Ordinary Independent and Public schools	43 720	813 044	1 235 901	1 149 894	1 073 447	4 272 286	1 036 378	929 735	894 517	2 860 630

2014 Contd.

Year	Sector	Senior Phase				Total (GET Band)	FET Band				Grand Total of Learners
		Gr. 7	Gr. 8	Gr. 9	Total		Gr. 10	Gr. 11	Gr. 12	Total	
2014	Ordinary Independent and Public schools	875 311	935 624	1 048 823	2 859 758	9 992 674	1 139 872	897 342	571 819	2 609 033	12 655 436

Source: 2014 SNAP Survey.
Note 1: Data are for ordinary schools only and exclude learners at stand-alone ECD sites, and special schools.
Note 2: 10 009 learners not grouped in any of the grades provided.
RSA Dept of Basic Education. Published March 2016. Education Statistics in South Africa 2014. Internet: https://www.education.gov.za/Portals/0/Documents/Publications/Education%20Statistics%202014.pdf?ver=2016-05-13-144159-067. Access: 27 August 2020: pages 8-9.

12-year cycle 2: 2003 – 2015

Table 6: Number of learners in ordinary schools: by grade: 2003

Year	Sector	Pre-Gr. R Phase	Foundation Phase					Intermediate Phase			
		Pre-Gr. R	Gr. R	Gr. 1	Gr. 2	Gr. 3	Total	Gr. 4	Gr. 5	Gr. 6	Total
2003	Ordinary Independent and Public schools	29 545	315 387	1 277 499	1 111 858	1 003 331	3 708 075	952 465	1 035 707	1 101 740	3 089 912

2003 Contd.

Year	Sector	Senior Phase				Total (GET Band)	FET Band				Grand Total of Learners
		Gr. 7	Gr. 8	Gr. 9	Total		Gr. 10	Gr. 11	Gr. 12	Total	
2003	Ordinary Independent and Public schools	987 876	976 750	902 129	2 866 755	9 664 742	1 096 214	736 720	475 069	2 308 003	12 038 922

Source: 2003 SNAP Survey (conducted on the 10th school day). Free State: Pre-Grade R learners not included in the SNAP Survey.
Note 1: Data excludes learners at stand-alone ECD sites, ELSEN (special) schools, ABET centres and public FET institutions. North West: LSEN are included in the different grades.
Note 2: 36 632 learners not grouped in any of the grades provided.
RSA Dept of Basic Education. Published May 2005. Education Statistics in South Africa at a Glance in 2003. Internet: https://www.dhet.gov.za/DHET%20Statistics%20Publication/DoE%20Stats%20at%20a%20Glance%202003.pdf. Access: 27 August 2020: pages 8-9.

Table 7: Number of learners in ordinary schools: by grade: 2015*

Year	Sector	Pre-Gr. R Phase	Foundation Phase					Intermediate Phase			
		Pre-Gr. R	Gr. R	Gr. 1	Gr. 2	Gr. 3	Total	Gr. 4	Gr. 5	Gr. 6	Total
2015	Ordinary Independent and Public schools	34 876	792 325	1 244 208	1 164 050	1 106 895	4 307 478	1 088 804	979 360	899 799	2 967 963

2015 Contd.

Year	Sector	Senior Phase				Total (GET Band)	FET Band				Grand Total of Learners
		Gr. 7	Gr. 8	Gr. 9	Total		Gr. 10	Gr. 11	Gr. 12	Total	
2015	Ordinary Independent and Public schools	884 994	931 766	950 512	2 767 272	10 042 713	1 112 604	928 983	687 230	2 728 817	12 814 473

Note 1: Data excludes learners at stand-alone ECD sites and special schools.
Note 2: 8 067 learners not grouped in any of the grades provided.
RSA Dept of Basic Education. Published October 2015. School Realities 2015. Internet: https://www.education.gov.za/Portals/0/Documents/Reports/School%20realities%202015.pdf?ver=2016-04-22-134204-903. Access: 27 August 2020: pages 2-3.

12-year cycle 3: 2004 – 2016

Table 8: Number of learners in ordinary schools: by grade: 2004

Year	Sector	Pre-Gr. R Phase	Foundation Phase					Intermediate Phase			
		Pre-Gr. R	Gr. R	Gr. 1	Gr. 2	Gr. 3	Total	Gr. 4	Gr. 5	Gr. 6	Total
2004	Ordinary Independent and Public schools	30 052	356 487	1 303 016	1 109 201	1 081 956	3 850 660	985 139	916 911	997 365	2 899 415

2004 Contd.

Year	Sector	Senior Phase				Total (GET Band)	FET Band				Grand Total of Learners
		Gr. 7	Gr. 8	Gr. 9	Total		Gr. 10	Gr. 11	Gr. 12	Total	
2004	Ordinary Independent and Public schools	1 050 554	1 010 710	914 729	2 975 993	9 726 068	1 057 935	829 137	505 392	2 392 464	12 176 391

Source: 2004 SNAP Survey (conducted on the 10th school day). Free State: Grade R's not included in the SNAP survey.
Note 1: Data excludes learners at stand-alone ECD sites, ELSEN (special) schools, ABET centres and public FET institutions.
Note 2: 27 807 learners not grouped in any of the grades provided.
RSA Dept of Basic Education. Published December 2005. Education Statistics in South Africa at a Glance in 2004. Internet: https://www.dhet.gov.za/PSET%20Statistics/DoE%20Stats%20at%20a%20Glance%202004.pdf. Access: 27 August 2020: pages 9-10.

Table 9: Number of learners in ordinary schools: by grade: 2016

Year	Sector	Pre-Gr. R Phase	Foundation Phase					Intermediate Phase			
		Pre-Gr. R	Gr. R	Gr. 1	Gr. 2	Gr. 3	Total	Gr. 4	Gr. 5	Gr. 6	Total
2016	Ordinary Independent and Public schools	33 568	813 496	1 208 992	1 182 132	1 118 913	4 323 533	1 126 128	1 026 674	947 015	3 099 817

2016 Contd.

Year	Sector	Senior Phase				Total (GET Band)	FET Band				Grand Total of Learners
		Gr. 7	Gr. 8	Gr. 9	Total		Gr. 10	Gr. 11	Gr. 12	Total	
2016	Ordinary Independent and Public schools	899 622	952 628	905 066	2 757 316	10 180 666	1 104 749	901 697	704 533	2 710 979	12 932 565

Source: 2016 SNAP Survey.
Note 1: Data are for ordinary schools only and exclude learners at stand-alone ECD sites and special schools.
Note 2: 7 352 learners not grouped in any of the grades provided.
RSA Dept of Basic Education. Published June 2018. Education Statistics in South Africa 2016. Internet: https://www.education.gov.za/Portals/0/Documents/Publications/Education%20Statistic%20SA%202016.pdf?ver=2018-11-01-095102-947. Access: 27 August 2020: pages 9-10.

12-year cycle 4: 2005 – 2017

Table 10: Number of learners in ordinary schools: by grade: 2005

Year	Sector	Pre-Gr. R Phase	Foundation Phase					Intermediate Phase			
		Pre-Gr. R	Gr. R	Gr. 1	Gr. 2	Gr. 3	Total	Gr. 4	Gr. 5	Gr. 6	Total
2005	Ordinary Independent and Public schools	33 641	405 197	1 233 581	1 118 690	1 078 001	3 835 469	1 061 770	957 372	898493	2 911 635

2005 Contd.

Year	Sector	Senior Phase				Total (GET Band)	FET Band				Grand Total of Learners
		Gr. 7	Gr. 8	Gr. 9	Total		Gr. 10	Gr. 11	Gr. 12	Total	
2005	Ordinary Independent and Public schools	972 542	1 052 499	930 797	2 955 838	9 702 942	1 069 494	839 009	538 909	2 447 412	12 217 765

Source: 2005 SNAP Survey (conducted on the 10th school day). Free State: Pre-Grade R learners not included in the SNAP Survey.
Note 1: Data excludes learners at stand-alone ECD sites, special schools, ABET centres and public FET colleges.
Note 2: 33 770 learners not grouped in any of the grades provided.
RSA Dept of Basic Education. Published November 2006. Education Statistics in South Africa at a Glance in 2005. Internet: https://www.dhet.gov.za/DHET%20Statistics%20Publication/DoE%20Stats%20at%20a%20Glance%202005.pdf. Access: 27 August 2020: pages 9-10.

Table 11: Number of learners in ordinary schools: by grade: 2017*

Year	Sector	Pre-Gr. R Phase	Foundation Phase					Intermediate Phase			
		Pre-Gr. R	Gr. R	Gr. 1	Gr. 2	Gr. 3	Total	Gr. 4	Gr. 5	Gr. 6	Total
2017	Ordinary Independent and Public schools	22 680	839 515	1 186 829	1 141 325	1 124 312	4 291 981	1 130 949	1 046 370	978 130	3 155 449

2017 Contd.

Year	Sector	Senior Phase				Total (GET Band)	FET Band				Grand Total of Learners
		Gr. 7	Gr. 8	Gr. 9	Total		Gr. 10	Gr. 11	Gr. 12	Total	
2017	Ordinary Independent and Public schools	924 167	971 367	894 113	2 789 647	10 237 077	1 075 925	892 784	661 116	2 629 825	12 892 273

Note 1: Data excludes learners at stand-alone ECD sites and special schools.
Note 2: 2 691 learners not grouped in any of the grades provided.
RSA Dept of Basic Education. Published March 2018. School Realities 2017. Internet: https://www.education.gov.za/Portals/0/Documents/Reports/School%20Realities%202017.pdf. Access: 27 August 2020: pages 2-3.

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