

**THROWING THE BONES:  
POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION IN MAMELODI, 1947 to 2017**

by

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**DISSERTATION**

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**for Desirée**

## DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my teacher, friend, colleague, and enthusiast, the late Professor Karel Bakker, who introduced me to the Mamelodi Rondavels and excited me about the meaning of this place in the life of the community in Mamelodi.

“Isn’t it amazing, this place!” he exclaimed.

It is amazing, Professor. Thank you for pointing it out to me. Rest knowing that I followed your gaze and rummaged through your archives to also discover the wonder you saw.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I wish to acknowledge librarians, the work ants of knowledge and thought without whom there is no scholarship. Among these are our campus Librarian, Jacob Mothutsi and Zanele Msomi. Then there are the lieutenants, the archivists, without whom stores of records cannot live nor have meaning. Thank you to Karlien van Niekerk and Johan Swart from the Department of Architecture's archives for their enthusiastic and unstinting support and assistance to access the late Prof Bakker's archives as well as the other resources they led me to for this study. I also thank Prof Terri Bakker, widow of Prof Bakker, for her remembering my interest and enthusiasm in her late husband's work and for gracefully directing me to his archives for this study. Finally, I wish to thank Phethuvuyo (Pat) Gagai who led me to Sadeck Kemal Casoojee, Archivist at the South African Parliament in Cape Town, who connected me with the *Hansard*.

I would also like to acknowledge and thank Prof McGlory Speckman and Prof Denver Hendricks, for their tireless encouragement, reading, and commenting on my work since the beginning.

Then there are the members of the Mamelodi community who, as respondents, gave freely and generously of their time and memories to enable the understanding this study sought to develop. Theirs are the keys to unlocking the experiences of the community. Each of the respondents in this study opened my eyes and provided me views and insights not available in any book. Chief among these is my former colleague, Mr Isaiah Manele, without whom I would have been lost in Mamelodi from the first day I set foot in that community.

I also wish to acknowledge and thank Professor Karen Harris, my supervisor, without whose guidance, unrelenting belief, faith, keen eye for history, and encouragement this study would not have been possible.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge and thank my wife, Dr Desirée Tesner-Smith. Without her encouragement, enthusiasm, drive, intellectual engagement, ability to find obscure sources, support, and limitless cups of coffee I would not have seen this through.

## DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

Full name of student: Edwin Terry Smith

Student number: 04136799

### Declaration:

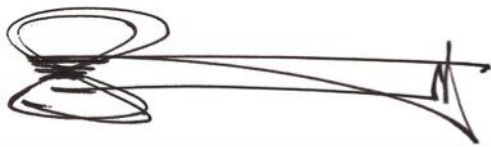
I understand what plagiarism is and am aware of the University's policy in this regard.

I declare that this dissertation is my own original work. Where other people's work was used (either from a printed source, the Internet or any other source), this has been properly acknowledged and referenced in accordance with departmental requirements.

I have not used work previously produced by another student or any other person to hand in as my own.

I have not allowed, and will not allow, anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her own work.

Signature of student:



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Edwin Terry Smith

9 April 2021

Date



## ETHICS STATEMENT

The author, whose name appears on the title page of this dissertation, has obtained, for the research described in this work, the applicable research ethics approval.

The author declares that he has observed the ethical standards required in terms of the *University of Pretoria's Code of ethics for researchers* and the *Policy guidelines for responsible research*.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
DET	Department of Education and Training
DHET	Department of Higher Education and Training
HBCU	Historically Black Colleges and Universities
Kolege	Kolege Ya Bana Ba Afrika
MCLC	Mamelodi Community of Learning Collaborative
MEDUNSA	Medical University of South Africa
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe
Normal College	Pretoria Bantu Normal College
Penn	University of Pennsylvania
PFP	Progressive Federal Party
PBNC	Pretoria Bantu Normal College
TED	Transvaal Education Department
TVET College	Technical Vocational and Education Training College
UBC	Urban Bantu Council
UNISA	University of South Africa
UP	University of Pretoria
UP Mamelodi	University of Pretoria Mamelodi Campus
US/USA	United States of America
Vista	Vista University
CCP	City Council of Pretoria

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the history of postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi, a black township in Pretoria East, with a view to discerning why Mamelodi, having had postsecondary education institutions for more than 70 years in its back yard, is perceived as not being one of the pre-eminent producers of intellectual capital and technical competencies among black South African townships across the country. The study also seeks to explore the notion that education is one of the most certain ways to break the cycle of poverty in communities like Mamelodi and how this characteristic manifested itself in the life of the community given its extraordinary past experience with postsecondary education institutions in its midst. Finally, this dissertation is a case study of postsecondary education in Mamelodi with a particular concern for the interplay between these institutions and the community to understand, from a historical point of view, contemporary views and attitudes of the community to the local postsecondary education institutions. Through the case study, the unique and common features of organisations and the community are identified with the view to discerning the interactions at work that shape the town-gown relations in Mamelodi. Consequently, the study considers the historical record of the establishment and the life of the various postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi as anchor institutions with a view to understanding the reasons for their establishment, their mandates, and how these impacted on the community in light of the generally agreed upon view that education is a real means of breaking the cycle of poverty and improving the lot of the community. The study traces the postsecondary education institutions' relationship with the community over a period of seven decades and the community's responses to these institutions in its midst with the view to understanding contemporary concerns and attitudes from a historical perspective. Finally, the study corrects the under acknowledged recognition of Mamelodi's relationship, appreciation, contribution, and support of postsecondary education in the community and the country in general.

**Key terms:** Social history, public scholarship, urban history, postsecondary education, community development, anchor strategy, anchor institutions, Mamelodi.

## Chapter 1: The study and discourse

### 1.1. Introduction

This study explores the history of postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi, a black township in Pretoria East. In what can only be described as an extraordinary and unique turn of events in terms of the development of black townships in South Africa, the Mamelodi community had the *Kolege ya bana ba Afrika* (1945),<sup>1</sup> Pretoria Bantu Normal College (1947),<sup>2</sup> Vista University (1981),<sup>3</sup> the Thuto Matlhale Technical College (1983), the University of Pretoria Mamelodi Campus (2004),<sup>4</sup> and the Tshwane North Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET) College's campus in Mamelodi (2014).<sup>5</sup> The establishment of the first postsecondary institutions in Mamelodi in 1947 to the latest review of the academic mandate of the Mamelodi Campus of the University of Pretoria (UP) in 2017 represents a 70-year history of postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi. Studying this history with the local community as an asset that is harnessed to fill knowledge gaps provides a deeper understanding of the 'town-gown' experience and culture that developed during this period and how these possibly inform contemporary views, attitudes and misunderstanding around postsecondary education and institutions in Mamelodi.

In the first instance, the study seeks to document the history of postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi as this does not currently exist. However, and apart from documenting the history of these institutions in the community, the study seeks to discern, based on the notion of education as a "public good", why Mamelodi, having had postsecondary education

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<sup>1</sup> The *Kolege Ya Bana Ba Afrika* was started in Atteridgeville in 1945 but actually commenced activities on the same premises with the Pretoria Bantu Normal College in Mamelodi in 1947. K.A. Bakker et al, 'The "Mamelodi rondavels" as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)'. *SA Journal of Cultural History*. 2003. 17(2), p.6.

<sup>2</sup> J. Thumbran. 'Separate Development and Self-Reliance at the University of Pretoria'. *Kronos*. 2017. 43(1), p. 121; K.A. Bakker et al, 'The "Mamelodi rondavels" as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)'. *SA Journal of Cultural History*. 2003. 17(2), p. 2; K.A. Bakker et al, 'History and documentation of the Mamelodi rondavels' (Unpublished research report by Cultmatrix cc for the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. 2002; F.J. Du Toit, Heydenrych and University of Pretoria. *Ad Destinatum II: Gedenkboek van die Universiteit van Pretoria 1960-1982*. 1987. Voortrekkerpers, Beperk. pp. 399-414; A.M. Mogase. *Mamelodi: Reflections of a Lifetime*, Aubrey Michael Mogase. 2018, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> H.M. Van der Merwe. 'The Vudec merger: a recording of what was and a reflection on gains and losses', *South African Journal of Higher Education*. 2007. 21 (3). pp. 537-551.

<sup>4</sup> *Government Gazette* No. 25737. Incorporation of the Mamelodi Campus of Vista University with the University of Pretoria, 14 November 2003.

<sup>5</sup> Anon. <https://collegelist.co.za/tshwane-north-college-brochure-info/> Accessed: 10 July 2019.

institutions for more than 70 years in its back yard, does not appear to be the pre-eminent producer of intellectual capital and technical competencies among black South African townships across the country.<sup>6</sup> The study considers the concept of education as a public good in order to appreciate the transformative character and value attributed to education based on how it improves the lives of those who gain qualifications and expertise, which in turn benefits their families, communities, and society in general. Both international as well as local views are considered to arrive at a meaningful insight relevant to the concerns of the study. Furthermore, the study explores the notion that education is one of the most certain ways to break the cycle of poverty in communities like Mamelodi.<sup>7</sup> It considers how this characteristic manifests itself in the life of the community given the unusual circumstance of having had postsecondary education institutions in its midst, for a protracted length of time.

In addition, this is a case study of postsecondary education in Mamelodi with a particular concern for the interplay between these institutions and the community. It seeks to understand, from a historical point of view, contemporary views and attitudes of the community to postsecondary education institutions. The case study enables the systematic collection of evidence to study the relationship between the institutions and the community through a planned investigation.<sup>8</sup> Through the case study, the unique and common features of institutions and the community will be identified with a view to discerning the interactions at work that inform and influence the 'town-gown' relations in Mamelodi. Consequently, the

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<sup>6</sup> As per Vanessa Noble, the "University of Natal's medical school was in many ways a national institution: for many years it was the only institution willing to train African students and by 1994 it had produced the largest number of black doctors in South Africa. These graduates went on to play a vital role in the provision of biomedical health-care services for various communities in South Africa's racially divided health-care system". V. Noble, *A School of Struggle: Durban medical school and the education of black doctors in South Africa*, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2013, p. 3; According to Brown Bavusile Maaba, the University of Fort Hare "is the oldest institution of higher learning for black people in southern Africa and claims many famous graduates [and] an important section of its students have identified with the history of resistance against apartheid and indirectly played an important role in the struggle for liberation in Africa". B.B. Maaba, 'The Archives of the Pan Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness-Orientated Movements', *History in Africa*, 2001, p. 420.

<sup>7</sup> A. Zegeye, 'Of Struggle and Whistles: Mamelodi's Black Youth Culture', *Current Sociology*, 52(5), 2004, p.859; H.M. Van der Merwe. 'The Vudec merger: a recording of what was and a reflection on gains and losses', *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 2007, 21(3), p. 543; University of Pretoria. 'We are Mamelodi'. *Mamelodi Dipolelo*. 2017, 1(1), pp. 1 and 2; N.A. Ogude et al, 'Mamelodi Pre-University Academy: Aligning Campus Strategic Goals to Achieve a University's Anchor Institution Strategy Mandate', *Metropolitan Universities* 31(2), 2020, p. 36.

<sup>8</sup> J. Bell. *Doing your Research Project: A guide for first-time researchers in education, health and social science*, 2005, p. 10.

study considers the historical record of the establishment and the life of the various postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi with a view to discerning the reasons for their establishment, their mandates, and how these impacted the people and their lives as anchor institutions in the community. Among other things, anchor institutions are institutions whose success and wellbeing are tied to the success and wellbeing of the communities they are physically located in.<sup>9</sup> The study traces the postsecondary education institutions' relationship with the community over a period of seven decades and the community's responses to and views of these institutions with the intention of understanding contemporary concerns and attitudes from a historical perspective. Furthermore, and through a focus on intergenerational transfer of knowledge, the study seeks to interrogate the historical memory, views and experiences of the community to determine the extent to which such knowledge transfer – in particular in as far as it concerns local postsecondary education institutions – is evident and visible in the contemporary community in Mamelodi.

Thus, the study is conducted following the approach that the community members, their views, and experiences are an asset to the study endeavor. It seeks to learn from the views of the community, which the study recognizes are present, important, and significant in understanding the history under consideration. Following such an approach, the study acknowledges the community as active participants in shaping the circumstances around them. This includes their interaction with postsecondary education institutions.

While the study recognises that Mamelodi did not necessarily have postsecondary education institutions continuously throughout the period under consideration, from 1947 to 2017, the demarcated period for the study has functional utility in enabling a historical engagement with and interrogation of the experiences and views of the community over the period of study. Where there are silent periods, i.e., times in the life of the community where there were no postsecondary education institutions operating, in an attempt to be comprehensive in documenting postsecondary education institutions in the community under consideration, the

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<sup>9</sup> B. Dever et al, '(Re)Defining Successful Anchor Strategies'. Working Paper. Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. 2014, p. 1.

study will attempt to understand how the community understood and responded to these periods without postsecondary education activity within its midst.

The motivation for considering the current undertaking comes from an observation of how some members of the Mamelodi community remember and engage with issues around postsecondary education institutions in their community, sometimes resulting in views that appear to be to their detriment. Often these views and contestations are within the realm of representation, ownership and interpretation, which are in effect regarded as the *raison d'être* of history.<sup>10</sup> However, it is also not uncommon that such a motivation can lead to insights that unveil a proper and correct perspective and enrich the meaningful appreciation of a community's experience with the postsecondary education institutions in and around it and *vice versa*. For such an exercise to be meaningful, however, it must ultimately lead to an enriched and deepened understanding of the issues at hand. Engaging such a history is, ultimately, a form of public scholarship, which must directly impact and benefit the community.<sup>11</sup>

The title for this study is derived from the practice in traditional societies like those found in the community under investigation where an anomaly, be it social misfortune, ill health, challenging circumstance or otherwise, is diagnosed by a diviner through a process known as "throwing the bones".<sup>12</sup> Such diviners would have personalized, specially significant collections of bones and possibly other small artifacts that they use to seek enlightenment on a matter of concern. Having thrown the bones, the diviner proceeds to read the bones from how they lie and the order in which they present themselves. The meaning thus derived is used to diagnose the problem at hand and devise solutions or remedies, if necessary.

In this context, the title is considered apt for a study that seeks to consider evidence in terms of the available written record supplemented by oral evidence (through interviews with

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<sup>10</sup> C. Rassool, 'Power, knowledge and the politics of public pasts', *African Studies*, 2010, 69(1), p. 81.

<sup>11</sup> K.N. Blain & I.X. Kendi. 'How to Avoid a Post-Scholar America', *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 2017, 18 June.

<sup>12</sup> M. Makgopa & M. Koma, 'The Use Of Ditaola (Divination Bones) Among Indigenous Healers In Sekhukhune District, Limpopo Province', *Indilinga African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems*, 2009, 8(1), pp. 51-52.



selected community members) to understand the experiences of the Mamelodi community with the postsecondary education institutions that have been located in its midst since its inception. This is done with a view to creating a context and gaining a deeper understanding of current and contemporary attitudes and dispositions towards postsecondary education institutions in the community, with particular reference to the University of Pretoria's Mamelodi campus.

Finally, the study is an exercise in the hidden history tradition of historiography. Hidden history, understood as an exercise that “brings to the public’s attention histories that have been suppressed or deliberately overlooked in favour and support of the dominant discourse”<sup>13</sup> greatly enhances and augments history for the benefit of the field and society in general. Hidden history is a growing practice in South African historiography with great promise given the historical contestations in the development in the field.

## **1.2. The aim, purpose and contribution of the study**

The study thus aims to analyze the story of how postsecondary education institutions have affected the Mamelodi community, which should have been expected to build, encourage, and promote a postsecondary education culture in the community they are located in. It also sought to understand why, on the face of it, Mamelodi does not seem able to capitalise on the extraordinary distinction it has had of having had a very long history and experience with postsecondary education institutions within the township with the view to enabling greater insight of these constraints.

The purpose of the study is an exercise in public scholarship that seeks to contextualise and deepen the understanding of the divergent narratives about the ‘town-gown’ relations in Mamelodi. Public scholarship has great utility in the realm of social history where ordinary people’s experiences, memories, and views are considered and incorporated in an effort to deepen the understanding of history. A historical engagement with Mamelodi’s experience with postsecondary education institutions in its community should enable a better

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<sup>13</sup> E.T. Smith, ‘Hidden history: Purchase for South African historiography? A survey of contemporary practice’, forthcoming in *Southern Journal of Contemporary History*, June 2021.

understanding of the views and attitudes of the community towards the University of Pretoria's Mamelodi Campus and its value for the community. It should also assist the University to develop a more nuanced and complex understanding for its evolving plans for its campus in Mamelodi, which should also benefit the other postsecondary education institutions in the community.

For purposes of considering the range of possible responses to postsecondary education institutions, the study also includes an international case study of postsecondary education in the United States of America (USA). This is of relevance particularly in terms of the experiences of its historically disadvantaged African-American communities and how postsecondary education affected their lives. This is expected to offer a meaningful comparison on the impact of postsecondary education on the lives of disadvantaged communities such as the community of Mamelodi.

Following the international comparison with the United States of America and how African-Americans there have utilized the opening up of educational opportunities for them, the study concludes with a consideration of how the so-called anchor institutions improve 'town-gown' relationships in a meaningful way both for the institution as well as the community they are located in.<sup>14</sup> In this regard, the study also compares the USA's development and practice of institutional anchor strategies<sup>15</sup> to those developed and implemented at the University of Pretoria<sup>16</sup> and its Mamelodi campus. Institutional anchor strategies were developed in the USA in response to urban decay resulting in safety and security concerns for universities located in urban environments.<sup>17</sup> In the past 30 years, USA universities in urban locations have increasingly adopted institutional anchor strategies to revitalize the communities they are located in and to promote and improve 'town-gown' relationships by developing beneficial relationships between the university and communities. The University of Pretoria is among the

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<sup>14</sup> D. Friedman et al, *The Foundational Role of Universities as Anchor Institutions in Urban Development: A Report of National Data and Survey Findings*, 2015. p. 1.

<sup>15</sup> B. Dever et al, '(Re)Defining Successful Anchor Strategies'. Working Paper. Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. 2014, p. 2.

<sup>16</sup> D. Hendricks and J. Flaherty. 'Integrating the edges: University of Pretoria's neighbourhood anchor strategy', *Development Southern Africa*, 2018, 35(5), p. 2.

<sup>17</sup> D. Friedman et al, *The Foundational Role of Universities as Anchor Institutions in Urban Development: A Report of National Data and Survey Findings*, 2015, p. 1.

first of the universities in South Africa to formally adopt an anchor institution strategy to attend to similar challenges the various campuses of the University are facing.<sup>18</sup>

While there are a number of studies on education and schooling in townships,<sup>19</sup> one of the most significant contributions of this study is that it is the first to consider and document the history of postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi. As such, the study pioneers an area of scholarship in township history heretofore non-existent and unattended to. Furthermore, and given the destruction of archival material during the 1997 fire at the Munitoria building where the municipal archives of Mamelodi were housed,<sup>20</sup> the study also serves to augment the gaps this loss created in the historical record of the community.

The study builds on the new developments and challenges presented by social history in contemporary times so as to extend the record and expand the focus of historical scholarship on communities like Mamelodi and their contributions to the developments in education and society in general. The study understands social history as “a social form of knowledge and the work of a thousand different hands”<sup>21</sup> to provide a fuller account of ordinary people’s contribution to developments in their communities and society. It embraces the notion of social history that includes the views and experiences of historically and traditionally marginalised communities.<sup>22</sup> For this reason, it incorporates the views, experiences, and memories of the community in understanding the historical relationships between postsecondary education institutions and the communities they are located in. By incorporating the ‘silent voices’ of the community in the chronicling of its history, the study contributes to the relatively new trend

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<sup>18</sup> D. Hendricks and J. Flaherty, ‘Integrating the edges: University of Pretoria’s neighbourhood anchor strategy’, *Development Southern Africa*, 2018, 35(5), p. 2.

<sup>19</sup> M.M. Kgoale. ‘The Development of University Education for Blacks in South Africa with special reference to the Transvaal (1900-1970)’. MA dissertation, 1982; M.E. Modiba. ‘The School as a Reconstruction Agent in Mamelodi. MA dissertation, 1998; S. Mabogoane. ‘The Impact of Labour Relations Act (Act 66 of 1995) at Vista University (Mamelodi Campus) from the year 1981-2003’. MA dissertation, 2005; V.M. Timm ‘Behaviour problems in primary schools in Mamelodi: an ecological construction’, MA dissertation, 2007; and T.J. Chiloane. ‘The Establishment of Black Settlement Areas in and around Pretoria with Special Reference to Mamelodi, 1900—1970’. MA dissertation, 1990.

<sup>20</sup> R.M. Ralinala. ‘Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990’. PhD thesis, 2002, p. 10; V. Allen, *Kruger’s Pretoria: Buildings and personalities of the city in the nineteenth century*, 2007, p. 8.

<sup>21</sup> R. Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, Vol 1, 1994, p. 15.

<sup>22</sup> C. Rassool, ‘Power, knowledge and the politics of public pasts’, *African Studies*, 2010, 69(1), pp. 81-82.

and differs drastically from former approaches to history-making and documentation,<sup>23</sup> which more often than not excluded the views and voices of the communities in favour of conventional sources such as historical documents.

This study also embraces the view of public scholarship that seeks to engage in academic endeavours that impact the communities concerned in the research. As such, scholarship should have a direct and preferably tangible benefit to the community being studied.<sup>24</sup> In this instance, the study intends to make available to community members the history they have had with postsecondary education institutions in their neighbourhood with the hope that the community can better understand how these institutions can best benefit them. The study is a conscious exercise in utilizing history to benefit society in a tangible and meaningful way—just like the throwing of the bones. Hopefully, it will encourage the interest, growth and development of community histories to build and contribute to the field of historical study so as to improve communities and society at large.

### 1.3. Concepts

**Public good:** There are debates around education being a public good or not. In some instances, education is overwhelmingly a public good as its benefits accrue very widely to society at large as well as to the individual. In other instances, education offers overwhelmingly more benefits to the individual than to society.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, in South Africa, the aspirations of higher education towards ‘social justice’, ‘democratic citizenship’ and ‘transformation’ were shown to often be confounded by the realities of constraints such as funding and institutional cultures arising out of a history of inequality in higher education.<sup>26</sup> In this context, education is considered a public good for the benefits it holds to transform developing societies like South Africa from their historic inequality bequeathed by colonisation and apartheid.

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<sup>23</sup> C. Rasool, ‘Power, knowledge and the politics of public pasts’, *African Studies*, 2010, 69(1), pp. 81-82.

<sup>24</sup> K.N. Blain & I.X. Kendi, ‘How to Avoid a Post-Scholar America’, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 2017, 18 June.

<sup>25</sup> R. Smethurst, ‘Education: a public or private good?’, *RSA Journal*, 1995, 143(5465). pp. 38 and 39.

<sup>26</sup> E. Unterhalter et al, ‘Conceptualising Higher Education and the Public Good in Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, and South Africa’, Paper delivered at CIES conference in Mexico City, March 2018, p. 37.

**Town-gown relations:** Though this term is more common in the United States of America discourse, it has also been used in South Africa. It refers to the relationship between postsecondary education institutions (usually universities and colleges) and their surrounding communities, where ‘town’ refers to the community and setting of the institution and ‘gown’ refers to the academic institution. Postsecondary education institutions can be located in different settings such as cities, small towns or rural areas. Notwithstanding this variation, institutions affect the communities around them and are usually expected to maintain a healthy and productive relationship with these communities. The development of institutional anchor strategies over the past three decades is a direct result of postsecondary education institutions realizing and taking seriously their impact and dependence on their surrounding communities and aligning their strategic endeavours to further bolster the benefits and impact they have on their communities.

**Intergenerational transfer of knowledge:** Knowledge is transmitted in different ways, regardless of whether the community is literate or not. Intergenerational transfer of knowledge refers to the transmission of views, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours across generations, regardless of the mode of transmission, often resulting in a strong affinity for such views in newer generations in spite of not necessarily having directly experienced the factors giving rise to such views, beliefs and attitudes.<sup>27</sup>

**Postsecondary education institutions:** The study employs the concept of ‘postsecondary education institutions’ instead of ‘tertiary education institutions’ or ‘post-school education institutions’ because tertiary education is often used and understood to refer only to university education. This study focuses on all public education institutions offering tuition beyond high school level education. These institutions include universities, but also technical and vocational training colleges, trade schools, and other postsecondary education and training institutions in the community.

**Community:** The concept of community is contested and needs to be articulated and clearly defined given the diversity of people constituting a community. In this study, community is used to denote the people living in the physical area constituting the township of

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<sup>27</sup> J.D. Jansen, *Knowledge in the Blood: Confronting Race and the Apartheid Past*, 2011. pp. 51-54; E. Hoffman. *After Such Knowledge: A Meditation on the Aftermath of the Holocaust*, 2005, p. xii.

Mamelodi, which “stretches from the Magaliesberg mountains for 7 miles (12 km) to the railway line running to Mozambique. It is 11 miles (17 km) from the city centre of Pretoria”.<sup>28</sup>

#### 1.4. Historiography, methodology and sources

##### 1.4.1. Historiographical trends

History, like memory, is contested.<sup>29</sup> By the 1990s, Raphael Samuel was observing that history is not the sole prerogative of the historian, nor even, as postmodernism contends, only a historian’s invention.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore and according to Margaret MacMillan in her book *Dangerous Games: The Use and Abuses of History*, published in 2009:

we have used history to understand ourselves, and we ought to use it to understand others because history has shaped human values, fears, aspirations, love, and hatred. When we realize this, we begin to appreciate something about the power of the past.<sup>31</sup>

In April 2019, Martin Schäfer, the German Ambassador to South Africa, co-opened a permanent exhibition on “The German Democratic Republic’s solidarity with the liberation movement in its struggle against apartheid” at Liliesleaf in Rivonia. In his opening remarks, titled “Memory Against Forgetting”,<sup>32</sup> Schäfer questions whether we are drawing the right lessons from the past. For Schäfer it is crucial for us to address the many facets of one’s history: to not accept the easy answers, but to take a closer look; to debate our past openly and controversially, even if that is painful to do.<sup>33</sup> This is all the more true because writing history is not just a simple

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<sup>28</sup> A. Zegeye, ‘Of Struggle and Whistles: Mamelodi’s Black Youth Culture’, *Current Sociology*. 2004. 53(5), p.850.

<sup>29</sup> K. Harris, ‘How history blurs the memory and archives obscures the truth: historical turns?’ Inaugural lecture as Head: Department of Historical and Heritage Studies, University of Pretoria. 2019; M. Schäfer, ‘Are we drawing the right lessons from our past?’ *News24*. 2019. 24 April; H. Carr, ‘History according to EH Carr’. *NewStatesmanAmerica*. 2019; M. MacMillan, *Dangerous Games: The Use and Abuses of History*. 2009. p. ix-xi; R. Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*. 1994, p. 32; R.J. Shafer, *A guide to historical method*. 1974. p. 18.

<sup>30</sup> R. Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*. 1994, p. 211; L. King and G. Rivett, ‘Engaging People in Making History: Impact, Public Engagement and the World Beyond the Campus’ *History Workshop Journal*. 2015. Issue 80, p. 218; D. Matless, ‘Book Review: Theatres of Memory. Vol. 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture by Raphael Samuel’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 1996, 21(4), p. 712.

<sup>31</sup> M. MacMillan, *Dangerous Games: The Use and Abuses of History*. 2009. p. 8.

<sup>32</sup> ‘Memory Against Forgetting’ is also the title of Rusty Bernstein’s memoir. Bernstein was one of the accused in the Rivonia Trial. He was caught on Liliesleaf Farm on 11 July 1963 as part of the Umkhonto we Sizwe High Command and tried for sabotage alongside Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the ANC in what became known as the Rivonia Trial. Though he was acquitted in 1964, he was rearrested and when granted bail, fled into exile with his wife, Hilda Bernstein.

<sup>33</sup> M. Schäfer, ‘Are we drawing the right lessons from our past?’ *News24*. 2019. 24 April.

patching together of bits of information gotten from sources.<sup>34</sup> It is essentially also an act of individual creation.

The English historian E.H. Carr delivered a series of lectures between January and March 1961, which were later published as one of the most famous historical theories of our time: *What is history?* In his lectures, Carr instructs the reader of history to “study the historian before you begin to study the facts” because any account of the past is largely written to the agenda and social context of the one writing it. For Carr, “[t]he facts...are like fish on the fishmonger’s slab. The historian collects them, takes them home and cooks and serves them”.<sup>35</sup> In 1979, James Hoopes already admonished that:

Too often we forget that history is, among other things, an exercise of the imagination [and that it], like life, is a test of our ability imaginatively to place ourselves in the positions of other people, so that we can understand the reasons for their actions. Through research and study we learn facts about those other people. But we can never know everything about anyone, living or dead. The historical record is always incomplete. Imagination must fill in the gaps in our knowledge, though of course our imaginings must derive from facts and be consistent with them.<sup>36</sup>

Furthermore, there are various and contesting views on social history and the meaning and utility of public scholarship, its importance in the meaning-making venture of history, in particular in respect of communities historically and traditionally not viewed as proper subjects of historical investigation, research, and documentation. Ciraj Rassool in “Power, knowledge and the politics of public pasts” published in *African Studies* in 2010, reports that public history in South Africa has emerged as an exciting new field of practice with a network of institutions involving complex knowledge transaction in South Africa from the 1980s and 1990s to contemporary times.<sup>37</sup> During this period, the radical scholarship of social historians sought to uncover the submerged agency role of ordinary people and give voice to the experience of marginalised groups. During the 1980s, history “from below”, as public history was known, emerged as a counter-narrative to power and domination, seeking to incorporate ordinary

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<sup>34</sup> S. Kent, *Writing History*. 1967. p. 44.

<sup>35</sup> H. Carr, ‘History according to EH Carr: The historian was prescient in warning that the value of facts depends on who wields them’ *NewStatesmanAmerica*. 2019.

<sup>36</sup> J. Hoopes, *Oral History: An Introduction for Students*. 1979. p. 3.

<sup>37</sup> C. Rassool, ‘Power, knowledge and the politics of public pasts’ *African Studies*, 2010, 69(1), p. 81.

voices in an approach to resistance, which was understood as founded upon the ordinary experiences of people in South African scholarship.<sup>38</sup>

Consequently, South African social historians saw themselves as overcoming the silences of written sources and challenging hegemonic interpretations of the past through oral history research. Rassool also noted that, although not all-encompassing, social histories were produced in a variety of academic settings, which also sought to disseminate research to popular audiences. Among these settings were the Cape Town Oral History Project and the Natal Worker History Project.<sup>39</sup> The central academic institutions involved in and leading the production, dissemination and popularisation of South African social history were the History Workshop (HW) and the Oral Documentation Project of the African Studies Institute, which later became known as the Institute for Advanced Social Research and then the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research (WISER), all at the University of the Witwatersrand.<sup>40</sup> In the continuous effort to refine and delineate different strands of social history, Martin Legassick considers his 2016 *Hidden Histories of Gordonia: Land Dispossession and Resistance in the Northern Cape, 1800-1990* an exercise in “applied history”, meaning historical writing with a direct application to the people’s lives in the present. For Legassick, “[a]ppplied history looks for transformation in the present on the basis of evidence from the past”.<sup>41</sup>

Considering the influence and future prospects of E.P. Thompson’s views on social history in South Africa, Jonathan Hyslop (2016) in “E.P. Thompson in South Africa: The Practice and Politics of Social History in an Era of Revolt and Transition, 1976-2014”, noted that the “Thompsonian category of ‘experience’ became perhaps the central idea in the South African social history writing of the 1980s and beyond, in large part through Bozzoli’s mediation”<sup>42</sup> at the Wits History Workshop. However, he also noted that “around the time of the transition to democracy in 1994, the tides of opinion amongst the South African intelligentsia turned

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<sup>38</sup> C. Rassool, ‘Power, knowledge and the politics of public pasts’ *African Studies*, 2010, 69(1), p. 81.

<sup>39</sup> C. Rassool, ‘Power, knowledge and the politics of public pasts’ *African Studies*, 2010, 69(1), p. 82.

<sup>40</sup> C. Rassool, ‘Power, knowledge and the politics of public pasts’ *African Studies*, 2010, 69(1), p. 82.

<sup>41</sup> M. Legassick, *Hidden Histories of Gordonia: Land Dispossession and Resistance in the Northern Cape, 1800-1990*. 2016. p. xix.

<sup>42</sup> J. Hyslop, ‘E.P. Thompson in South Africa: The Practice and Politics of Social History in an Era of Revolt and Transition, 1976-2014’. *Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis*. 2016. 61, p. 105.



strongly against Thompsonian social historians”,<sup>43</sup> due to among other reasons the issue of race in the work, engagement, and composition of social historians at the time.

Ulrich Jürgens et al, in their 2013 survey titled “Townships in South African cities – Literature review and research perspectives”, report that

twenty years after the end of the apartheid regime, social and spatial structures in South Africa have changed substantially. If the past was masked by ethnic and racial discrimination in political, economic and social life, which was, among other criteria, defined spatially, then the post-apartheid present is characterized by ‘deracialisation’ and unrestricted social and spatial mobility for all. ... Reality, however, does not always correspond to this ideal.<sup>44</sup>

For Jürgens and his colleagues, historically,

the emergence of urban South Africa has generally been associated with a history of violence. Over the last century the primary perpetrator of violence has been the state [where] state brutality manifested itself in the slaughter of political activists and the undermining of the human dignity of the disenfranchised majority. [However], and in spite of massive post-apartheid efforts on all sides of the political spectrum, race continues to infiltrate much of the current political debate in South Africa on socio-economic development.<sup>45</sup>

While focusing on the themes and ideas on the discipline of history in the region gleaned from the various presidents of the Southern African Historical Society’s addresses at its biennial conferences, Jane Carruthers in 2010 discerned new directions in historical studies in southern Africa by “identifying fresh fields of endeavor” which are possible through “greater interdisciplinary tolerance and collaboration”<sup>46</sup> as a result of her reading of the “tortuous and contentious trajectory of the discipline and particularly the issues of the 1970s and 1980s”.<sup>47</sup> In the long list of issues she discusses, Carruthers noted Rodney Davenport’s 1977 concerns with historians reflecting a deeply troubled society, which split them down the middle ideologically between those who supported the government and those who did not; and E.L.P. Stals’s 1983

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<sup>43</sup> J. Hyslop, ‘E.P. Thompson in South Africa: The Practice and Politics of Social History in an Era of Revolt and Transition, 1976-2014’. *International Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis*. 2016. 61, p. 110.

<sup>44</sup> U. Jürgen et al, ‘Townships in South African cities – Literature review and research perspectives’. *Habitat International*. 2013. 39, p. 256.

<sup>45</sup> U. Jürgen et al, ‘Townships in South African cities – Literature review and research perspectives’. *Habitat International*. 2013. 39, p. 259.

<sup>46</sup> J. Carruthers, ‘The Changing Shape and Scope of Southern African Historical Studies’. *South African Historical Journal*. 2010. 62(2), p. 384.

<sup>47</sup> J. Carruthers, ‘The Changing Shape and Scope of Southern African Historical Studies’. *South African Historical Journal*. 2010. 62(2), p. 384.

caution for “historians to consider the damage that this internal strife was creating”<sup>48</sup> for the discipline. Carruthers also noted that “even after thirty years not all the concerns Davenport raised in 1977 had been resolved because, among other things, Davenport had called for “more history of African societies”. However, and although a large number of these appeared in the 1980s, Davenport had also called for more black historians, a refrain that, for Carruthers, “echoed still more than a generation later”.<sup>49</sup> In 1979, M.C.E. van Schoor called for “the relevance of history to society”<sup>50</sup>; and in 1985 Basil le Cordeur noted that “while South African history had developed an indigenous revisionist tradition, very little of this outpouring of books, articles, and papers, ... really resonated with the majority of South Africans of the 1980s”.<sup>51</sup>

In one sense, writing history is about making meaning, informed and shaped by evidence verifiable through sources carefully considered and responsibly interpreted and produced. In another context, and closer to the community under consideration, writing history is an exercise much like “throwing the bones” and from observing the patterns formed, divining meaning to diagnose a problem with a view to devising a solution or remedy. Furthermore, and according to Shafer in 1974,

history is one of the most powerful of studies for engendering empathy, an understanding of the motives, beliefs, frustrations, and hopes of other people ... and helping a person understand where he comes from and how, giving a sense of cultural self-knowledge ... an historical approach is a vital component in the study of current affairs, giving adequate attention to both continuity and change.<sup>52</sup>

#### 1.4.2 Methodology and sources

As indicated, this dissertation is a qualitative case study of postsecondary education in Mamelodi with a particular concern for the interplay between these institutions and the community. Like the diviner throwing and then reading the bones, the case study enables the systematic collection of evidence, the study of the relationship between the variables indicating

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<sup>48</sup> J. Carruthers, ‘The Changing Shape and Scope of Southern African Historical Studies’. *South African Historical Journal*. 2010. 62(2), p. 385.

<sup>49</sup> J. Carruthers, ‘The Changing Shape and Scope of Southern African Historical Studies’. *South African Historical Journal*. 2010. 62(2), p. 385.

<sup>50</sup> J. Carruthers, ‘The Changing Shape and Scope of Southern African Historical Studies’. *South African Historical Journal*. 2010. 62(2), p. 386.

<sup>51</sup> J. Carruthers, ‘The Changing Shape and Scope of Southern African Historical Studies’. *South African Historical Journal*. 2010. 62(2), p. 386.

<sup>52</sup> R.J. Shafer, *A guide to historical method*. 1974. pp. 20, 45.

or representing characteristics, features or attributes of certain behaviours, occurrences or views of the institutions and the community through a planned investigation.

For insight into the community's experience of the postsecondary education institutions, the study incorporated open-ended interviews with selected community members who remember and can attest to these experiences and how they affected their lives. The interviews cover the period and institutions of concern to the study. These oral testimonies were subjected to an evaluation process that sought to test their authenticity, credibility, representativeness, and meaning, as suggested by John Scott in *A Matter of Records* (1990).<sup>53</sup> According to Scott, personal interviews that are conducted by the researcher with an eye witness to the events he or she is studying are often useful to the historian engaged in a particular study. However, such interviews are not without pitfalls, and must be carefully prepared because some statements are inherently plausible – that is, we find them easy rather than difficult to believe. This is particularly true of statements that are consistent with other information available about a situation and statements are implausible when they do not fit with the rest of the evidence.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, the pitfalls of inherent plausibility pointed out by Scott were avoided through careful corroboration of information provided by the respondents in the interviews. The study utilised established techniques of recording, corroborating and verifying oral history evidence for historical research to understand the interplay between the declared intentions of postsecondary education institutions and how the community experienced these interventions with a view to comprehending contemporary feelings, views, and interactions between the community and the postsecondary institutions in their midst. Evidence provided by the respondents in the study was cross-checked with that of other respondents' testimonies and with documentary sources where these were available to test the veracity of the evidence.

Of importance to the study is the fact that orally transmitted evidence is a vehicle for cross-generational value transmission. It was expected that interviews with community members would enable a better understanding of the intergenerational transmission of knowledge and culture, which was another concern of this study. The notion of the intergenerational

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<sup>53</sup> J. Scott, *A Matter of Record*. 1990. p. 76.

<sup>54</sup> R.J. Shafer, *A guide to historical method*. 1974. p. 41.

transmission of knowledge and how it manifests in new generations is expounded on in the writings of scholars like Jonathan Jansen in *Knowledge in the Blood* (2011) and Eva Hoffman in *After such knowledge* (2005). For Jansen, the focus was on how young people at the University of Pretoria's Faculty of Education, born after apartheid had ended, recalled so clearly experiences from the past, which they had not lived through themselves. Jansen was not only interested in the new generation and their knowledge of the past, but in how firmly these young people held on to such knowledge.<sup>55</sup> Hoffman, on the other hand, explored intergenerational knowledge transmission through reflecting on the holocaust and how that knowledge affected the children of the survivors of the Shoah, as the Holocaust is also referred to.<sup>56</sup> Both these reflections argue for a very powerful transmission of knowledge across generations, which inform the attitudes, views and conduct of the inheritors of such knowledge. This informed the intergenerational interviews completed for the study.

Furthermore, the interviews with selected community members with experiences and memories of the postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi shed light on how the community experienced and related to these institutions. This enabled a better understanding of the often conflicting and contested history of postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi and why, by all accounts, the community allegedly did not directly and immediately benefit from having these institutions in its midst.

The study incorporates the community members' experiences and views from an asset-based approach. An asset-based approach to history for this study acknowledges that, given the paucity of documented evidence, the views, experiences and memories of the community are valuable sources of information to help understand the history under consideration and assist to fill the information and knowledge gaps resulting from sparse documented evidence. This approach acknowledges that community members have important and significant knowledge to contribute towards the historical record and understanding of their communities. This must, however, be contextualized and verified through corroboration with other sources.

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<sup>55</sup> J.D. Jansen, *Knowledge in the Blood: Confronting Race and the Apartheid Past*. 2011. pp. 7-12.

<sup>56</sup> E. Hoffman, *After Such Knowledge: A Meditation on the Aftermath of the Holocaust*, 2005. p. xii.

Consequently, a group of retired school teachers were identified as a first entry point into recruiting respondents for the study. The researcher was invited to attend a meeting of the Retired Teachers' Association of Mamelodi where he introduced his research and requested volunteers for the study. A number of attendees indicated their willingness to participate as respondents in the study. As expected, this initial group of respondents enabled the identification of other respondents who assisted to develop a reliable view of and insight into the community's experiences with postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi. In the end, a total of 18 respondents were interviewed for the study. All the respondents were presented with a University of Pretoria Faculty of Humanities "Letter of Introduction and Informed Consent" that explained the purpose of the study and their attendant rights as participants in accordance with University research ethics standards and practices. All the respondents had to read and sign the "Letter of Introduction and Informed Consent" to indicate they understood the reasons for the research and their attendant rights to participate freely in the research endeavor. The notes of the interviews and the signed informed consent forms are stored as per the prescript of the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Pretoria.

The first six interviews were with retired teachers in Mamelodi. One of the respondents also studied in one of the first postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi, the Pretoria Bantu Normal College, from 1952-1954, which is one of the institutions considered in this study. Respondent WS started his teaching career in Witbank Secondary School (currently Emalahleni) from 1955 to 1959 and joined the staff of Mamelodi High School from July 1959 until December 1967 whereupon he took up a Vice-Principalship at Ribane Laka Secondary School in Mamelodi from 1967 until April 1970. He left Mamelodi to become the Principal of Thembisa High School from 1970 to April 1977 where he was promoted to Inspector of Schools for the Dennilton Circuit in modern day Limpopo Province. After serving two years in this position, he was transferred to Boksburg and then to the Pretoria North Circuit in 1981. He was promoted to Secretary of the Council for Education and Training, which advised the Minister of Education and Training.<sup>57</sup> Respondent WS settled in Mamelodi and retired in 1995.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> *Hansard, Assembly Debates: 1983, p. 149.*

<sup>58</sup> Interview with Respondent WS, 2020.

Another respondent in the study, Respondent MD,<sup>59</sup> remembered the Pretoria Bantu Normal College and the *Kolege Ya Bana Ba Afrika*, quite possibly because she commenced her teaching career in Mamelodi in 1957 at Zakhele Primary School, which was one of the first primary schools in Mamelodi at the time. Hailing from Johannesburg, Respondent MD is also from outside Mamelodi and started her educational journey from St. Mary's Anglican School and then Orlando High School in Soweto. She trained as a teacher at the Diocesan Training College in Pietersburg. From 1986 to 1987, she attended the University of South Carolina to study English teaching for second language learners. She retired in 1996, having worked at Zakhele her entire teaching career, which spans almost 40 years, and having also settled in Mamelodi. Respondent MD has fond memories of her time teaching in Mamelodi and settling in the community to build a family. She is a well-known and well-regarded figure in the community, particularly in the education fraternity across generations.<sup>60</sup>

Respondent JM was born in Mooiplaas in Pretoria and attended Edenvale Primary School, a mission school and Walmanstal Secondary School.<sup>61</sup> He matriculated from Mamelodi High School and started working for Standard Bank in 1982 where he obtained a Certificate and Diploma in Banking. He never studied in postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi and was trained through his work at Standard Bank. Nonetheless, his late wife studied at Unisa because they were then not aware of the existence of Vista University nor later of the University of Pretoria having incorporated the Vista University campus in Mamelodi. However, his sister's children attended Vista University, one becoming a lecturer at the now Tshwane University of Technology (TUT) and the other a Specialist Teacher in Lanseria.

Another informant, Respondent AV, who was the Chairperson of the Retired Teachers' Association of Mamelodi, had been a teacher in Mamelodi all her professional life. Respondent AV, who was born in Lady Selbourne, on the western side of Pretoria, from where she was forcibly removed to Mamelodi in 1962,<sup>62</sup> commenced her schooling in Lady Selbourne at Rebone Lower Primary School. She studied at Vista University and obtained a Senior Certificate

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<sup>59</sup> Interview with Respondent MD, 2020.

<sup>60</sup> Interview with Respondent MD, 2020.

<sup>61</sup> Interview with Respondent JM, 2020.

<sup>62</sup> Interview with Respondent AV, 2020.

in Education, a Diploma in Education, and a Higher Education Diploma. She then obtained a BEd honours degree, as well as a Higher Education Diploma, from Unisa.<sup>63</sup> She invited one of her friends, Respondent JT, who was also a retired teacher to participate in the study. She also invited her son, who was born in Mamelodi and studied at one of the postsecondary education institutions under consideration in this study, to participate, thus creating a snowballing informant identification and recruitment system and effect.

Like Respondent AV, Respondent JT was born in Lady Selbourne and forcibly moved to Mamelodi in 1958/59.<sup>64</sup> Respondent JT commenced her schooling in Mamelodi at Vulamehlo Primary School and Pheladi Nakeni Primary School. She then went to boarding school in Louis Trichardt and Vlakfontein Technical High School. She attended Vista University where she obtained a Senior Education Certificate. She obtained a BA degree from Unisa and a BEd honours degree from the University of Pretoria.<sup>65</sup>

Respondent TT was born and raised in Attridgeville and moved to Mamelodi in 1992. She commenced her schooling at Nwaminga Lower Primary School in 1972, then attended Mahlahle Higher Primary School, followed by Flavius Mareka High School in Saulsville in 1978. Due to the instability caused by the riots at the time, she attended the National University of Lesotho (Roma) in 1986 where she obtained a BA in Education degree in 1990. She then obtained a BEd (honours) degree from Unisa. Although she also enrolled for a master's degree at Unisa, she was unable to complete her studies due to work and family demands.<sup>66</sup>

Respondent TT worked as a teacher at Hans Kekana High School in Hammanskraal where she also acted as a Head of Department. She taught accounting, business economics and English. Due to the demands of her young family and the long commute to work, she resigned to join Thuto Matlhale as a relief lecturer for three months in 1997. The next year she became an Accounting Lecturer and a Senior Lecturer in Financial Accounting. In 1999, she became the Second Deputy Rector at Thuto Matlhale. In 2002 she left Thuto Matlhale to join the National

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<sup>63</sup> Interview with Respondent AV, 2020.

<sup>64</sup> Interview with Respondent JT, 2020.

<sup>65</sup> Interview with Respondent JT, 2020.

<sup>66</sup> Interview with Respondent TT, 2020.

Department of Education's Financial Planning Unit as a Deputy Director. In 2003 she served as Chief Education Specialist: Policy Analysis and at the end of October she served as Acting Deputy Director: Financial Planning until 2006. In November 2007 she served as the Principal for the Tshwane North FET College. When the FET colleges were overhauled into TVET colleges, they were also moved from the auspices of the Provincial Department of Education to the National Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET).<sup>67</sup> She left the college again between 2012 and 2016 to work for the Department of Higher Education and Training and later returned as the Principal of the Tshwane North TVET College.<sup>68</sup>

Four other respondents were also born in Mamelodi and attended postsecondary education institutions in the community, of which one became an instructor in a postsecondary education institution in Mamelodi until he retired. Respondent DM, who was born in Eersterust and relocated to Mamelodi in 1953/4, commenced his studies at Kgameledi Lower Primary School and Vulamehlo Primary School. He then attended "Boys High" as Refentše High School was known at the time in 1959 and then the Industrial School. He also studied at Mamelodi High School and then transferred to Vlakfontein Hoërskool in 1968 to study watchmaking. Vlakfontein and later Thuto Matlhale had a watchmaking training programme sponsored by the watchmakers of Switzerland. Upon completing his training, he joined the teaching staff at Vlakfontein High school. In 1973 Respondent DM went to Switzerland for five to six months to learn to be an instructor and returned to teach at Vlakfontien. In 1983, he took a teaching position at Thuto Matlhale where there was also a watchmaking training programme sponsored by the watchmakers of Switzerland.<sup>69</sup>

Though he did not study at Thuto Matlhale, Respondent MM remembers the technical college well. Born in Mamelodi, he attended Butlabatsatsi Primary School, which they called the "Factory School". He also attended Moretele Primary School, as well as Gamelodi in 1969. He then attended "Boys High" from 1959 to 1960, which became Refentše and a co-ed school in 1960. He attended Mamelodi High School from 1960 to 1967 and Vlakfontein Technical High School in 1968 where he studied electronics. Being in the technical field of study and work, he

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<sup>67</sup> Further Education and Training Amendment Act, Act No. 1 of 2013.

<sup>68</sup> Interview with Respondent TT, 2020.

<sup>69</sup> Interview with Respondent DM, 2020.



was aware of the watchmaking training programme at Vlakfontein as well as at Thuto Matlhale.<sup>70</sup>

Furthermore, and to attend to the issues of intergenerational transfer of knowledge, the researcher also interviewed a sample of different generations of residents in the community in order to discern any commonality or difference of views and experiences about postsecondary education institutions in the community, commencing with the son of the retired teacher in this study. The sixth respondent in this group was also part of the retired teacher cohort.

The next cohort were respondents that were born in Mamelodi and completed their primary and secondary schooling in the community and then elected to study outside of Mamelodi because they craved expanding their experience and studying away from home. This cohort mainly consisted of younger members of the community.

Respondent TM was born in Mamelodi. He commenced his schooling at Moretele Lower Primary School and Dr. Monare Higher Primary School in Mamelodi. He then attended Lehlabile Secondary School in 1987 and obtained a computer certificate from a business school in Pretoria, whereupon he obtained a Library Science qualification from Technikon South Africa (TSA) in 1994. He then started working for Vista University in 1993 while studying and obtaining a honours degree (2002) and a master's degree (2005) in Library Science from Unisa. He enrolled for an LLB degree with Unisa in 2016. He joined the University of Pretoria's Library Services as an employee in 2002 and became head of the University of Pretoria's library in 2010.<sup>71</sup>

Born and raised in Mamelodi, Respondent CV studied at Thuto Matlhale and earned an N4 Certificate qualification in plumbing from the college.<sup>72</sup> Having been born in Mamelodi in 1965, he is a life-long resident in the community and commenced his schooling at Sheranda Primary School. He then attended Vlakfontein Technical High School and Thuto Matlhale. Because his parents were also studying, he was raised by his grandmother and had no choice regarding

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<sup>70</sup> Interview with Respondent MM, 2020.

<sup>71</sup> Interview with Respondent TM, 2020.

<sup>72</sup> Interview with Respondent CV, 2020.

where he could go to school. Thuto Matlhale was local, accessible, thereby reducing the cost of a post-school qualification. He knows about his own school (Thuto Matlhale) and Vista University. He developed a strong affinity for his school and has had enduring friendships as a result of having attended a local school.

Respondent FM was from outside Mamelodi but studied at a postsecondary institution in Mamelodi where he also became part of the teaching staff and also had his son study at the same institution.<sup>73</sup> Respondent FM, hailing from Louis Trichardt in modern day Limpopo Province, studied at Thuto Matlhale and later joined its teaching staff. His son also studied at Thuto Matlhale. Respondent FM commenced his technical education at the Ambagskool (Trade School) in Guyani and was employed by the Volkswagen Capital Motors corporation in Gezina, in Pretoria. He then joined Bosal Africa, an engineering company in Silverton. He joined Thuto Matlhale as an apprentice in 1982 while he was working. Upon qualifying as an artisan, he served as a Technical Training Officer from 1988 to 1996 at Thuto Matlhale. He joined the Ford Motor Company in 2003 as an instructor where he will be retiring at the end of 2020.<sup>74</sup>

Respondent SM<sup>75</sup> (Respondent FM's wife), also remembers Thuto Matlhale and Vista University in Mamelodi. Although Respondent SM commenced her teaching career in Soshanguve, a township on the western side of Pretoria, where she taught for twenty years, she eventually ended up teaching in Mamelodi schools as well. However, she grew up and started her schooling in Mamelodi. Born in Lady Selbourne, from where the residents were forcibly removed to Mamelodi as part of the Urban Areas Act, she came to Mamelodi in 1964. She studied at Ribane Laka Secondary School in Mamelodi until Grade 10 and attended Groblersdal High School before joining the Transvaal College of Education to obtain her teacher's qualification.

Four other respondents were born in Mamelodi and attended postsecondary education institutions outside Mamelodi but ended up working in the postsecondary education field back in their community of Mamelodi. Respondent EK, who was born and raised in Mamelodi, was

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<sup>73</sup> Interview with Respondent FM, 2020.

<sup>74</sup> Interview with Respondent FM, 2020.

<sup>75</sup> Interview with Respondent SM, 2020.

among the first students at Vista University when it was opened in Mamelodi West, next to Vlakfontein Technical High School in 1983.<sup>76</sup> She was a teacher at the time, having obtained her teaching qualification from Tlabane College of Education in Rustenburg following completion of her Junior Certificate (Standard 8 or Grade 10, which was an exit level qualification at the time) at Ribane Laka in Mamelodi. She then completed her high school (Grade 12) studies while working as a teacher. Following her studies at Vista University where she obtained a BA degree, she studied for an honours degree in psychology with Medunsa (Medical University of Southern Africa), and a Further Diploma in Education from the South African College of Teachers' Education (SACTE), a Certificate in Technology from the University of South Africa (Unisa), a Diploma in Management from the Matthew Goniwe School of Leadership and Governance (MGSLG), and enrolled for a master's degree in psychology with the Rand Afrikaans University (RAU, which later became the University of Johannesburg in 2004), which she never completed.<sup>77</sup>

Respondent MJ was born and raised in Mamelodi and only lived outside Mamelodi while studying at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg.<sup>78</sup> He commenced his schooling at Bahlabatsitsi Lower Primary School in 1971 then proceeded to Refentše Primary School. He also attended J. Kekana and matriculated at Mamelodi High School in 1982. The first in his family to go to university, he attended Wits University in 1984 where he obtained a BSc (Chemistry and Chemical Science) degree. Because he intended studying medicine, his brother advised him to first do a BSc degree before commencing with medical studies. He never however proceeded to study medicine and opted to work in the gold industry instead.

After Respondent MJ had been to university, one of his brothers also attended the University of Fort Hare. He was, however, keenly aware of the post-school education institutions in Mamelodi, such as Thuto Matlhale Technical College and Vista University that came later on though these were not of interest to him because of his elected field of study.

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<sup>76</sup> Interview with Respondent EK, 2020.

<sup>77</sup> Interview with Respondent EK, 2020.

<sup>78</sup> Interview with Respondent MJ, 2020.

Another respondent, Respondent PS, was born in Mamelodi, trained as a teacher outside Mamelodi and returned to teach and then become principal of a primary school in Mamelodi.<sup>79</sup> Respondent PS was born and bred in Mamelodi. He started his schooling at Zaminthuthuko Lower Primary School and Umthombo Primary School. He then attended Jafta Mahlangu Secondary School and Mamelodi Secondary School where he completed his studies in 1985. Thereafter he attended the Ndebele College of Education where he obtained a Teaching Diploma in 1993. Respondent PS worked at Kutalane Primary School in KwaNdebele for three years before coming to work in Mamelodi at Zakhele Primary School as Head of Department. He served as Principal of Sikhanyisele Primary School and then Meetse a Bophelo Primary school since 2006. He attended Vista University part-time while working as a teacher and obtained a BA degree. He obtained a BEd and then a master's degree from the University of Pretoria in 2008.

Respondent PM was also born in Mamelodi, in a clinic in Mamelodi West.<sup>80</sup> He attended Balebogeng Primary School in Mamelodi and Staatspresident C.R. Swarts Hoërskool for Grades 8 through 11. He attended the Marvin Harvey Education Center for Grade 12 in Eastlynne and completed his high school education in 2000. From 2001 to 2004, he attended the PC Training College for Information Technology and Business Communication studies. He is currently enrolled at Unisa for a degree in Information Science.

Being born at the Mamelodi Day Hospital, Respondent ZS was born and raised in Mamelodi.<sup>81</sup> She commenced her schooling at Khutalani Primary School, which is now a secondary school. She then attended the Loreto Convent, a Catholic School, from Grade 4 through Grade 12, matriculating in 2006. Due to her results, which did not allow her to attend university, she attended Varsity College, studying for a Public Relations Diploma, which she never completed. Respondent ZS knew about Thuto Matlhale, which is now the Tshwane North TVET College and Vista University, which is now the University of Pretoria Mamelodi Campus. She, however, had no interest in studying at these institutions and did not know what they offered. In 2012,

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<sup>79</sup> Interview with Respondent PS, 2020.

<sup>80</sup> Interview with Respondent PM, 2020.

<sup>81</sup> Interview with Respondent ZS, 2020.

however, she gained a certificate in Tourism from the Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences of the University of Pretoria.

The last respondent, Respondent GN, was also the youngest participant in the study and attended school and his postsecondary education in the community.<sup>82</sup> Respondent GN was born in Limpopo and raised in Mamelodi. He arrived in Mamelodi in 1996 as a one-year old. He attended pre-school at Building the Nation Pre-school where he was part of the first group of children enrolled in this pre-school when he was 3 or 4 years old. He attended primary school at Ramathlale Primary School and high school at Lehlabile Secondary School. He picked these schools because of language of instruction as schools were arranged around mother tongue instruction in the community.

Because Respondent GN wished to study either Computer Science or Aeronautics Engineering, he did not consider any post-school education institutions in Mamelodi. He applied to the University of the Witwatersrand for aeronautics engineering, the University of Pretoria, Hatfield Campus and the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, now the Nelson Mandela University (NMU) for computer science because they were the only institutions offering his elected field of study. NMU accepted him for study, but did not offer accommodation. UP Hatfield indicated their programme was already full for that year's intake and Wits accepted him for study, but notified him too late and after he already joined the University of Pretoria's Mamelodi Campus having learned he could still pursue a course of study in computer engineering through the extended curriculum programmes on offer on the Mamelodi Campus.<sup>83</sup>

All the respondents were interviewed on the basis of semi-structured interviews, mainly in their homes in Mamelodi. These interviews and questions complied with the requirements of the Faculty of Humanities Research and Ethics Committee (See Appendix A and B).

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<sup>82</sup> Interview with Respondent GN, 2020.

<sup>83</sup> Interview with Respondent GN, 2020.

Besides the above discussed oral testimonies, which comprise a critical component of the primary sources material used for this dissertation, there are also other more conventional primary and secondary sources which will be discussed here.

“Many historians regard documents as being the true material of their subject, and the evaluation and interpretation of them as the heart of their professional province”.<sup>84</sup> A primary source gives the words of the witness or the first recorders of an event and include manuscripts, archives, letters, dairies, and speeches. As advised by Shafer in his book *A guide to historical methods* (1974), using such evidence, the study must, among other things, consider a number of concerns required for the validity thereof, such as external criticism, which determines the authenticity of evidence; internal criticism, which determines the credibility of the evidence; the grouping of evidence in relationships of different kinds; the interpretation of evidence in light of many factors and in absence of others; and exposition or the communication of the evidence to others through various means such as a report or an article.<sup>85</sup>

This study considers as primary sources those sources identified as such in the literature. These include archival material, mainly from the University of Pretoria archives, relevant Acts of Parliament and government publications, policy documents, and the abovementioned interviews with selected local community informants. The study relied on archival research to unearth primary sources where available regarding the establishment of the postsecondary education institutions, their mandates, operations and offerings in the community. For this study, a number of archival sources enabled an understanding of the reasons for the establishment of postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi and how these unfolded. These were *Hansard*, the records of the debates of the National Assembly, University of Pretoria’s *Rand Daily Mail* archives, and the archive of the late Professor Karel Bakker of the Architecture Department of the University of Pretoria.

*Hansard*, which is the record of the debates of the National Assembly, provided great insight into the concerns and sensibilities of the government during the time of the establishment of

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<sup>84</sup> A.W. Williams, *Researching Local History: The Human Journey*. 1996. p. 42.

<sup>85</sup> R.J. Shafer, *A guide to historical method*, 1974, p. 117.

the *Kolege Ya Bana Ba Afrika* and the Pretoria Bantu Normal College. While the debates of 1945 to 1947 did not necessarily mention these institutions by name, they, however, reflected the concerns of the national government around the issue of urbanization, provision of education to the different population groups in the country, concerns about the influx of Africans into the cities and how providing education might exacerbate the problem, depending on what kind of education was being offered. These debates also revealed the concerns of the government with not providing education with a particular outcome for Africans in light of all the other missionary and charitable parties taking primary responsibility for “civilizing” the African population and the threat this posed to creating unacceptable expectations among the Africans and their view of their station alongside white South Africans. Furthermore, many documents on African townships, such as Mamelodi, were as mentioned housed in the archive section of the City Council of Pretoria when the Munitoria building burned down in 1997 thereby laying waste to historical treasures before these could be used for any major work.<sup>86</sup>

Secondary sources are “descriptions of the event derived from and based on primary sources”.<sup>87</sup> These include books relevant to the subject under consideration, theses and dissertations, research papers and papers presented at conferences, journal articles, newsletters and magazine articles, as well as internet sources. Published sources, i.e., books, academic studies or institutional histories, dealing with postsecondary education institutions in townships do not exist. This may be partly because this is a rare phenomenon, but also possibly because contemporary scholarship about townships is usually concerned with the role of apartheid planners and the consequences of their machinations on these communities and the country. Academic studies about education in townships have also been chiefly concerned with Bantu Education, its effects and aftermath.<sup>88</sup> Furthermore, a host of academic endeavours have also focused on Apartheid spatial planning, which includes town and regional planning as well

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<sup>86</sup> R.M. Ralinala, ‘Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990’, PhD thesis. 2002. p. 6; V. Allen, *Kruger’s Pretoria: Buildings and personalities of the city in the nineteenth century*, 2007, p. 8.

<sup>87</sup> H.J. Poulton, *The Historian’s Handbook: A Descriptive Guide to Reference Works*. 1977. p. 175.

<sup>88</sup> E. Orbach, ‘A development perspective on the role and function of black colleges of education in South Africa’, *Development Southern Africa*, 1992, 9(2), pp. 199-212; T.S. Thobejane, ‘History of Apartheid Education and the Problems of Reconstruction in South Africa’, *Sociology Study*, 2013, 3(1), pp. 1-12.

as architecture.<sup>89</sup> As a result, the researcher had to not only read broad historical treatments of South Africa around the time of the establishment of the postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi, but also read against the grain on subjects not necessarily related to the concerns of the study but that may enable a view of the thinking, concerns, and preoccupations during the period under consideration.

The above chapter discussed the main concerns of the study, i.e., to document the history of postsecondary institutions in Mamelodi with a view to understanding some pertinent issues regarding the relationship between these institutions and the community they were located in. The chapter also discusses the aim and purpose of the study, including its envisaged contribution to the scholarship on the history of postsecondary education in the township. It describes the historiography of townships along with elucidating the methods and sources used in this case study of postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi.

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<sup>89</sup> G. Steyn, 'The indigenous rondavel –a case for conservation', *South African Journal of Art History*, 21(1), 2006, pp. 21-38; M. Naude, 'A legacy of rondavels and rondavel houses in the northern interior of South Africa', *South African Journal of Art History*, 2007, 22(2), pp.216-237.



## **Chapter 2: Scholarship and literature overview**

This chapter has a four-fold purpose. It seeks to review the scholarship on the history of postsecondary education institutions in townships in South Africa. It also seeks to contextualize the study by considering relevant scholarship of education as a public good and its effect in South African communities, alongside international experience with postsecondary education. It specifically considers the case of African-Americans in the United States of America, as well as the USA educational institutions' development of institutional anchor strategies to improve their impact in the communities they are located in. Finally, the chapter seeks to assess the extent of urban and township historiography with particular focus on postsecondary education in townships so as to locate the significance of the postsecondary education institutions in the Mamelodi community. In the light of the lacuna on the latter, the chapter concludes with an outline of the study which sets out to fill this gap, thereby correcting the misconception resulting from the absence of a history of postsecondary education institutions in the community.

### **2.1. Scholarship on the history of postsecondary education in townships in South Africa**

Quintessentially South African, the history of education in South Africa can be read along the pre-colonial, colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid continuum and its fault lines. This transposes into the traditional dichotomies of state imposition and control and public rejection/opposition and state driven and market directed pushes and pulls framing much of the scholarship on the history of education in South Africa. While this approach has yielded notable insights into the development of education over time, it often also obscures some of the rich and novel scholarship and debates raging in education historiography with the continuous challenge of transforming education to meet the needs and demands of a developing South African education landscape up to contemporary times.

With only minor differences, the periodization of education historiography also conforms to the categorization offered for South African historiography in general. Wessel Visser suggests that “[t]raditionally, historical writings on the history of South Africa has [sic] been divided into broad categories or historiographical schools, namely, a British Imperialist, a settler or

colonialist, an Afrikaner nationalist, a liberal, and a revisionist or radical school.”<sup>90</sup> Visser further notes that, “[t]he emergence of social history is generally also regarded as a by-product of the revisionist school, while some historians argue that the emergence of a black nationalist historiographical tradition stemmed partly from the radical approach during the years of apartheid”.<sup>91</sup> Traditionally, earlier education historiography focused overwhelmingly on education’s response to the development and imposition of racially segregated and apartheid education from state authorities or other economic and social forces shaping education in society.<sup>92</sup> Jonathan Jansen, writing at the cusp of the monumental changes in South Africa in 1990, suggest that education, through reflecting on the past experiences with liberation pedagogy, should be concerned with seeking a “liberation pedagogy” and practice for *after* apartheid [emphasis in the original].<sup>93</sup> For Jansen, this means:

In education, as in politics, South African students, teachers, and parents/workers need to continue the struggle beyond apartheid: to insist on participatory classroom relationships, to constantly interrogate the new pedagogy (whatever form it takes) for its emancipatory potential, to decolonize texts in written and spoken form, to relentlessly “think through” the experiential realities of the people and how they are maintained. In the present South African climate, it may well be timely to stress that liberation education is not negotiable.<sup>94</sup>

Whether with or without Jansen’s injunctions, contemporary education scholarship in South Africa mostly wrestles with the current dispensation’s transformation of education policy endeavours in the post-apartheid era. The utility of this historical approach continues to be

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<sup>90</sup> W. Visser, ‘Trends in South African Historiography and the present state of historical research’, Paper presented at the Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden, 23 September 2004, p. 1.

<sup>91</sup> W. Visser, ‘Trends in South African Historiography and the present state of historical research’, Paper presented at the Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden, 23 September 2004, p. 1.

<sup>92</sup> See for example P. Kallaway, (ed.), *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans*, Ravan Press, 1984; C.B. Collins & R.R. Gillespie, ‘Moving Education Forward to Keep Society Back’: The South African “De Lange Report” Reevaluated’, *Comparative Education Review*, 1984, 28(4); M. Cross, ‘A Historical Review of Education in South Africa: Towards an Assessment’. *Comparative Education*. 1986. 22(3); Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre, ‘Education for Affirmation: Conference Papers’, Scotaville Publishers, Braamfontein, 1988; M. Nkomo, (ed.) *Pedagogy of Domination: Toward a Democratic Education in South Africa*, Africa World Press, Trenton, 1990; P. Maylam, ‘Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 1995, 21(1); C. Soudien and Peter Kallaway, ‘Education, Equity and Transformation’, *Springer Science & Business Media*, 1999; P. Kallaway, *The History of Education Under Apartheid, 1948-1994: The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened*, Pearson South Africa, 2002; M. Cross et al, ‘Unfulfilled promise: radical discourses in South African educational historiography, 1970-2007’, *History of Education*, 1(26); J.J. Booysse et al, *A history of schooling in South Africa: Method and Context*, Van Schaik Publishers, Pretoria, 2011; T.D. Thobejane, ‘History of Apartheid Education and the Problem of Reconstruction in South Africa’, *Sociology Study*, 2013, 3(1); H. Sapire, ‘Township Histories, Insurrection and Liberation in late Apartheid South Africa’, *South African Historical Journal*, 2013, 65(2).

<sup>93</sup> J.D. Jansen, ‘In search of liberation pedagogy in South Africa’, *The Journal of Education*, 172(2), 1990, p. 68.

<sup>94</sup> J.D. Jansen, ‘In search of liberation pedagogy in South Africa’, *The Journal of Education*, 172(2), 1990, p. 69.

relevant in understanding historical and modern contestations with education in the post-apartheid context. For Jürgen Oelkers, writing in 2004, “education historiography is not only a question of construction of knowledge but also of selection (of events, names and meanings) and of silences within history of education”.<sup>95</sup> However, Oelkers also indicates that “we have no other choice than to rewrite the history of education again and again and to put the process of selection in historiography on as rational a basis as possible”.<sup>96</sup>

Recent scholarship on pre-colonial history (pre-British Imperialist/Colonial-Settler histories) in South Africa supports the general consensus of education history that formal European school education in South Africa can be traced back to 1658,<sup>97</sup> soon after the establishment in 1652 of the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) refreshment station in the Cape Colony. Johannes Seroto, writing in the *Indilinga—African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems* in 2011 contends that “forms of formal and informal teaching and learning existed among the indigenous peoples of Southern Africa before the arrival of the European in the Cape Colony in 1652”,<sup>98</sup> which is now referred to as the pre-colonial period in history. For Seroto, “the children of indigenous peoples in Southern Africa learned in different ways, where in the early years they learned much from their mother and extended family and formally through initiation ceremonies.”<sup>99</sup> Seroto also notes that “indigenous education, which was predominantly informal, prevailed before formal and institutionalized education was introduced by the European settlers on their arrival in the Cape Colony”.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> M. Cross et al, ‘Unfulfilled promise: radical discourses in South African educational historiography, 1970-2007’, *History of Education*, 1(26), p. 3; J. Oelkers, ‘Nohl, Durkheim, and Mead: Three different types of “History of Education”’. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*. 23, p. 365.

<sup>96</sup> J. Oelkers, ‘Nohl, Durkheim, and Mead: Three different types of “History of Education”’. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*. 23, p. 365.

<sup>97</sup> C.C. Wolhuter. ‘Teacher Training in South Africa: Past, Present and Future’. *Education Research and Perspectives*. 2006. 33(2), p. 124;  
<https://www.k12academics.com/Education%20Worldwide/Education%20in%20South%20Africa/history-education-south-africa> Accessed on 12 January 2021;  
<https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/amersfoort-legacy-history-education-south-africa#:~:text=The%20opening%20moment%20of%20education,school%20is%20begun%20in%201658.> Accessed on 12 January 2021.

<sup>98</sup> J. Seroto. ‘Indigenous education during the pre-colonial period in Southern Africa’. *Indilinga—African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems*. 2011. 10(1), pp. 77-78.

<sup>99</sup> J. Seroto, ‘Indigenous education during the pre-colonial period in Southern Africa’. *Indilinga—African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems*. 2011. 10(1), p. 78.

<sup>100</sup> J. Seroto, ‘Indigenous education during the pre-colonial period in Southern Africa’. *Indilinga—African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems*. 2011. 10(1), p. 85.

In the colonial period, dated as 1652 to 1910, and speaking about European schooling at the Cape, C.C. Wolhuter reports that a typically colonial set-up, based on racial segregation characterized Cape education from a very early age where the colonial government became involved in the supply of education to white children and teachers for white schools were imported from the Netherlands, and after 1810 from England.<sup>101</sup> This reading of the genesis of formal school education supports the view that, following the colonization of what is modern day South Africa, the first 'free' farmers who were allowed to settle in the Cape in 1657 were from the Netherlands and then the Cape Colony was taken over by England in 1806.<sup>102</sup> Wolhuter also notes that

In the Transvaal, as in the Orange Free State, teachers were originally drawn from the Cape Colony and from the Netherlands. In 1882 the Rev. S.J. Du Toit became Superintendent of Education. His Education Act of 1882 made provision for the establishment of an institution for the training of teachers and civil servants, to be situated in Pretoria (the Transvaal capital). The institution was opened in 1883 and existed until 1887. After the Transvaal became a British colony in 1902, the colonial administration was reluctant to continue importing teachers from the Netherlands, which led to the establishment of the Pretoria Normal College (a teachers' training college).<sup>103</sup>

"The period from 1910 to 1948, when the foundations of the national education system were being put in place"<sup>104</sup> can also be read as Afrikaner Nationalist historiography in the pre-apartheid era because it represents the continuities of racialised education provision in the region. The Union of South Africa government, established in 1910 from the amalgamation of the Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, Transvaal, and Natal, assigned the responsibility of education for whites to the four provincial governments.<sup>105</sup> During the apartheid era, which is formally noted as from 1948 to 1994 (Afrikaner Nationalist, Liberal, and Radical historiography), the codification of the racialised nature of education provision took on its draconian posture with the introduction of education policies to bolster racially separate and unequal education

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<sup>101</sup> C.C. Wolhuter, 'Teacher Training in South Africa: Past, Present and Future'. *Education Research and Perspectives*. 2006. 33(2), p. 125-126.

<sup>102</sup> C.C. Wolhuter, 'Teacher Training in South Africa: Past, Present and Future'. *Education Research and Perspectives*. 2006. 33(2), p. 125.

<sup>103</sup> C.C. Wolhuter, 'Teacher Training in South Africa: Past, Present and Future'. *Education Research and Perspectives*. 2006. 33(2), pp. 126-127.

<sup>104</sup> P. Kallaway, 'The forgotten history of South African education'. *Southern African Review of Education*. 2012. 18(1), p. 16.

<sup>105</sup> C.C. Wolhuter, 'Teacher Training in South Africa: Past, Present and Future'. *Education Research and Perspectives*. 2006. 33(2), p. 127.

to the different population groups in the country. Accordingly, state control was asserted over missionary schooling and black education was segregated through fragmentation of the education system and differentiation.<sup>106</sup> This effort was supported by a host of legislation, promulgated mainly by the white, minority ruling section of the South African population, generally under the auspices and leadership of the Afrikaner Nationalist government. Seminal education legislation such as the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the Extension of University Education Act of 1959, the Coloured Person's Education Act of 1963, and the Indian Education Act of 1965 were keystone achievements in setting the nature and tone of formal education in the country.

These various acts established different departments to operationalize and navigate the new education landscape. In the case of Bantu Education, the Department of Native Affairs took control of black education; the Department of Coloured Affairs took responsibility for the education of people from mixed descent and finally, the Department of Indian Affairs took responsibility for the education of persons from Indian descent in the country.<sup>107</sup> "The Bantu Education Act (1953) was designed by the Minister of Native Affairs, which was later named the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development".<sup>108</sup> Apart from race, schools and universities were also classified according to ethnicity.<sup>109</sup> Though these efforts did not go unchallenged or unopposed, they formed the bedrock and foundation of education policy, thinking, and practice in South Africa resulting in what Michael Cross considers the problem of race, gender, location and authorship being major issues in South African educational historiography from the apartheid era to the present.<sup>110</sup>

Cross further postures that the development of the school crisis between 1976 and 1980, triggered by the student uprising against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction

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<sup>106</sup> M. Cross, 'A Historical Review of Education in South Africa: Towards an Assessment'. *Comparative Education*. 1986. 22(3), p. 191.

<sup>107</sup> Y. Booley, 'The role of education in the challenges faced by South Africa in the 21<sup>st</sup> century'. 2017. pp. 4-5. <http://www.wynghs.co.za/storage/news/Science-essay-Yusra-Booley.pdf> Accessed on 12 January 2021.

<sup>108</sup> H. Tomlin, 'Contesting ideologies and the struggle for equality: Reconsidering the politics of education in South Africa'. *Policy Features in Education*. 2016. 14(6) p. 848.

<sup>109</sup> D. Hay & M. Monnapula-Mapesela, 'South African Higher Education Before and After 1994' in E. Blitzer (ed). *Higher Education in South Africa*. 2009. p. 12.

<sup>110</sup> M. Cross et al, 'Unfulfilled promise: radical discourses in South African educational historiography, 1970-2007'. *History of Education*. 1(26), p. 3.

in schools as part of apartheid education, appears to have had the effect of committing many social scientists to a more nuanced approach to the study of education in South Africa.<sup>111</sup> Cross et al argue that

the transition from apartheid society and the process of national reconstruction came to be thought about within the horizon of possibilities different from the rigid paradigmatic tradition in which radical change was conceptualized by the short-lived radical-neo-Marxist school of the 1970s and 1980s in South African education.<sup>112</sup>

With the advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994, the new South African government formulated a national education policy, according to Wolhuter, which was based on the principles of: (a) democratization (where education and training should be built on the principles of democracy, characterized by active participation by all parties, in particular teachers, pupil/students, parents and the community); (b) equity (where there would be equal education opportunities for all); (c) desegregation (where one of the first steps taken in the field of education was the collapse of homeland education ministries of education, as well as the White, Indian and Coloured ministries of education into one National Department of Education); and (d) multiculturalism (where the entire education system was to be geared towards the realization of the potential of the entire population, with the societal objectives of economic development and the moulding of national unity as final goals).<sup>113</sup>

As can be discerned from the aforementioned, these policy objectives are a direct response to the historical trajectory of formal education in South Africa where colonial and apartheid governments sought to achieve the direct opposite of what the new democratic dispensation now sought to achieve. Furthermore, these policy objectives were also integral to the political struggle against colonialism and apartheid of the indigenous, oppressed and exploited black majority of the South African population. The above objectives, though laudable by any measure, have led to remarkable contestations in the modern South African educational landscape, which many view as still untransformed in terms of the lived experiences of the

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<sup>111</sup> M. Cross, 'A Historical Review of Education in South Africa: towards an assessment'. *Comparative Education*. 1986. 22(3), p. 185; M. Cross et al, 'Unfulfilled promise: radical discourses in South African educational historiography, 1970-2007'. *History of Education*. 2008. 1(26), p. 1.

<sup>112</sup> M. Cross et al, 'Unfulfilled promise: radical discourses in South African educational historiography, 1970-2007'. *History of Education*. 2008. 1(26), p. 2.

<sup>113</sup> C.C. Wolhuter. 'Teacher Training in South Africa: Past, Present and Future'. *Education Research and Perspectives*. 2006. 33(2), p. 131.

majority of the historically disadvantaged South Africans, a modern euphemism for black South Africans, who continue to be trapped in the colonial and apartheid geopolitical spatial constructs of the townships and rural areas in the country.

In his 2012 survey of South African education historiography titled “The forgotten history of South African education”, Peter Kallaway references Andy Green’s book *Education and State Formation* published in 1990, when he cautions that

although there are many sound analyses of the fundamental role of mass education in the constitution of 20<sup>th</sup> century society and its successes and failures, it can be argued that this story has not fully taken its rightful place as a central aspect of mainstream history, despite numerous attempts by educational historians to chart the field.<sup>114</sup>

For Kallaway, “what is revealed” in his survey of South African historiography, “is that South African historians, whether liberal, Afrikaner nationalist, Africanist, revisionist or those belonging to the social history or popular history traditions, have on the whole not placed education at the centre of the historical picture. This leads him to further caution against what he sees as “the baby and bathwater phenomenon” in contemporary South African historiography and education policy development. Kallaway makes the important observation that “in the South African case, the attempt to characterize the whole history of education as flawed on account of its association with apartheid led to the wholesale abandonment of educational traditions build up over two centuries”.<sup>115</sup> Kallaway postures that it would serve South African historiography and policy development well if “the successes and failures of the post-1994 system are to be understood in terms of the continuity with that past as well as the ruptures and innovations”<sup>116</sup> of the period.

Kallaway also observes that the period prior to 1910 proved to be the least researched and that the major focus has been on the period 1910-1948, when the foundations of the national

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<sup>114</sup> P. Kallaway, ‘The forgotten history of South African education’. *Southern African Review of Education*. 18(1), p. 9.

<sup>115</sup> P. Kallaway, ‘The forgotten history of South African education’. *Southern African Review of Education*. 18(1), p.12.

<sup>116</sup> P. Kallaway, ‘The forgotten history of South African education’. *Southern African Review of Education*. 18(1), p. 13.

education system were being put in place. He points out that there was curious little material on the apartheid period from 1948-1994.<sup>117</sup> He also notes that

there is a major emphasis on black education and the opposition to Bantu Education, but there is very little consideration of the literature related to the People's Education Movement or any careful exploration of the issues related to 'liberatory education' and the links to worker education in the emergent black unions.<sup>118</sup>

In his conclusion, Kallaway reports that "the 21<sup>st</sup> century is notable for the lack of attention to history and an unwillingness to see contemporary political culture through the lens of past experience",<sup>119</sup> which Jansen also cautioned against earlier.<sup>120</sup>

Akin to some of the effects of the 1976 student uprisings on the study of education,<sup>121</sup> Linda Chisholm et al, in their consideration titled "Decolonising history of education in South African teacher education" in 2019,<sup>122</sup> observed that "the #Rhodesmustfall and #Feesmustfall student campaigns of 2015 and 2016 in South Africa brought into sharp focus the centrality of history to the debate about the decolonisation of university curriculum".<sup>123</sup> In their study, Chisholm et al noted that "while there has been some research into the nature of the history of curriculum in postapartheid (sic) South Africa, the nature of history of education in teacher training has not received a great deal of attention".<sup>124</sup> Their study, which seemingly echoes Kallaway's observations earlier, revealed "the continued intellectual academic apartheid that exists in South Africa, and the failure to create a history of education in South Africa that does full justice to the intellectual approaches and research that do exist".<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> P. Kallaway, 'The forgotten history of South African education'. *Southern African Review of Education*. 18(1), p. 17.

<sup>118</sup> P. Kallaway, 'The forgotten history of South African education'. *Southern African Review of Education*. 18(1), pp. 16-17.

<sup>119</sup> P. Kallaway, 'The forgotten history of South African education'. *Southern African Review of Education*. 18(1), p. 18.

<sup>120</sup> J.D. Jansen, 'In search of liberation pedagogy in South Africa', *The Journal of Education*, 172(2), 1990, p. 68.

<sup>121</sup> M. Cross et al, 'Unfulfilled promise: radical discourses in South African education historiography, 1970-2007'. *History of Education*. 2008. p. 1.

<sup>122</sup> L. Chisholm et al, 'Decolonising history of education in South African teacher education'. *Southern African Review of Education*. 24(1), p. 75.

<sup>123</sup> L. Chisholm et al, 'Decolonising history of education in South African teacher education'. *Southern African Review of Education*. 24(1), p. 75.

<sup>124</sup> L. Chisholm, et al, 'Decolonising history of education in South African teacher education'. *Southern African Review of Education*. 24(1), p. 75.

<sup>125</sup> L. Chisholm et al, 'Decolonising history of education in South African teacher education'. *Southern African Review of Education*. 24(1), p. 87.



While there is no insurmountable disagreement on the education policy objectives of the post-apartheid South African context, much of the contestation arises mainly from how these objectives are to be realized to achieve their lofty ideals. While the first part of this contention may seem located in the technical sphere of policy development and implementation and the second part in the political sphere, a nuanced reading of these issues reveal some consensus in the public's view of the value and utility of education, i.e., that education is a public good that needs to be harnessed to address the inequalities bequeathed by the colonial and apartheid legacies. This view, as this exercise demonstrates, is also informed by the historical trajectory of the development and evolution of formal education in South Africa.

## 2.2. Education and the public good

The ability of education to enable social and economic mobility and also positively affect families, communities, and society in general, has led to education being viewed as a public good. However, and like so much else, the idea that education is a public good enjoys great debate in contemporary society and academic literature. In 2015, Jan Polcyn offered a treatise of 'Education as a Public Good' in the *Bulletin of the Berdyansk University of Management* where he argued for education as a public good. Polcyn proffered that a classic definition of public goods are those goods that are characterised by their non-rivalrous consumption, which means that their marginal cost is zero and that their consumption does not exclude the public.<sup>126</sup> However, for economists, as argued by Jane Shaw in 2010, a public good is not simply something that is "good for the public", it is also something that benefits many people, including those who do not pay for it. Advanced education can be categorized as such as it fosters greater productivity and innovation, improving the lives of everyone, not just those who bought the education.<sup>127</sup>

But education also carries with it the implications of improving the lives of individuals, enabling their social and economic mobility, which in turn, benefits the broader society. This particular feature, i.e., individual before social benefits, seems to trouble the waters somewhat in the debate about whether education is a public good or not. For business, education is simply a

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<sup>126</sup> J. Polcyn, 'Education as a Public Good', *Bulletin of the Berdyansk University of Management and Business*, 2015, 1(29), p. 32; R. Smethurst, 'Education: a public or private good?', *RSA Journal*, 1995, 143(5465), p. 37.

<sup>127</sup> J.S. Shaw, 'Education—A Bad Public Good', *The Independent Review*, 2010, 15( 2), p. 241.

private good that the individual seeking it must pay for. On the other hand, education as a public good is a public investment and the responsibility of the state. In his Edmund Rich Memorial Lecture at Oxford University, the economist Richard Smethurst, responded in 1995 to a question posed to him by the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce that education is neither solely a public nor a private good. For Smethurst it is both, because some education is overwhelmingly a public good as its benefits accrue very widely to society at large as well as to the individual, while at the same time some education, while benefiting society, offers overwhelming benefits to the individual more than to society.<sup>128</sup>

In Europe education has also been regarded as a transnational (global) good. In this context, treating education as a public good allows for a strategic perspective on the benefits of education. On the one hand, this leads to the personal development of the individual, and on the other, it provides global benefits for whole societies under the inductive effects of education because education undoubtedly contributes to the creation of social capital, which is treated as a public, or at least a quasi-public, good.<sup>129</sup> Furthermore, Elena Kocaqi (Levanti) reported that the ministers of the European Union at a summit on Higher Education in Prague in 2001 jointly declared that higher education is “a public good” and “a public responsibility”. She further stated that education, and especially higher education, was considered to be one of the most important public goods and as such, a necessity and responsibility of the state.<sup>130</sup>

Finally, Gareth Williams from the University College of London (UCL) Institute of Education argued in 2016 that the financial, socio-political, and ideological pressures on the public fiscus have all played a part in bringing about the shift of higher education away from being treated as a public service towards being considered a marketable commodity subject to the laws of supply and demand by individuals and organised groups.<sup>131</sup> In this regard, much of the debate

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<sup>128</sup> R. Smethurst, ‘Education: a public or private good?’, *RSA Journal*, 1995, 143(5465), p. 38.

<sup>129</sup> J. Polcyn, ‘Education as a Public Good’, *Bulletin of the Berdyansk University of Management and Business*, 2015, 1 (29), p. 33.

<sup>130</sup> E. Kocaqi (Levanti), ‘The Higher Education a Private or a Public good?’ *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, 2015, 4(3), p. 432.

<sup>131</sup> G. Williams, ‘Higher education: Public good or private commodity?’ *London Review of Education*, 2016, 14(1), pp. 132, 134.

is really about how higher education should be paid for,<sup>132</sup> instead of its value and meaning to society and particularly given the competition of other services on the public fiscus.

On the African continent, including South Africa, this debate has taken on a different hue because mainstream conceptualisations of higher education and the public good are underpinned by particular understandings of the nature and form of higher education and how knowledge is acquired, developed and disseminated. These are orientations that may be very far from the reality of highly unequal, socially stratified, and politically complex societies within which higher education is deeply embedded as is often the case on the African continent.<sup>133</sup> In 2008, Mahmood Mamdani traced the debate on education as a public good in Africa to the “Bretton Woods Institutions and the Assault on the Developmentalist University” of postcolonial Africa where the “World Bank began with a frontal assault on African universities at a conference of Vice Chancellors of African universities that it called in Harare in 1986.”<sup>134</sup> Mamdani observed that “the [World] Bank had a substantial critique of the developmentalist university [which led it to conclude] that the beneficiaries should share a significant part of the cost of higher education and that the state should reduce [its] funding to higher education”<sup>135</sup>. Mamdani proffers that “overall, the Bank framed a debate in which the private and the public, the market and the state, were seen more as alternatives rather than complementaries between which there needed to be appropriate relations”.<sup>136</sup>

Elaine Unterhalter from the University College of London and her colleagues in 2018 then note that there seems to be two rather distinct ways in which higher education and the public good have been conceptualized. One, higher education as instrumental in shaping a version of the public good where its qualifications, knowledge production, innovation, development of the professional classes, and expertise are perceived to lead to particular manifestations of public

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<sup>132</sup> G. Williams, ‘Higher education: Public good or private commodity?’ *London Review of Education*, 2016, 14(1), p. 139.

<sup>133</sup> E. Unterhalter et al, ‘Conceptualising Higher Education and the Public Good in Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, and South Africa’, Paper delivered at CIES conference in Mexico City, March, 2018, p. 2.

<sup>134</sup> M. Mamdani, ‘Higher Education, the State and the Marketplace’. *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*. 2008. p. 7.

<sup>135</sup> M. Mamdani, ‘Higher Education, the State and the Marketplace’. *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*. 2008. p. 8.

<sup>136</sup> M. Mamdani, ‘Higher Education, the State and the Marketplace’. *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*. 2008. p. 8.

good, delineated as economic, social, political or cultural. And two, higher education as intrinsic, where the intellectual, physical and cultural experiences enabled through higher education express and enact the public good, e.g., prejudice reduction, democratisation, critical thinking, and active citizenship.<sup>137</sup> Consequently, a reconceptualisation of the public was required in these contexts and some challenge to contemporary conceptualisations of the private, given the strong obligations of individuals to extended families, and the sharing of the benefits of higher education amongst their communities of origin.<sup>138</sup> As a comment on the extent and robust engagement on the issue, Joy Papier noted in her 2014 review of the publication of essays edited by Brenda Leibowitz, *Higher Education for the Public Good: Views from the South* (2012), that the contributions to the publication engaging the purposes of higher education 'in the South' were well explicated. Rather than the 'public good' being an esoteric notion, the book served to concretise the concept, through its combination of philosophical and empirical contributions.<sup>139</sup>

There are visible shifts in the international community regarding who must pay for higher education, which suggest a shift from higher education being a public good which the state should be responsible for, to being a private good which the individual seeking such education should be responsible for. In South Africa and on the African continent, there are debates about the public good of higher education that seek to reconceptualise the notion and contextual meaning and implications of this concept for the African experience. This is due to a number of reasons, rooted, among other things, in South Africa's history with higher education and the recent massive transformation of South African society post-1994. The legacy of apartheid is a very unequal society based on race and ethnic differences promulgated by statutes in the pre-1994 dispensation. That the state has a responsibility to transform South African society and address the historic disadvantages visited on the black majority of its citizens, appears not as yet to have room for debates on who must foot the bill for equity, equality and access to higher education for those groups in society historically and deliberately barred from such access.

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<sup>137</sup> E. Unterhalter et al, 'Conceptualising Higher Education and the Public Good in Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, and South Africa', Paper delivered at CIES conference in Mexico City, March 2018, p. 18.

<sup>138</sup> E. Unterhalter et al, 'Conceptualising Higher Education and the Public Good in Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, and South Africa', Paper delivered at CIES conference in Mexico City, March 2018, p. 21.

<sup>139</sup> J. Papier. Review: Leibowitz, Brenda (2012). 'Higher Education for the Public Good: Views from the South', *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*, 2014, 2(1), p. 89.

Current debates grapple with transformation of the higher education system and improving access for the majority of the historically excluded populations in the country. It is quite possible that some time in the future, with the appropriate massification of the system, the debate on who must pay for higher education might also rear its head in South African society. For now, there is general consensus that the state has the responsibility to provide higher education to the historically disadvantaged members of society and the issues are to what extent and how well this should happen.

For this study, it is critical to note that, though education as a public good is currently being debated globally, in South Africa and on the African continent, education is a public good. This is largely due to education's ability to transform people and society from the ravages of colonialism and apartheid. Accordingly, the communities of the South<sup>140</sup> are engaged in efforts to reconceptualise the public and the private aspects of education as a public good with a view to its utility in social development and transformation, which are key challenges for these communities. The respondents in this study also confirmed this view of education from their experiences and uptake of opportunities for postsecondary education in their lives, whether these were taken up in postsecondary institutions in Mamelodi or outside of the community. Many of their decisions on where and what to study were determined, in the main, by costs and affordability of study programmes. As an example, the respondent that commenced his postsecondary education at the Pretoria Bantu Normal College in 1952 indicated that he wanted to study further and chose to study teaching at the Normal College because he had no money for university study.<sup>141</sup> The youngest respondent in the cohort had different options available to him and pursued academic studies in the modern fields of computer science and computer engineering thanks to state subsidies available to indigent students.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> According to David Slater in his inaugural address at Loughborough University in the UK in 1995, the terms "North/South" are categorisations that "have been employed within the interpretative arena to draw our attention to the nature of global disparities", whose usage raises significant questions concerning the representation of the other in international relations. For instance, they can encourage us to examine the dominant forms of enframing non-Western others that have been deployed across a long sweep of geopolitical history. D. Slater. "Geopolitical imaginations across the North-South divide: issues of difference, development and power". *Political Geography*, 1997, 16(8), p. 634.

<sup>141</sup> Interview with Respondent WS, 2020.

<sup>142</sup> Interview with Respondent GN, 2020.

Furthermore, the events of 2015 to 2018 driven by the #FeesMustFall movement illustrated the view of a large segment of South African society that higher education should be free to the historically disadvantaged populations in the country. On 16 December 2017, the then South African President, Jacob Zuma, announced that government would subsidise free higher education for poor and working class students.<sup>143</sup> Responding to President Cyril Ramaphosa's State of the Nation Address (SONA) 2019, the Minister of Higher Education, Science and Technology, Dr. Blade Nzimande, reported that "[i]n line with the President's focus, over the next 10-year period our department will focus on the effectiveness and expansion of the new bursary scheme in both the university and TVET college sectors" and confirmed that "[s]tudents from families earning less than R350 000 per annum [will] receive comprehensive support in the form of a bursary for the duration of their studies".<sup>144</sup>

### 2.3. Urban and township history with specific reference to Mamelodi

In his 2002 review of Paul Maylam's book *South Africa's Racial Past: The History and Historiography of Racism, Segregation and Apartheid*, Christopher Saunders notes that Maylam is well-known for his survey of the history of (black) African people in South Africa and is therefore best placed to write a book on 'urban apartheid'.<sup>145</sup> However, Saunders questions some of Maylam's treatment of segregation. For Saunders, Maylam "does not emphasise how [segregation] was seen by many of its advocates as a protective device, quite different from, and superior to, mere repression and noted [different from Maylam] that the 'sanitation syndrome' was more justification than reason for urban segregation".<sup>146</sup> Among his extensive work, Maylam also published a survey of South African urban historiography in the *Journal of Southern African Studies* in 1995. In "Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography", Maylam noted that two decades ago South African urban historiography was in its infancy because by the mid-1970s very few scholars had actually engaged in any critical historical analysis of urbanization, urban policy or the urban

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<sup>143</sup> Z. Areff & D. Spies, 'Zuma announces free higher education for poor and working class students', *News24*, 2017, 16 December.

<sup>144</sup> B.E. Nzimande, 'A Dream for a better South Africa', The Minister of Higher Education, Science and Technology's address during the 2019 SONA debate.

<sup>145</sup> C. Saunders. 'Saunders on Maylam, "South Africa's Racial Past: The History and Historiography of Racism, Segregation and Apartheid"'. H-Net Reviews. *Humanities & Social Sciences Online*.

<sup>146</sup> C. Saunders. 'Saunders on Maylam, "South Africa's Racial Past: The History and Historiography of Racism, Segregation and Apartheid"'. H-Net Reviews. *Humanities & Social Sciences Online*.

experience.<sup>147</sup> Bill Freund is more specific when he indicates that “the real development of urban history in South Africa has mostly taken place since 1970”.<sup>148</sup> Freund further posits that

the history that flourished in South Africa from 1970s to the 1990s did not only stem from the availability of particular intellectually fertile texts, it was deeply engaged with growing resistance to apartheid and this was undoubtedly the key element in the urban history that was spun throughout the period.<sup>149</sup>

However, Maylam also reported that shortly thereafter and in the past 15 years or so there had been an outpouring of work in South African urban history resulting in the terrain of South African urban history becoming highly interdisciplinary.<sup>150</sup> For Maylam, the historiography of urban segregation has become massive and it continues to grow.<sup>151</sup> However, his

review of the urban historiography shows that it is difficult to pinpoint the origins of urban racial segregation in South Africa and to isolate dominant motives or imperatives [because] one view stresses the significance of the 1950 Group Areas Act as the key measure bringing about urban segregation, [though] the Group Areas Act was only one of many pieces of legislation enacted over the years and drawn up to push segregation further.<sup>152</sup>

Consequently, Maylam cautions that “over-emphasis on the Group Areas Act conceals the continuities”<sup>153</sup> of the origins and development of urban segregation in South Africa. Furthermore, he notes that “what recent research does suggest is that, as drastic and destructive a measure as it was, the Group Areas Act did not radically transform the spatial configuration of South African cities. The measure represented a continuation and culmination of pre-1948 trends and policies”.<sup>154</sup> Johan Bergh further bolsters this caution when he reports that the establishment of ‘locations’ or reserves, as townships are also known is in the literature, dates back even before the Group Areas Act. According to Bergh,

Despite the 1855 prohibition of African ownership of fixed property, the newly established Transvaal government and legislature went ahead at an early stage to plan locations or reserves for African communities through a Volksraad decision of November 1853 and the Field-Cornet Instructions of

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<sup>147</sup> P. Maylam. ‘Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography’. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 1995. 21(1), p. 19.

<sup>148</sup> B. Freund, ‘Urban History in South Africa’, *South African Historical Journal*, 2005, 52, p. 20.

<sup>149</sup> B. Freund, ‘Urban History in South Africa’, *South African Historical Journal*, 2005, 52, p. 22.

<sup>150</sup> P. Maylam. ‘Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography’. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 1995. 21(1), p. 20.

<sup>151</sup> P. Maylam. ‘Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography’. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 1995. 21(1), p. 22.

<sup>152</sup> P. Maylam. ‘Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography’. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 1995. 21(1), p. 27.

<sup>153</sup> P. Maylam. ‘Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography’. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 1995. 21(1), p. 27.

<sup>154</sup> P. Maylam. ‘Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography’. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 1995. 21(1), p. 27.

1858,<sup>155</sup> which led to the establishment of a Native Location Commission provided by the Pretoria Convention after the Anglo-Transvaal War of 1880-1881.<sup>156</sup> The outcome of its efforts became a point of departure, at the beginning of the twentieth century, for the second Location Commission (1905-1908) and the 1913 Native Land Act.<sup>157</sup>

However and notwithstanding the aforementioned, Maylam concedes that “perhaps the key institution of segregation and apartheid has been the black township”.<sup>158</sup> He concludes that “just as apartheid has fragmented cities and divided up the urban population, so has the historiography tended to concentrate its attention on oppressive, discriminatory urban policy and on the black victims of that policy”.<sup>159</sup>

As indicated above, urban and township history have been the focus of numerous studies over the past few decades.<sup>160</sup> Consequently, while townships abound so too do their histories. While there are a number of studies, however, their predominant focus and attention has been limited and prescribed by the context and issues in South Africa in general and the greater concern with the political histories of urban and township experiences. However, since the 1980s few townships have been studied. The 2002 PhD thesis *Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990* by R.M. Ralinala is an exception. Though it follows Tsheko Chiloane’s 1990 MA thesis “The Establishment of Black Settlement Areas in and around Pretoria with Special Reference to Mamelodi, 1900-1970”, it is probably the most comprehensive and insightful treatment of the history of Mamelodi from a social history perspective. Ralinala acknowledges that a number of social historians have worked on townships to tackle the experiences and reactions of urban blacks to apartheid. His own research methodology for his study of Mamelodi is informed by Gary Baines’ study of New Brighton in Port Elizabeth.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> J. Bergh, “(To) Reserve to the Native Tribes Such Locations as They may Be Fairly and Equitably Entitled to”: The Transvaal Location Commission (1881-1899), *South African Historical Journal*, 2005, 54(1), p. 3.

<sup>156</sup> J. Bergh, “(To) Reserve to the Native Tribes Such Locations as They may Be Fairly and Equitably Entitled to”: The Transvaal Location Commission (1881-1899), *South African Historical Journal*, 2005, 54(1), p. 5.

<sup>157</sup> J. Bergh, “(To) Reserve to the Native Tribes Such Locations as They may Be Fairly and Equitably Entitled to”: The Transvaal Location Commission (1881-1899), *South African Historical Journal*, 2005, 54(1), p. 15.

<sup>158</sup> P. Maylam. ‘Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography’. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 1995. 21(1), p. 35.

<sup>159</sup> P. Maylam. ‘Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography’. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 1995. 21(1), p. 37.

<sup>160</sup> P. Maylam. ‘Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography’. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 1995. 21(1), p. 22.

<sup>161</sup> G.F. Baines, ‘New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, 1903-1953: A History of an Urban African Community, PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1994.



In agreement with Ralinala, one historian who succeeded in illuminating this dimension of urban history is Hilary Sapire through her 1988 PhD thesis, *African Urbanisation and Struggles Against Municipal Control in Brakpan, 1920-1958*.<sup>162</sup> Sapire's study included the struggle organised by the local people against their local authority, which ranged from petitions and deputations to strikes and boycotts. In her study, Sapire argues that these forms of resistance influenced and modified the structures and systems of domination.<sup>163</sup> Sapire's scholarship was informed by her understanding that:

The recent outpouring of local urban social histories of the Witwatersrand has significantly deepened our understanding of African protest, culture and consciousness in South Africa's urban centres. They have demonstrated the multifacious ways in which African initiative and agency challenged, sometimes colluded with, and thus shaped the evolving segregationist social order.<sup>164</sup>

Furthermore, Ralinala viewed Yvonne Muthien's 1989 doctoral work, which traces methods of resistance against pass control in the Cape Peninsula from 1939-1965, as a remarkable contribution to the scholarship of African resistance within a township context. Arguing that daily struggles and organised resistance confounded the ability of the state to secure control over African people, Muthien's thesis challenges the top-down approach which has portrayed African people as silent victims who did not respond to state policies. Instead, she maintains that the various forms of African resistance across townships forced the state to introduce new policies time after time, an acknowledgement of the power of the politics of African resistance.

A book that has boosted South African urban historiography is *The People's City: African life in Twentieth-Century Durban* (1996). Edited by Paul Maylam and Iain Edwards, the study analyses socio-economic and political aspects of the city of Durban from the perspective of 'ordinary people'.<sup>165</sup> In 1998, Philip Bonner and Lauren Segal published *Soweto: A History*, based on the video documentary "Soweto: A History" screened in Britain, Australia and South Africa. Bonner and Segal reported that the vision for the project was "first conceived by the History Workshop

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<sup>162</sup> R.M. Ralinala, 'Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990', PhD thesis, 2002, p. 6.

<sup>163</sup> H. Sapire, 'African urbanisation and struggles against municipal control in Brakpan, 1920-1958', PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1988, p. 62.

<sup>164</sup> H. Sapire, 'Apartheid's "Testing Ground": Urban "Native Policy" and African Politics in Brakpan, South Africa, 1943-1948', *Journal of African History*, 1994, 35, pp. 100-101.

<sup>165</sup> P. Maylam & I. Edwards (eds.), *The People's City: African Life in Twentieth-Century Durban*. University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 1996; R.M. Ralinala, 'Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990', PhD thesis, 2002, p. 8.

at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1986 [as part of] their quest to accord a central place within the writing of South African history to the experiences of the often silenced black population”.<sup>166</sup> Furthermore, Phillip Bonner and Noor Nieftagodien from the University of the Witwatersrand published *Kathorus: A History* in 2001. The book deals with the origins and the evolution of Kathorus, a township composed of Katlehong, Vosloorus and Thokoza on the East Rand and focuses on the struggle waged by the township residents in the area against forced removals in the 1950s, and how residents reconstructed their lives in the aftermath of these removals.<sup>167</sup> Bonner and Nieftagodien also published other township histories, further strengthening their contribution to the field.<sup>168</sup>

Ralinala contends that, although the historiography of Mamelodi is still in its infancy, a contribution to the knowledge of African experiences in the city of Pretoria was made by Frederik Nöthling’s 1977 DPhil thesis on the settlement of blacks in and around Pretoria from 1900 to 1914.<sup>169</sup> Among other things, Nöthling notes that before the Berlin Missionary Association bought the land where they would establish the Schoolplaats mission station that provided accommodation for blacks in Pretoria in 1870, blacks in the city mainly lived on the premises of their employers.<sup>170</sup> It was only in 1888 that the government instructed Surveyor G. Greeff to measure out an area west of Schoolplaats, which led to the establishment of Marabastad with 67 plots, as the first formal black neighbourhood in the city,<sup>171</sup> which the Conventions of Pretoria (1881) and London (1884) made possible as it provided Asians and blacks greater rights in the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) as the limitations on their movements were suspended and they received the right to own or rent fixed property.<sup>172</sup> Though Nöthling’s work is about before the establishment of Mamelodi, one of the more recent

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<sup>166</sup> P. Bonner & L. Segal. *Soweto: A History*. Maskew Miller Longman. 1998, p. 5.

<sup>167</sup> P. Bonner & N. Nieftagodien, *Kathorus: A History*. 2001, pp. 2-134; R. M. Ralinala, ‘Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990’, PhD thesis, 2002, p. 8.

<sup>168</sup> See P. Bonner & N. Nieftagodien, *ALEXandra: A History*, 2008, Wits University Press, Johannesburg and P. Bonner & N. Nieftagodien, *Ekurhuleni: The making of an urban region*, 2012, Wits University Press, Johannesburg.

<sup>169</sup> R.M. Ralinala, ‘Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990’, PhD thesis, 2002, p. 9.

<sup>170</sup> F.J. Nöthling, *Die vestiging van Gekleurdes in en om Pretoria, 1900-1914*, Staatsdrukker, Pretoria, 1984, p. 1.

<sup>171</sup> F.J. Nöthling, *Die vestiging van Gekleurdes in en om Pretoria, 1900-1914*, Staatsdrukker, Pretoria, 1984, p. 2.

<sup>172</sup> F.J. Nöthling, *Die vestiging van Gekleurdes in en om Pretoria, 1900-1914*, Staatsdrukker, Pretoria, 1984, p. 2.

historical works available on Mamelodi township is Alex Boraine's 1987 honours thesis.<sup>173</sup> Boraine's main contention was that politics based on race and class in a given society engenders conflict and hatred. In his thesis, Boraine concentrates on the popular struggles against the Black Town Council that was inaugurated in January 1984.<sup>174</sup> Another historical work on Mamelodi is Tsheko Chiloane's 1990 MA thesis, referenced earlier, "The Establishment of Black Settlement Areas in and around Pretoria with Special Reference to Mamelodi, 1900-1970", which deals with the general establishment of black settlement areas in and around Pretoria.<sup>175</sup> Although Chiloane devotes three chapters to the history of Mamelodi, his work lacks historical detail and comprehensiveness.<sup>176</sup>

Echoing over a decade later Ralinala's view of township histories referenced earlier, Hilary Sapire, in 2013, published a theme-related survey of township histories in South Africa titled "Township Histories, Insurrection and Liberation in Late Apartheid South Africa". In her comprehensive survey of the histories of townships, Sapire noted that "South African urban social history has been extensively surveyed but the sub-genre of township history has not been subjected to close scrutiny".<sup>177</sup> In her article, which "also engages a wider literature on the history of the South African city of which the township studies were a sub-genre",<sup>178</sup> she noted that

characterized by an intense localism a rich pointillist series of accounts of individual townships and grassroots struggles highlighted the dynamism and variability of black political cultures in urban centres but scholars neglected to link the localities with national political networks and in some cases, with wider political developments ... the preoccupation with resistance and the binaries of apartheid could lead historians and social scientists to neglect other forms of consciousness and culture resulting in a distorted and one-sided view of the township and the people who inhabit them.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> A. Boraine, 'Mamelodi: From Parks to People's Power: A Survey of Community Organisation in South Africa, 1979-1986, BA (Hons.) dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1987.

<sup>174</sup> A. Boraine, 'Mamelodi: From Parks to People's Power: A Survey of Community Organisation in South Africa, 1979-1986, BA (Hons.) dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1987, pp.9-11; R.M. Ralinala, 'Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990', PhD thesis. 2002. p. 10.

<sup>175</sup> T.J. Chiloane, 'The Establishment of Black Settlement Areas in and around Pretoria with Special Reference to Mamelodi, 1900—1970', M.A. thesis, 1990, p. 9.

<sup>176</sup> R.M. Ralinala, 'Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990', PhD thesis, 2002, p. 10.

<sup>177</sup> H. Sapire. 'Township Histories, Insurrection and Liberation in Late Apartheid South Africa'. *South African Historical Journal*, 65(2), p. 169.

<sup>178</sup> H. Sapire. 'Township Histories, Insurrection and Liberation in Late Apartheid South Africa'. *South African Historical Journal*, 65(2), p. 171.

<sup>179</sup> H. Sapire. 'Township Histories, Insurrection and Liberation in Late Apartheid South Africa'. *South African Historical Journal*, 65(2), p. 169.

Sapire also observed that “the townships ... were particularly amenable to the concerns of many writers as they represented ... arenas of bitter struggles against the passes, lodgers permits and beer raids, poor transport, high fares, housing shortages and high rentals which dogged daily life”.<sup>180</sup> Sapire deduced that a “common weakness” of township historiography

was the relative lack of accounts that brought local case studies into meaningful alignment with comparable other localities and with national political organization [because] historians tended to treat locality as no more than a site on which histories unfold and events occur, as if ‘space’ was an unproblematic category. In other words, it was suggested that township historians, like other social historians considered that what was worth studying was not so much the *place* but what was happening within it.<sup>181</sup>

Michelle Friedman’s 1994 MA dissertation titled “A History of Africans in Pretoria with special reference to Marabastad, 1902-1923”,<sup>182</sup> interrogates the political responses of the “permanently settled component” of the urban black populations in the city through examining the informal, defensive strategies against the formal political organization of the urban African population in Marabastad. She concludes that the real challenges made to the municipal authorities in the attempts of formal organisations to challenge the state was in working class culture that developed with the industrialization and its associated concretisation of workers in the city.<sup>183</sup> Though this study is enlightening and adds significantly to the historiography of the city of Pretoria by including the contributions of blacks to the development of the city and demonstrates black agency, it also does not extend this to include black people’s experience with postsecondary education in the township, partly because its area of focus, i.e., Marabastad, did not have postsecondary education institutions.

Simangaliso Malinga’s 1997 MA dissertation titled “The establishment of black townships in South Africa with particular reference to the establishment of Daveyton on the East Rand”, mainly concerns itself with the factors driving the establishment of townships in South Africa.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> H. Sapire. ‘Township Histories, Insurrection and Liberation in Late Apartheid South Africa’. *South African Historical Journal*, 65(2), p. 176.

<sup>181</sup> H. Sapire. ‘Township Histories, Insurrection and Liberation in Late Apartheid South Africa’. *South African Historical Journal*, 65(2), p. 193.

<sup>182</sup> M. Friedman. ‘A History of Africans in Pretoria with special reference to Marabastad, 1902-1923’. MA dissertation, University of South Africa (Unisa). 1992. p. ii.

<sup>183</sup> M. Friedman. ‘A History of Africans in Pretoria with special reference to Marabastad, 1902-1923’. MA dissertation, University of South Africa (Unisa). 1992. p. 23.

<sup>184</sup> M.S. Malinga. ‘The establishment of black townships in South Africa with particular reference to the establishment of Daveyton on the East Rand’. MA dissertation, Rand Afrikaans University (RAU). 1997. p. iii.

Malinga confirms that “townships in South Africa were established as a means of clearing the slum and squatter areas that were mushrooming in and around towns and cities in the country”, which he logically finds also in line with the government’s policy of establishing racially segregated residential areas.<sup>185</sup> Though essentially a history of Daveyton, Malinga pursues town and regional planning void of its role, utility, and furtherance of the racial supremacy and segregation doctrine of the Afrikaner Nationalist political agenda and ambitions of the time. Scholars like Maylam questioned this in 1995 when he asked, “does all this leave us with an idealist explanation? Was urban segregation simply a matter of alleviating white panic, racist paranoia and squeamishness? Or was the ‘sanitisation syndrome’ merely a pretext for segregation?”<sup>186</sup> For Maylam, “the growing historiography of urban segregation clearly shows that a variety of imperatives and mechanisms were at work to bring about racial zoning in towns and cities throughout the first half of the twentieth century and before”.<sup>187</sup>

Finally, there is Tebogo Moswane’s 2018 MSocSci dissertation, analysing how stigma, gender, crime and political structure is understood outside and within the hostels in Mamelodi West.<sup>188</sup> As an ethnographic study of a particular aspect of township life, the study does not address education or postsecondary education institutions in the community.

Township histories are dealt with in various ways. In her review of Lelyveld’s book *Move your shadow: South Africa, Black and White* (1985), Jennifer Whitaker notes that “[t]he former *New York Times* South Africa correspondent eschews the political and social analysis which illuminated South Africa’s dilemmas for *Times* readers during the early 1980s and instead conveys the essence of apartheid through its effects on people”.<sup>189</sup> For Whitaker, *Move your shadow* is

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<sup>185</sup> M.S. Malinga. ‘The establishment of black townships in South Africa with particular reference to the establishment of Daveyton on the East Rand’. MA dissertation, Rand Afrikaans University (RAU). 1997. p. iii.

<sup>186</sup> P. Maylam. ‘Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography’. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 1995. 21(1), p. 25.

<sup>187</sup> P. Maylam. ‘Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography’. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 1995. 21(1), p. 28.

<sup>188</sup> T.N. Moswane, ‘An Ethnography of a Mamelodi West Hostel: Analysing how Stigma, Gender, Crime and Political Structure is understood outside and within the hostel’, MSocSci dissertation, University of Pretoria, 2018.

<sup>189</sup> J.S. Whitaker, Review of of ‘Move your shadow: South Africa, Black and White’ by Joseph Lelyveld. *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1985/86, 64(2).

a series of delicately limned portraits of whites and blacks, which shows the self-deception, circumlocution and blunted moral sense needed to maintain the system; the stoicism and irony required to endure it with dignity; and the leap of faith involved in defying its real, raw power.<sup>190</sup>

For Lelyveld,

it was a time of silence and fear, when the system of racial dominance known as apartheid was being elaborated as an ideology and the security apparatus, having outlawed and crushed the main black nationalist movements, was stamping out the few sparks of resistance that white radicals had managed to ignite.<sup>191</sup>

One of the most recent and more extensive township history projects undertaken so far is quite possibly *ALEXandra: A History* by Philip Bonner and Noor Nieftagodien of the Wits History Project, published in 2008. According to Vivian Bickford-Smith's review of the book, "*ALEXandra* clearly falls within what one might call the predominant tradition of township history writing established in the aftermath of Soweto through the likes of the Witwatersrand and University of Cape Town History Workshops".<sup>192</sup> However, Bickford-Smith also notes that *ALEXandra* "is less obviously intended for a popular market ... as is clear from its format, length and style. One intention behind its production was apparently at least to place-sell: the book presents Alexandra as a unique and 'vibrant' place ... with a distinctive and interesting history, and thus worth visiting".<sup>193</sup> Bickford-Smith, however, notes that it is the manner in which the distinctive characteristics of Alexandra are described and analysed that marks a major difference between *ALEX* and other official histories.<sup>194</sup>

As a "semi-official history", involving national and provincial government departments, commissioned by the Alexandra Tourism Development Project (ATDP), it is, nonetheless, a comprehensive study of the history of Alexandra, one of the oldest townships in South Africa. The study "covers the entire history of Alexandra from 1912 to 2008".<sup>195</sup> Though a social history, *ALEXandra* is essentially a political history of the development of a township, the challenges it presented to the apartheid authorities and their plans to design, control and manage life in the townships, and the ultimate triumph of the political struggle against apartheid which resulted in the creation of the first democratic government in South Africa in

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<sup>190</sup> J.S. Whitaker, Review of 'Move your shadow: South Africa, Black and White' by Joseph Lelyveld. *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1985/86, 64(2).

<sup>191</sup> J. Lelyveld, *Move Your Shadow: South Africa, Black and White*, 1986, Abacus, London, p. 5.

<sup>192</sup> V. Bickford-Smith. Review of *ALEXandra: A History* by Philip Bonner and Noor Nieftagodien. *Kronos*. 35, p 275.

<sup>193</sup> V. Bickford-Smith. Review of *ALEXandra: A History* by Philip Bonner and Noor Nieftagodien. *Kronos*. 35, p 276.

<sup>194</sup> V. Bickford-Smith. Review of *ALEXandra: A History* by Philip Bonner and Noor Nieftagodien. *Kronos*. 35, p 276.

<sup>195</sup> P. Bonner & N. Nieftagodien. *ALEXandra: A History*. Wits University Press. 2008, p. 7.

1994. However, *ALEXandra*, like all other studies of townships in South Africa, is also silent on postsecondary education institutions in townships, most likely because Alexandra, like many other townships before the creation of Vista University in the 1980s with its multi-city campuses on the edges of townships, had none.

To further substantiate this reality, Ernest Cole, a photographer from Mamelodi, published a historic photographic exposé of black life under apartheid in the townships of the 1950s and 1960s. Cole's documentary photo-book, *House of Bondage*,<sup>196</sup> was published by Random House in 1967 with text by Thomas Flaherty and an introduction by *New York Times* correspondent Joseph Lelyveld.<sup>197</sup> Cole does not date his book nor any of the photographs in the publication. However, a close reading of his narrative allows one to infer the photographic record is of the late 1950s to the 1960s.<sup>198</sup> Furthermore, and as Sally Gaule from the University of Witwatersrand's School of Architecture observed in 2017, "although Cole's images belong to 1960s South Africa, they have in some respects acquired a new 'iconic' status".<sup>199</sup> *House of Bondage* is significant as an example of the social documentary genre and documentary photo-book<sup>200</sup> where Cole skillfully used documentary expression to capture and portray everyday life under apartheid from a personal perspective.<sup>201</sup> Clearly understanding how integral the system of apartheid was to ordinary life of black people in the township, Cole used the medium of photography to look at the world around him and simultaneously to construct a narrative that speaks to and about his personal experience.<sup>202</sup> Furthermore, and though documentary photography has no essential definition and is characterized by a vast range of approaches to representation its intent is to reveal "things as they are", to provide reliable, authentic

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<sup>196</sup> E. Cole. *House of Bondage*. Random House. 1967.

<sup>197</sup> Joseph Lelyveld later authored *Move your shadow: South Africa, Black and White*, which was the 1986 Pulitzer Prize winning memoir for general non-fiction, as well as the 1986 *Los Angeles Times* Book Prize for Current Interest., published by the New York Times Books in 1985. Also see M.S. Tembo. Book Review of 'Move your shadow: South Africa, Black and White' by Joseph Lelyveld. *Journal of Black Studies*, 1991. 21(3), pp. 377-379; and J.S. Whitaker, Review of 'Move your shadow: South Africa, Black and White' by Joseph Lelyveld. *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1985/86, 64(2).

<sup>198</sup> G. Knape. 'Notes on the life of Ernest Cole (1940-1990)', *Ernest Cole: Photographer*. Hasselblad Foundation, 2010, p. 223.

<sup>199</sup> S. Gaule. 'Ernest Cole: the perspective of time', *Safundi*, 2017. 18(4), p. 391.

<sup>200</sup> S. Gaule. 'Ernest Cole: the perspective of time', *Safundi*, 2017. 18(4), p. 382.

<sup>201</sup> S. Gaule. 'Ernest Cole: the perspective of time', *Safundi*, 2017. 18(4), p. 384.

<sup>202</sup> S. Gaule. 'Ernest Cole: the perspective of time', *Safundi*, 2017. 18(4), p. 384.

information avoiding any embellishment that might alter the integrity of reality.<sup>203</sup> Gaule also noted that while the time and place of Cole's photographs are certainly inseparable from understanding them, they nonetheless convey information about the period and function as history.<sup>204</sup>

Though Cole presents black life in the township in vivid, poignant, and stark photographic images, which also includes the educational experience of blacks in townships, including Mamelodi, he does not treat the issue of postsecondary education through documenting or referencing the existence of the Bantu Normal College or *Kolege Ya Bana Ba Afrika* during the time of his documentation of life in the townships in South Africa. Cole's historically significant study could also be silent on postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi because it covers life in the townships during the 1960s and the postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi were closed at the end of 1959 in order to establish the University of the North (Turfloop) in the Limpopo Province.<sup>205</sup> Notwithstanding, Cole does include images of Dr. Nkomo, incorrectly identified as "Mkomo"<sup>206</sup> in *House of Bondage* and Edith Mkhele, who he reports as the "first African woman to get a degree at white South African college [sic]"<sup>207</sup> Dr. Nkomo, a medical practitioner heavily involved in education in Lady Selbourne and Atteridgeville, is also reported to have taught Biology at the Bantu Normal College in Mamelodi<sup>208</sup> among many of his social and community involvement activities. Cole reports on these personalities in his chapter on the "African Middle Class" and not the chapter on "Education for Servitude", which mainly deals with primary and secondary school education under the Bantu Education policy of the country at the time. According to Hlonipha Mokoena, when Cole took his pictures for *House of Bondage*, he could not have been aware where South Africa and its racial segregation were headed. Therefore, "apartheid's past vocabularies", which Cole helped to capture and articulate, "are the ideological, philosophical, sociological, and

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<sup>203</sup> O. Lugon. "'Documentary': Authority and Ambiguities," 2003, as cited in S. Guale. 'Ernest Cole: the perspective of time', *Safundi*, 2017. 18(4), p. 385.

<sup>204</sup> S. Guale. 'Ernest Cole: the perspective of time', *Safundi*, 2017. 18(4), p. 386.

<sup>205</sup> M.M. Kgoale. 'The Development of University Education for Blacks in South Africa with special reference to the Transvaal (1900-1970)'. MA thesis. University of South Africa, 1982, p. 45.

<sup>206</sup> E. Cole. *House of Bondage*. Random House. 1967. p. 173.

<sup>207</sup> E. Cole. *House of Bondage*. Random House. 1967. p. 174.

<sup>208</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, 'The Mamelodi rondavels' as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West). *SA Journal of Cultural History*. 2003. 17(2), p16.



historical analyses that were deployed during apartheid to either assert its righteousness or delineate its injustices.<sup>209</sup>

Furthermore, Lelyveld, in his 1967 introduction to *House of Bondage*, echoes Cole's view through his own poignant observation about the township experience when he noted that the racial separation townships embody was "itself a form of white violence"<sup>210</sup> and that the "African political discourse" of the time about the racial injustice in South Africa is lodged "between irony and silence [where] there is nothing but a tearing sense of helplessness".<sup>211</sup> Though *House of Bondage* presented only a sample of Ernest Cole's work on life in the townships in South Africa in the 1960s. *Ernest Cole Photographer*, a retrospective catalogue of a wider selection of Ernest Cole's work, edited by Gunilla Knappe with essays by Struan Robertson and Ivor Powell and published by the Hasselblad Foundation in Göteborg, Sweden, in 2010, further confirms that Cole did not record any issues of postsecondary education in his community of Mamelodi or any other township he memorialized in his work.

Including Maylam's survey of urban historiography, Sapire's well-considered assessment goes a long way to explain some of the achievements and shortcomings of township historiography. These assessments can also assist to explain why there is very little scholarship on aspects such as postsecondary education institutions in townships. Besides the anomaly of townships having postsecondary education institutions like the case of Mamelodi, to date the major political contestations in the townships have enjoyed the overwhelming attention of the majority of township historiography. The end of apartheid promises opportunities for current and future historians to venture into other areas of social history in the urban space, which should assist to develop a fuller and more nuanced view of the life experiences of the people and communities occupying this continuously contested area of scholarship in South Africa.

#### **2.4. Mamelodi and postsecondary education institutions**

Apart from a few dissertations and theses on Mamelodi referred to earlier, there are no studies available that consider postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi, either as a sector or as individual institution studies. For the most part, the studies referred to here either engage

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<sup>209</sup> H. Mokoena. "'The House of Bondage': Rise and Fall of Apartheid as Social History", *Safundi*, 15(2-3), p. 384.

<sup>210</sup> E. Cole, *House of Bondage*, Random House, 1967, p 7

<sup>211</sup> E. Cole, *House of Bondage*, Random House, 1967, p. 9.

with postsecondary education institutions tangentially or as part of considering specific issues in education in township schools. Examples of the studies on Mamelodi are Mochacha Kgoale's 1982 MEd (History) thesis, which focuses on the University of the North (Turfloop) and its establishment through the closure of the Pretoria Bantu Normal College and the *Kolege Ya Bana Ba Afrika* in Mamelodi in 1959 due to the promulgation of the Extension of University Education Act (Act No. 45 of 1959).<sup>212</sup>

Also referenced earlier in this study is Chiloane's MA dissertation, "The Establishment of Black Settlement Areas in and Around Pretoria with Special Reference to Mamelodi, 1900-1970", which only provides cursory mention of postsecondary education institutions. In his study, Chiloane reported that

Mamelodi was provided with two colleges. The Normal College offered tuition to those who wished to become teachers. This teacher training college served all the townships in and around Pretoria and other areas within reach. There were also University facilities at the "College ya bana ba Afrika" established in Mamelodi under the rectorship of E.F. Potgieter. This college was manned by part-time lecturers from Unisa. It was closed in 1958 [sic].<sup>213</sup>

There is also the master's thesis by Mabule Modiba, "The school as a reconstructed agent in Mamelodi".<sup>214</sup> Modiba's study deals with school level activities in the new context of the reconstruction and development programme of the new, post-apartheid South African government. In the main, the study seeks to determine to what extent schools in Mamelodi could contribute to the reconstruction of society and the community of Mamelodi in particular.

Then there is Ralinala's PhD thesis, which was referred to extensively earlier but only deals with education as socializing institutions for township children where he considers pre-, primary and secondary schools, as well as a technical college. In terms of postsecondary education institutions, Ralinala postulates that

the lack of tertiary institutions in the township contributed to disillusionment among many children, as possibilities for them to further their education were rare, which influenced the

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<sup>212</sup> M.M. Kgoale, 'The Development of University Education for Blacks in South Africa with Special Reference to the Transvaal (1900-1970)'. MA thesis. 1982.

<sup>213</sup> T.J. Chiloane, 'The Establishment of Black Settlement Areas in and Around Pretoria with Special Reference to Mamelodi, 1900-1970'. MA dissertation. 1990.

<sup>214</sup> M.S. Modiba, 'The school as a reconstructed agent in Mamelodi'. MA thesis. 1998.

Mamelodi Town Council to apply for the establishment of a Teacher Training College funded by the Department of Education and Training.<sup>215</sup>

There is also Segotsi Mabogoane's master's thesis on "The impact of Labour Relations Act (Act 66 of 1995) at Vista University (Mamelodi Campus) from the year 1981-2004".<sup>216</sup> While Mabogoane's study deals with a postsecondary education institution in the township of Mamelodi, his focus is on the impact of the Labour Relations Act (Act No. 66 of 1996) on Vista University's Mamelodi Campus and its implications in the context of the new post-apartheid labour relations regime. Apart from considering, in brief, "Vista University's Human Resource Department and the establishment of its Labour Relations Section", the study does not consider the history of Vista University at all.

Victoria Timm's master's dissertation "Behaviour problems in primary schools in Mamelodi: an ecological construction", deals with problems such as bullying in primary school communities in Mamelodi.<sup>217</sup> As a study in counseling psychology, Timm only sketches the history of Mamelodi to situate her study. And because the 2007 MA thesis of Daniel Tshabalala "The Strategic Issues Management by Small Businesses in the Mamelodi Metropolitan Areas" is a business administration study, it is not expected to, nor does it in any case, refer to postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi.<sup>218</sup>

While the study by Karel Bakker, et al, "The Mamelodi rondavels" as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West), briefly considers the experiences of students who studied at one of the postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi, namely the Pretoria Bantu Normal College,<sup>219</sup> no other study considers the community's views and experiences about or with such institutions. One of the respondents involved in the current study commenced a recording of his personal experiences with

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<sup>215</sup> R.M. Ralinala, 'Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990', PhD thesis. 2002. p. 83.

<sup>216</sup> S. Mabogoane, 'The impact of Labour Relations Act (Act 66 of 1995) at Vista University (Mamelodi Campus) from the year 1981-2004'. MA thesis. 2005.

<sup>217</sup> V.M. Timm, 'Behaviour problems in primary schools in Mamelodi: an ecological construction'. MA dissertation. 2007.

<sup>218</sup> D.B. Tshabalala, 'The Strategic Issues Management by Small Businesses in the Mamelodi Metropolitan Areas'. MA thesis. 2007.

<sup>219</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, 'The Mamelodi rondavels' as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West). *SA Journal of Cultural History*. 2003. 17(2).

education in Mamelodi “out of frustration with the lack of information available about the achievement of education in the community”.<sup>220</sup>

Another Mamelodi resident, Aubrey Mogase, self-published a popular survey history of Mamelodi in 2018, titled, *Mamelodi: Reflections of a lifetime*. The book is a remarkable attempt by a local resident to record the history of his community from its early settlement in “the Early Stone Age period before the 1400’s [sic]”<sup>221</sup> to contemporary times. However, this record is not very useful to a historian because it is not well referenced, if referenced at all, to enable verification of the claims it makes. Consequently, it cannot stand up to scrutiny as an academic account, which it certainly does not claim to be. Notwithstanding this exercise in hagiography, Mogase’s effort offers a very important record of the story of the community. It provides interesting and important information about the community’s development to the here and now, which is not easily or readily available to the general public or interested individuals. There are snippets in the book on education institutions like schools and postsecondary education institutions, but not a particular focus on these institutions as entities, critical or not, in the life of the community. Again, this book provides information about education institutions in the community, which would otherwise be hard to come by in a formal record about the community.<sup>222</sup>

Most recently, N.A. Ogude et al published the first and only academic article on the University of Pretoria Mamelodi Campus’ institutional anchor strategy.<sup>223</sup> Albeit the article focuses mainly on the Pre-University Academy (PUA), the Mamelodi campus’s academic support for local school learners to improve their mastery and performance in science and mathematics at school well enough to gain admission to university-level studies, it is the only current source on the University’s anchor institution strategy in Mamelodi and will be relied on heavily when considering this aspect of the study in Chapter 5.

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<sup>220</sup> ‘A History of Education in Mamelodi’, work in progress and unpublished study, which for purposes of anonymity of respondents, the author’s name is not mentioned in this study. 2020.

<sup>221</sup> A. Mogase, *Mamelodi: Reflections of a Lifetime*, 2018, p. xii.

<sup>222</sup> A. Mogase, *Mamelodi: Reflections of a lifetime*, 2018.

<sup>223</sup> N.A. Ogude et al, ‘Mamelodi Pre-University Academy: Aligning Campus Strategic Goals to Achieve a University’s Anchor Institution Strategy Mandate’, *Metropolitan Universities* 31(2), 2020, p. 36.

Finally, and apart from the current study, no other study exists that records, examines, recognizes or acknowledges the unique experience of the Mamelodi community with postsecondary education institutions, let alone seeking to understand the value, utility, and significance of these institutions to the community. It is an extraordinary feature that Mamelodi had postsecondary education institutions, even as it was being developed as a township and community. This in itself demands study by historians and other disciplines in order to enrich the record of township life in South African historiography.

This selective review of the literature on urban and township historiography as it relates to Mamelodi and postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi reveals the preoccupation of earlier historiography with the large spectacle of violence (state sponsored and community resistance) during the preceding period of colonialism and apartheid up to the post-apartheid context. However, the literature review also embraces the view proposed by Achille Mbembe and Sarah Nuttal in their “Writing the World from an African Metropolis” in *Public Culture’s* special edition, which they edited in 2004, where they suggest that “there are many explanations for the failure of contemporary scholarship to describe the novelty and originality of this continent in all its complexity [which includes Mamelodi and its history with postsecondary education institutions], to pay sufficient attention to that which is unknown about it, or to find order in the apparent mess of its past and the chaos of its present”.<sup>224</sup> Some of Mbembe’s thoughts on this predicament and challenge have also been elucidated in his book *On the Postcolony*, published in 2001,<sup>225</sup> which is, to a certain extent, also a central concern of this study.

While the researcher could not find any study of township history that considers or documents the history of postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi, notwithstanding the existence of a number of township histories as shown by the surveys of Maylam, Sapire and the comprehensive study of Mamelodi by Ralinala, much remains to be done to augment the shortcomings of urban and township histories as this study intends. This then justifies the need for the present study. This should also present enormous opportunities for new scholars

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<sup>224</sup> A. Mbembe & S. Nuttal. ‘Writing the World from an African Metropolis’. *Public Culture*. 2004. 16(3), p. 348.

<sup>225</sup> A. Mbembe. *On the Postcolony*. University of California Press. 2001.

interested in contributing nuanced and insightful histories of the townships and the cities in South Africa beyond their historical preoccupation with mainly political history aspects.

## **2.5. Chapter outline**

The first chapter, “The study and discourse”, introduced the study and its aims. Attention was given to explaining the title of the study, its envisaged contribution to urban and township historiography, and the definition of some of the key concepts employed in the study. Furthermore, in the methodology and sources, historiographical trends and sources, including the primary and secondary sources used and consulted for the study, are elucidated and the reasons for the elected approach, i.e., case study research and open-ended interviews with selected subjects, was offered.

Chapter 2, “Scholarship and literature overview”, reviews the scholarship on the history of postsecondary education institutions in townships in South Africa. It contextualizes the study by considering the relevant scholarship of education as a public good and its effects in South African communities, alongside international experiences with postsecondary education. The chapter considers, specifically, the case of African-Americans in the United States of America as well as the USA educational institutions’ development of institutional anchor strategies to improve their impact in the communities they are located in. The chapter concludes with assessing the extent of urban and township historiography with particular focus on postsecondary education in townships so as to locate the significance of the postsecondary education institutions in the Mamelodi community. The chapter concludes with an outline of the study.

In “Postsecondary education in South Africa and an introduction to Mamelodi”, which is the title of Chapter 3, the community under consideration, i.e., the Mamelodi community, is introduced through offering a background of the development of the community from the forced removals from freehold areas as part of the implementation of the grand apartheid scheme. The key milestones in the process of community-making are considered. The chapter begins by considering the education landscape in the country through a brief overview of the development of education in South Africa and postsecondary education in particular and how

this manifested in the Mamelodi community. The chapter concludes with urban life and factors influencing the relationship between the residents of Mamelodi and public institutions.

Chapter 4, “Postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi”, attends to the different postsecondary education institutions found in the community during the period under consideration. As a central concern of the study, each institution is discussed on its own to enable an appreciation of how it was established and how the community interacted and experienced the particular institution. This chapter also seeks to capture the different types of postsecondary institutions that were created during the period under consideration, which makes it the first attempt at a comprehensive documentation of postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi.

Chapter 5, “An international comparison and anchor institution strategies”, provides an international case study for consideration in an attempt to compare the local community’s response to the opportunities postsecondary education institutions provided with that of other similarly placed communities. The international case enables consideration of how the education systems in South Africa and the USA developed, the similarities and differences between them, and discusses the responses of the two communities to the evolving educational opportunities available to them through government intervention.

Building on the preceding international comparison, Chapter 5 also considers a relatively recent development championed in the USA, the anchor institution strategy, and how this has contributed to promoting healthy, meaningful and sustainable ‘town-gown’ relationships. This chapter then considers how the University of Pretoria and its campus in Mamelodi have adopted these strategies with the selfsame view of developing meaningful relationships with the communities the University’s campuses are located in.

Chapter 6, “Reading the bones”, which also concludes the study, synthesizes the evidence collected for the study and draws some conclusions on the main questions the study sought to contextualise and understand. With recommendations for further research, the chapter also offers the view that the current challenges bedeviling the ‘town-gown’ relations in Mamelodi

cannot be properly understood nor attended to without a deep engagement with the history of the community and that of the postsecondary education institutions in question.



### Chapter 3: Postsecondary education in South Africa and an introduction to Mamelodi

This chapter considers the postsecondary education landscape in South Africa during the period of the study. It also introduces the township of Mamelodi from when it was founded as the Vlakfontein Native Location in 1953 to it becoming Mamelodi in 1962<sup>226</sup> and beyond. The chapter concludes with looking at urban life and some of the factors possibly influencing the relationships between the residents and public institutions in the community.

#### 3.1. Postsecondary education in South Africa

South African education during the period of this study can be described as growing out of the needs of the governing powers of the day, i.e., the Dutch and British colonists, the Afrikaner nationalists following them, and the current post-apartheid democratic dispensation lead by the ruling African National Congress (ANC).

The colonists mainly relied on missionary education to serve the black indigenes, which includes “the myriad ways in which both mission and English public schooling sustained the kind of oppressive education organized under Afrikaner rule”.<sup>227</sup> Sir George Grey, governor of the Cape in 1855, indicated that:

If we leave the native beyond our border ignorant barbarians, they will remain a race of troublesome marauders. We should make them part of ourselves, with a common faith and common interest, useful servants, consumers of our goods, contributors to our revenue. Therefore, I propose that we make unremitting efforts to raise the natives in Christianity and civilisation, by establishing among them missions connected with industrial schools. The native races beyond our boundary, influenced by our missionaries, instructed in our schools, benefiting by our trade would not make war on our frontiers.<sup>228</sup>

Following the colonists, and almost a century later, the Afrikaners, when they got into power, established Christian National Education (CNE) with a similar objective, as per Article 15 of the CNE policy of 1948:

[t]he calling and task of White South Africa with regard to the native is to Christianise him and help him on culturally, and that this calling and task has already found its nearer

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<sup>226</sup> J. Walker et al, *A working history of Mamelodi*, Unpublished HSRC report, 1991, p. 17 ; R.M. Ralinala, ‘Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990’, PhD thesis, 2002, p. 43; K.A. Bakker et al, ‘The “Mamelodi rondavels” as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)’, *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), p. 15.

<sup>227</sup> J.D. Jansen, ‘Book Review: The Classroom Struggle: Policy and Resistance in South Africa 1940-1990 by Jonathan Hyslop’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30(1), 2004, p. 190.

<sup>228</sup> V. Msila, ‘From Apartheid Education to the Revised National Curriculum Statement: Pedagogy for Identity Formation and Nation Building in South Africa’, *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 2007, 16(2), p. 148.

focusing in the principles of trusteeship, no equality and segregation. In accordance with these principles we believe that the teaching and education of the native must be grounded in the life and worldview of the Whites most especially those of the Boer nation as senior White trustee of the native.<sup>229</sup>

Since the first formal school in the country was opened on 17 April 1658 at the Cape<sup>230</sup> and before the democratic dispensation in South Africa of 1994, education was primarily used as a means of social control and to reproduce a docile and subservient labour force.<sup>231</sup> The first school was opened less than a month after the arrival of the original shipment of 170 slaves and the school was set up specifically for the Dutch East India Company's slaves.<sup>232</sup> The second school was established in 1663 to provide primarily for the children of colonists and the first suggestion of segregation in schooling came from within the church in 1676.<sup>233</sup> As Frank Molteno reports, schooling in South Africa in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made extremely slow headway.<sup>234</sup> P.A.W Cook, writing in 1949, reports that education for blacks was "for the most part, a purposeful process aiming at the incorporation of dependent peoples into the structures of Western civilization."<sup>235</sup>

R. Hunt Davis, Jr. reports that

until the passage of the Bantu Education Act in 1953, African school education remained under the control of the provincial administrations rather than becoming a central government concern. To this extent at least, Africans were in a position similar to whites and the financing of African education, between 1945 to 1953, came from the same sources, i.e., the Consolidated Revenue Fund, as that for whites.

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<sup>229</sup> V. Msila, 'From Apartheid Education to the Revised National Curriculum Statement: Pedagogy for Identity Formation and Nation Building in South Africa', *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 2007, 16(2), p. 149.

<sup>230</sup> F. Molteno, 'Part One: The Origins of Black Education: The Historical Foundations of the Schooling of Black South Africans' in Peter Kallaway (ed.), *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1984, p. 45.

<sup>231</sup> S.A. Hlatshwayo, *Education and Independence: Education in South Africa, 1658-1988*, 2000.

<sup>232</sup> F. Molteno, 'Part One: The Origins of Black Education: The Historical Foundations of the Schooling of Black South Africans' in Peter Kallaway (ed.), *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1984, p. 45.

<sup>233</sup> F. Molteno, 'Part One: The Origins of Black Education: The Historical Foundations of the Schooling of Black South Africans' in Peter Kallaway (ed.), *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1984, p. 46.

<sup>234</sup> F. Molteno, 'Part One: The Origins of Black Education: The Historical Foundations of the Schooling of Black South Africans' in Peter Kallaway (ed.), *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1984, p. 48.

<sup>235</sup> F. Molteno, 'Part One: The Origins of Black Education: The Historical Foundations of the Schooling of Black South Africans' in Peter Kallaway (ed.), *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1984, p. 48.

Prior to 1953 Africans were not treated fully as colonial subjects when it came to the administration and financing of their schools but rather as a highly disadvantaged group of second-class citizens.<sup>236</sup>

As indicated above, racial discrimination, notwithstanding its manifestation through facilities and finance, was a constant feature of education in South Africa from its colonial genesis to its formalization through the promulgation of laws, most notably the Bantu Education Act of 1953 and the Extension of University Education Act of 1959. From the 1946 to 1947 debates of the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, it can be gleaned that almost two centuries after the colonization of South Africa, the country was primarily focused, among other concerns, with accommodating white ex-volunteer servicemen as part of the demobilization scheme into higher education institutions across the country and enabling the University of South Africa (Unisa) the wherewithal to establish a Division for External Studies to enable it to assist external students to access instruction and guidance in preparation for their degree examinations. The demobilisation provisions were being made for “both Europeans and coloureds,” and the Minister of Education categorically stated that “there is no provision for natives as yet” under their current scheme.<sup>237</sup>

John Shingler observed that “in the early years of the twentieth century British and South African politicians created a structure of racial domination based on doctrines of segregation and White supremacy”.<sup>238</sup> He further explains that:

The superior status of the Whites was sustained in turn by the skills which their position enabled them to acquire ... The subordination of the Blacks was reinforced and complemented by their education, parsimonious financial support, the refusal to make education compulsory even in the cities and circumscribed curricula, all combined to limit Black participation in society.

The educational policies and ideas of Union were thus ... directed ... to the reinforcement of an overall structure of differentiation and domination.<sup>239</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> R.H. Davis, Jr. ‘The Administration and Financing of African Education in South Africa: 1910-1953’, in Peter Kallaway (ed.), *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1984, p. 127.

<sup>237</sup> *Hansard*, Assembly Debates: 1946-1947, p. 808.

<sup>238</sup> J.D. Shingler, ‘Education and Political Order in South Africa, 1902-1961’, PhD thesis, Yale University, 1973, pp. 291-292.

<sup>239</sup> J.D. Shingler, ‘Education and Political Order in South Africa, 1902-1961’, PhD thesis, Yale University, 1973, p. 294.

According to Crain Soudien, “[a]lmost without exception, the centerpiece statutes of apartheid and racial hegemony in South Africa ... have all emerged from and been legitimated through the process of what is known ... as the commission of inquiry”.<sup>240</sup> Soudien further notes that

A companion with the Tomlinson Commission of 1950-1954 which investigated the viability of dismembering South Africa territorially into ‘Bantu’ homelands, the Eiselen Commission essentially laid out the philosophic and organizational foundations for the much reviled 1953 Bantu Education Act ... [that advocated that the] future of African people was to be found in the ‘safety’ of their own environment, a socio-cultural space autonomous from but subordinate to European society.<sup>241</sup>

Consequently, Soudien surmises, “the education of black people therefore had to change from its missionary and European forms to prepare them for participation in this separate society.”<sup>242</sup>

Furthermore and since

the previous policy and practice of Native Education might have trained the ‘civilised Native’s gaze’ towards the mainstream of European society ... it was to avoid this possibility that the Eiselen Commission’s recommendations urged that the locus of African socialization, through schools, churches and so on, be shifted right out of white society and be placed in the confines of a social environment that was unmistakably [sic] *Bantu*.<sup>243</sup>

Topping the concerns in relation to blacks in the post-World War II period, was the debate on the increased subsidies request for the feeding schemes in schools for black learners across the Union. There was vehement opposition to the requested increase in the budget allocation for the feeding scheme with parliamentary members registering concerns about how the feeding scheme was anathema to the national native reserve policy and efforts. As an example, the Honourable Gen. J.C.G. Kemp, National Party Member of Parliament for Wolmaranstad,<sup>244</sup> wondered:

Why should the European always pay and pay alone to provide food for natives ... The Government should put a stop to the great influx of natives to the cities. Those who are necessary to work in the cities and towns may remain there, but the others should be sent back [to the reserves].<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> C. Soudien, ‘Racial Discourse in the Commission on Native Education (Eiselen Commission), 1949–1951: The Making of a ‘Bantu’ Identity’, *Southern African Review of Education*, 2005, 11(1), p. 41.

<sup>241</sup> C. Soudien, ‘Racial Discourse in the Commission on Native Education (Eiselen Commission), 1949–1951: The Making of a ‘Bantu’ Identity’, *Southern African Review of Education*, 2005, 11(1), pp. 42-43.

<sup>242</sup> C. Soudien, ‘Racial Discourse in the Commission on Native Education (Eiselen Commission), 1949–1951: The Making of a ‘Bantu’ Identity’, *Southern African Review of Education*, 2005, 11(1), pp. 42-43.

<sup>243</sup> C. Soudien, ‘Racial Discourse in the Commission on Native Education (Eiselen Commission), 1949–1951: The Making of a ‘Bantu’ Identity’, *Southern African Review of Education*, 2005, 11(1), pp. 42-43.

<sup>244</sup> J.H. Ligthelm, ‘Genl. J.C.G. Kemp 1914-1946: rebel of politieke leier?’ 2002.  
<https://scholar.ufs.ac.za/handle/11660/8843> Accessed: 17 March 2021.

<sup>245</sup> *Hansard*, Assembly Debates: 1946-1947, p. 814.

Kemp indicated he “cannot possibly agree to the European being taxed in order to pay for all these things given to the natives”. The Honourable Mr. F.E. Mentz, National Party Member of Parliament for Westdene<sup>246</sup> in support of Gen. Kemp, indicated that he and his party “shall continue to vote against these increases year after year, unless the Minister of Native Affairs gives [them] the assurance that a stop will be put to this influx of natives into the cities”.<sup>247</sup> The concern with the influx of blacks into the city seemed a major grievance for members of parliament and the associated demands this placed on the fiscus for accommodation and education enjoyed robust opposition.

Higher education in South Africa dates back to the later colonial period with the institution of formal schooling and the creation of the University of the Cape of Good Hope in 1873, which subsequently became Unisa in 1916.<sup>248</sup> Scholars are agreed that Boucher’s PhD thesis which was published as *Spes in Arduis: A History of the University of South Africa*, provides a useful description of the development of the higher education system in South Africa.<sup>249</sup> Unisa “has a highly varied past,” according to Andrew Manson.<sup>250</sup> Manson further explains that Unisa:

Has, chameleon-like, changed its role and character from the time of its founding as the examining University of the Cape of Good Hope (UCGH) 1873 to a ‘correspondence’ university in 1946, to one of the world’s accredited distance-education ‘mega-universities’ with nearly a third of all South Africa’s students enrolled there.

It began as a product of the Cape in an era of British rule characterised by a liberalism driven in the main by the humanitarian movement. It conceived itself, theoretically at least, as a part of an enterprise dispersing educational benefits to all who earned the right to it regardless of race, though this excluded a vast number of Dutch and later Afrikaans speakers from benefitting from the qualifications it offered.<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> Anon. [http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv\\_pdf/A3393/A3393-E2-4-05-jpeg.pdf](http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdf/A3393/A3393-E2-4-05-jpeg.pdf)  
Accessed: 17 March 2021.

<sup>247</sup> *Hansard*, Assembly Debates: 1946-1947, p. 814.

<sup>248</sup> M. Boucher, *Spes in Arduis: a history of the University of South Africa*, 1973, p. 146.

<sup>249</sup> T. Ngegebule, ‘Background Paper 2: An Overview and Analysis of Policy for Distance Education in South African Higher Education: Roles Identified for Distance Education and Developments in the Arena from 1948, Foundations of Distance Education in the Higher Education Sector: 1948-1989’, University of South Africa’, 2008, p.1; B. Strydom, ‘South African University history: a historiographical overview’, *African Historical Review*, 2016, 48(1), pp. 56-82; A. Manson, ‘The University of South Africa (Unisa) 1918-1948: The first transition, from colonial to segregationist institution’, *African Historical Review*, 2016, 48(1), p. 3.

<sup>250</sup> A. Manson, ‘The University of South Africa (Unisa) 1918-1948: The first transition, from colonial to segregationist institution’, *African Historical Review*, 2016, 48(1), p. 2.

<sup>251</sup> A. Manson, ‘The University of South Africa (Unisa) 1918-1948: The first transition, from colonial to segregationist institution’, *African Historical Review*, 2016, 48(1), p. 2.

The university also offered a platform for the *Broederbond* to extend its reach into higher education. Largely as a result of this, Unisa after 1948 was quietly complicit in the objectives of apartheid, acting as an incubator for its bureaucracy and forging close alliances with Afrikaner capital.<sup>252</sup>

Consequently, Unisa “willingly conformed to the segregationist race issue in fulfilling its commitment to higher education for ‘non-Europeans’ in an increasingly segregated milieu propagated by the *Broederbond*”.<sup>253</sup>

Prior to the 2004 higher education policy changes, the higher education system was structured along racial and ethnic lines. While this was later codified as a result of the apartheid government’s policy towards black South Africans, racially separated education preceded the Afrikaner nationalist government ascension to power in 1948. As an example, Vanessa Noble notes that in the medical profession training sphere:

Early in the twentieth century South Africa’s public health-care services and medical-education provisions were directly influenced by the state’s policies of racial segregation that discriminated against people designated as ‘non-European’.<sup>254</sup>

From the late 1950s rigid, racial segregation legislation restricted access to even the token numbers of black students, particularly African students, who were granted permission to study at the universities of the Witwatersrand (Wits) and Cape Town (UCT) from the 1940s right up until the late 1970s when the Medical University of Southern Africa (MEDUNSA) was opened.<sup>255</sup>

Furthermore, as Noble indicates in the history of the field of medical training in South Africa:

The concept of training blacks to ‘serve their own people’ in a racially segregated service was both an acknowledgement that blacks had the potential to become skilled medical professionals *and* an upholding of the separateness of white-controlled medical knowledge and practice as the norm or standard by which blacks continued to remain a racial, and professional, inferior ‘other’.<sup>256</sup>

While the Extension of University Education Act, Act No. 45 of 1959, formed part of the apartheid system of racial segregation in South Africa and made it a criminal offense for non-white students to register at a formerly open university without the written permission of the Minister of Internal Affairs, very few black South Africans had access to higher education institutions prior to 1959 in general. Like most formal education, “until the early 1930s, the

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<sup>252</sup> A. Manson, ‘The University of South Africa (Unisa) 1918-1948: The first transition, from colonial to segregationist institution’, *African Historical Review*, 2016, 48(1), p. 18.

<sup>253</sup> A. Manson, ‘The University of South Africa (Unisa) 1918-1948: The first transition, from colonial to segregationist institution’, *African Historical Review*, 2016, 48(1), p. 18.

<sup>254</sup> V. Noble, *A School of Struggle: Durban’s medical school and the education of black doctors in South Africa*, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Scottsville, p. 21.

<sup>255</sup> V. Noble, *A School of Struggle: Durban’s medical school and the education of black doctors in South Africa*, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Scottsville, p. 2.

<sup>256</sup> V. Noble, *A School of Struggle: Durban’s medical school and the education of black doctors in South Africa*, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Scottsville, p. 32.

South African state left most health-care services for the majority of the country's rural and predominantly African population to faith-driven and philanthropic-inspired European doctors and nurses from various missionary bodies".<sup>257</sup> Most students attended missionary created higher education institutions such as the former Lovedale Mission College that became the Fort Hare College. With the Extension of University Education Act, new universities were established for the various non-white groups from 1959 onwards.<sup>258</sup> In the Western Cape, a school in Bellville was established for coloureds (currently the University of the Western Cape),<sup>259</sup> while a school at Ngoye was created in Zululand for Zulus (currently the University of Zululand).<sup>260</sup> For Indians, a school was established in Durban in the Natal Province (which was known as the University of Durban Westville<sup>261</sup> and currently the University of KwaZulu-Natal), and at Turfloop in the Transvaal for the Sotho-Tswana ethnic groups (currently known as the University of the North).<sup>262</sup> Furthermore, through the Extension of University Education Act and the Fort Hare Transfer Act, Act No. 64 of 1959, the University of Fort Hare, the former Lovedale Mission College, became restricted to providing university education for Xhosas only.<sup>263</sup> Since its commencement in South Africa and prior to 1994, "education has historically served as an instrument to ensure white domination over all blacks".<sup>264</sup>

Currently, South Africa has 26 public universities and 23 private universities and colleges. Following the restructuring of the public higher education landscape in 2004, South Africa has fourteen traditional universities, six comprehensive universities, and six universities of technology. As per Government Gazette No. 29469 of 2006, the Department of Higher

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<sup>257</sup> V. Noble, *A School of Struggle: Durban's medical school and the education of black doctors in South Africa*, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Scottsville, p. 32.

<sup>258</sup> M.M. Kgoale, 'The Development of University Education for Blacks in South Africa with Special Reference to the Transvaal (1900-1970), Med (History) thesis, University of South Africa, 1982, p. 67.

<sup>259</sup> M.M. Kgoale, 'The Development of University Education for Blacks in South Africa with Special Reference to the Transvaal (1900-1970), Med (History) thesis, University of South Africa, 1982, p. 67.

<sup>260</sup> M.M. Kgoale, 'The Development of University Education for Blacks in South Africa with Special Reference to the Transvaal (1900-1970), Med (History) thesis, University of South Africa, 1982, p. 97.

<sup>261</sup> M.M. Kgoale, 'The Development of University Education for Blacks in South Africa with Special Reference to the Transvaal (1900-1970), Med (History) thesis, University of South Africa, 1982, p. 67.

<sup>262</sup> M.M. Kgoale, 'The Development of University Education for Blacks in South Africa with Special Reference to the Transvaal (1900-1970), Med (History) thesis, University of South Africa, 1982, p. 67.

<sup>263</sup> M.M. Kgoale, 'The Development of University Education for Blacks in South Africa with Special Reference to the Transvaal (1900-1970), Med (History) thesis, University of South Africa, 1982, pp. 45-66 and p. 97.

<sup>264</sup> M. Nkomo (ed.), *Pedagogy of Domination: Toward a Democratic Education in South Africa*, Africa World Press, Inc., Trenton, 1990, p. 2.

Education promulgated the Further Education and Training Colleges Act, Act No. 16 of 2006, to, among other things,

establish a national co-ordinated further education and training system which promotes co-operative governance and provides for programme-based vocational and occupational training; restructure and transform programmes and colleges to respond better to the human resources, economic and development needs of the Republic; redress past discrimination and ensure representivity and equal access; ensure access to further education and training and the workplace by persons who have been marginalised in the past, such as women, the disabled and the disadvantaged.<sup>265</sup>

The Act was also:

to provide for the regulation of further education and training; to provide for the establishment, governance and funding of public further education and training colleges; to provide for the employment of staff at public further education and training colleges; to provide for the registration of private further education and training colleges; to provide for the promotion of quality in further education and training; to provide for transitional arrangements and the repeal or amendment of laws; and to provide for matters connected therewith.<sup>266</sup>

In addition, in 2014 the Department of Higher Education and Training launched 50 technical vocational and education training (TVET) colleges subsuming the existing Further Education Training colleges.

**Figure 1**

Headcount Enrolments in Public Higher Education by Race, 2008-2013							
	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	POPULATION 2013
African	515,058	547,686	595,963	640,442	662,123	689,503	42,284,132
Coloured	51,647	55,101	58,219	59,312	58,692	61,034	4,766,172
Indian	52,401	53,629	54,537	54,698	52,296	53,787	1,329,302
White	178,140	179,232	178,346	177,365	172,654	171,927	4,602,386
<b>Total</b>	<b>799,490</b>	<b>837,779</b>	<b>892,943</b>	<b>938,200</b>	<b>953,373</b>	<b>983,698</b>	<b>52,981,991</b>

Source: Council on Higher Education

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Education in South Africa. wenr.wes.org



Currently, all South Africans meeting the requirements for admission to university are eligible to enroll in all the public higher education institutions in the country, i.e., universities and technical vocational and education training colleges. As per the table above, and as a direct

<sup>265</sup> *Government Gazette* No. 29469 of 2006.

<sup>266</sup> *Government Gazette* No. 29469 of 2006.



result of the intervention of the new post-apartheid dispensation in the country, the African population group has become the largest population in South African higher education institutions from 2008 to 2013 (Figure 1).

While these figures better approximate the demographics of South African society, such growth, however, has also placed greater strain on the financing of higher education as a large percentage of this population are considered historically disadvantaged and rely heavily on government subsidies to enter the higher education sector for further study. Among other things, this has resulted in significant instability and turbulence in the higher education sector in the country, which from 2015 through 2016 resulted in disruptions across the majority of universities in the country.

According to Jansen,

The student protest of 2015-2016 caught South Africans by surprise. In a relatively short period of time, the defilement of a campus statue in Cape Town and a complaint about student fee increases in Johannesburg melded into a powerful protest movement that affected almost every one of the 26 public universities in the country.<sup>267</sup>

In his consideration of this “perfect storm” many foretold, Jansen surmises that:

Four factors converged to create this state of affairs: (1) a steady decline in the state subsidy to universities over two decades; (2) a dramatic increase in the number of poor students enrolled over the same period; (3) a growing reliance on raising tuition fees as the only way to recover institutional income; and (4) a mounting inefficiency within undergraduate institutions as the growing number of students were mainly from academically dysfunctional schools, leading to high dropout and low graduation rates.<sup>268</sup>

Most of the above factors have still not been addressed and resolved. The situation may quite possibly have been made worse through the government announced free education for students from indigent families, namely that families earning less than R350 000 per annum will receive comprehensive support in the form of a bursary for the duration of their studies, as reported earlier. Many families, particularly from the historically disadvantaged communities fall within this income bracket and the South African economy has been growing at a snail’s pace, if at all, in recent years thereby raising questions about where the financial resources are

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<sup>267</sup> J. Jansen, *As By Fire: The end of the South African University*, Tafelberg, Cape Town, 2017, p. 1.

<sup>268</sup> J. Jansen, *As By Fire: The end of the South African University*, Tafelberg, Cape Town, 2017, p. 28.

going to come from to finance such expenditure in a country bequeathed huge challenges as part of its apartheid legacy.

### 3.2. Mamelodi: introduction to a community

Indicating the genesis of locations for natives in the Transvaal, Bergh reports that the “Pretoria Convention following the Anglo-Transvaal War of 1880-1881 provided for a ‘Native Location Commission’, which came into being in 1881”.<sup>269</sup> Nöthling’s history of the settlement of coloureds in and around Pretoria from 1900 to 1914<sup>270</sup> and his consideration of neighbourhood segregation and coloureds in Pretoria from 1893-1918,<sup>271</sup> further confirm the formal commencement of segregated neighbourhoods in the Transvaal and Pretoria in particular to the turn of the nineteenth century. However, the majority of black townships across South Africa were formed as a result of the Native Urban Areas Act, No. 21 of 1923,<sup>272</sup> which followed the 1913 Land Act as part of the codification and legalisation of South Africa’s policy of racial segregation that commenced in the colonial period. The creation of Mamelodi, a black township some 18 kilometers from the Pretoria city centre, i.e., Church Square,<sup>273</sup> followed a similar genesis.

Mamelodi was created in an area that was initially a farm on the eastern side of the city. This farm was established in the 1840s by white settler-farmers (Voortrekkers), inspected on 4 March 1854, and divided into three portions in 1874. Bakker et al report that on 30 October 1945, the then City Council of Pretoria (CCP) bought Portions 2 and 3 of the farm Vlakfontein from the African and European Investment Company, Ltd for purposes of establishing a black township as per the Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act 25 of 1945.<sup>274</sup> However, Ralinala reports that the City Council of Pretoria purchased the farm for “a sum of £18,013 for 1810

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<sup>269</sup> J. Bergh, “(To) Reserve to the Native Tribes Such Locations as They may Be Fairly and Equitably Entitled to”: The Transvaal Location Commission (1881-1899)’, *South African Historical Journal*, 2005, 54(1), p. 3.

<sup>270</sup> F.J. Nöthling, *Die vestiging van Gekleurdes in en om Pretoria, 1900-1914*, Staatsdrukker, Pretoria, 1984.

<sup>271</sup> F.J. Nöthling, ‘Woonbuurtskeiding and Gekleurdes in Pretoria, 1893-1918’, *Kronos: Journal of Cape History*, 1(1), 1979.

<sup>272</sup> R.M. Ralinala, ‘Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990’. PhD thesis, 2002, p. 36; P. Bonner et al, *Ekurhuleni: The making of an urban region*, 2012, p. 47.

<sup>273</sup> T.J. Chiloane, ‘The Establishment of Black Settlement Areas in and Around Pretoria with Special Reference to Mamelodi, 1900-1970’. MA dissertation. 1990, p. 133; R.M. Ralinala, ‘Countering Municipal Monopoly in Mamelodi: An Economic Struggle, 1953-1961’, 2002, *South African Historical Journal*, 46, p. 203.

<sup>274</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, ‘The “Mamelodi rondavels” as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)’, *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), p. 16; R. M. Ralinala, *Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990*, PhD thesis, 2002, p. 43.

morgen from Mrs Soldate, who owned the farm at the time”.<sup>275</sup> Walter et al, on the other hand, report that

The earliest reference to the farm [Vlakfontein] is in the Deeds Office in Pretoria. Here the documents state that the farm was inspected on 4 March 1854 (as part of a general survey of all farms in the Transvaal), a year before the founding of the city of Pretoria in 1855. The inspection was done by AP van der Walt, but there is no mention of any owner. On 15 January 1861 the farm was allocated to one C Jansen, only to be sold by him to David R Opperman on 21 May 1861. This might mean that Jansen was in fact the owner of the farm for quite a while but in order to register transfer at the Deeds Office, he had to register the farm in his name first. One can safely assume that Jansen was the first registered owner of Vlakfontein.<sup>276</sup>

Notwithstanding the above, the township was proclaimed as Vlakfontein Native Location in 1953,<sup>277</sup> five years after the Nationalist government was established. The township was renamed Mamelodi in 1962.<sup>278</sup> More specifically, Mamelodi was established following the passing of the Urban Areas Consolidation Act, the aftermath of which witnessed an era of forced removals of black residents from freehold areas to racially designated areas, as demanded by the apartheid government and the Group Areas Act of 1950.<sup>279</sup> Between 1951 and 1954 the Department of Native Affairs undertook a number of initiatives to speed up the development of new African townships across the country.<sup>280</sup>

Characteristic of a large number of black townships on the periphery of cities across South Africa, Mamelodi is situated on the fringes of the city of Pretoria, the capital of South Africa. It is cradled on the northern side by the Magaliesberg mountain range that runs all the way to Rustenburg in the Northwest Province. The Pienaar’s (Moretele) river divides the community into two, i.e., Mamelodi west, which is the oldest part of the township and Mamelodi east, which is the newest section of the township. As an urban community, it is one of the historic neighbourhoods dotting South Africa’s geopolitical landscape. Mamelodi has a rich cultural and political history, which has seen it produce leading personalities and participate in some of the

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<sup>275</sup> R.M. Ralinala, ‘Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990’. PhD thesis, 2002, p. 26.

<sup>276</sup> J. Walker et al, *A working history of Mamelodi*, Unpublished HSRC report, 1991, p. 2.

<sup>277</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, ‘The “Mamelodi rondavels” as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)’, *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), p. 16; R. M. Ralinala, *Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990*, PhD thesis, 2002, p. 43.

<sup>278</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, ‘The “Mamelodi rondavels” as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)’, *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), p. 16; R. M. Ralinala, *Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990*, PhD thesis, 2002, p. 43.

<sup>279</sup> R.M. Ralinala, ‘Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990’. PhD thesis, 2002, p. 28.

<sup>280</sup> P. Bonner & N. Nieftagodien, *Kathorus: A History*, 2001, p. 19.

historic political contestations leading to modern-day South Africa.<sup>281</sup> Mamelodi was formally declared a township in June 1953.<sup>282</sup>

According to Chiloane, the name “Mamelodi” is taken from the Tswana phrase “Tshwane ya Mamelodi” which means “musical whistle from the Tshwane river”.<sup>283</sup> However, and according to Ralinala, the name Mamelodi directly translates to “the mother of music.”<sup>284</sup> The name Mamelodi is also reportedly associated with President Paul Kruger of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR, i.e., the Transvaal). There are two explanations for his association with the name of the township. One explanation reports that the name is associated with Paul Kruger for his love of whistling on his farm, which earned him the nickname, ‘the father of whistling’. The other account reports that “during Kruger’s reign in the Transvaal, rebellious farm workers would be brought to Church Square in the city centre of Pretoria to be flogged in public and that watching blacks would whistle in shock at this act of barbarism. Since then the square was associated with whistling, and Kruger was linked to the name, Mamelodi”.<sup>285</sup> Given Paul Kruger’s known harsh treatment of black farm workers as suggested in “*To make them serve ...*”: *The 1871 Transvaal Commission on African Labour*,<sup>286</sup> the latter association seems more likely than the benevolent view of his love for whistling. To further support this view, the 1871 Transvaal Commission on African Labour was established to investigate petitions complaining about the lack of subservience of Africans in all districts of the ZAR. The Commission was very critical of some prominent institutions and personalities, in particular Commandant General SJP Kruger.<sup>287</sup> The Commission’s report was never published, partly due to Paul Kruger’s objections against the allegations made against him and his wish to defend himself before the report was published.<sup>288</sup>

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<sup>281</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, ‘The “Mamelodi rondavels” as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West), *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), pp. 6-7 and 21.

<sup>282</sup> J. Walker & G-M van der Waal, *A working history of Mamelodi*, Unpublished HSRC report, 1991, p. 4.

<sup>283</sup> T.J. Chiloane, ‘The Establishment of Black Settlement Areas in and Around Pretoria with Special Reference to Mamelodi, 1900-1970’. MA dissertation. 1990, p. 16.

<sup>284</sup> R.M. Ralinala, ‘Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990’, PhD thesis, 2002, p. 13.

<sup>285</sup> J. Walker & G-M van der Waal, *A working history of Mamelodi*, Unpublished HSRC report, 1991, p. 5; R.M. Ralinala, ‘Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990’, PhD thesis, 2002, p. 13.

<sup>286</sup> S.J. Bergh & F. Morton, *To make them serve: The 1871 Transvaal Commission on African Labour*, 2003, p. 13.

<sup>287</sup> S.J. Bergh & F. Morton, *To make them serve: The 1871 Transvaal Commission on African Labour*, 2003, p. 13.

<sup>288</sup> S.J. Bergh & F. Morton, *To make them serve: The 1871 Transvaal Commission on African Labour*, 2003, p. 15.

Furthermore, there are also other explanations for the origins of the name Mamelodi. Tebogo Moswane reports that during her ethnographic study of the hostels in Mamelodi West:

The Commander and Ntate Tholo (Mamelodi residents) told me that Mamelodi means “mother of whistles”. During apartheid white police officer would come to raid the township and the women (mothers) would whistle, warning the men in the area to run and hide on top of the mountains.

They would wait for the women to whistle again telling them that the coast is clear. Often the officers would retaliate by hurting the women for hiding the men. The women were the ones protecting the men at the time by whistling and warning them against the dangers that were coming. As a way to honour them the township is called “Mamelodi”.<sup>289</sup>

Given these diverging explanations about the origins of the name Mamelodi, further investigations into the veracity of these explanations are necessary. This is important because official publications of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality and sources such as the South African History Online continue in the new, post-1994 democratic dispensation, to offer Kruger’s love of whistling as the source of the name for Mamelodi,<sup>290</sup> while new studies are reporting different explanations. The name of this township is further complicated by the fact that the City Council and the Advisory Board decided to change the name of the township from Vlakfontein to Mamelodi in July 1962 without consulting the local inhabitants of the township.<sup>291</sup>

Notwithstanding the above contestations, among many of its achievements, Mamelodi was also home to the first factory in the Transvaal, *De Eerste Fabrieken in de Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek Ltd.*<sup>292</sup> The site where the factory was located is currently a commuter train station in Mamelodi named “Eerste Fabriek”, which is the abbreviated name of the former factory.

According to Charles van Onselen:

As early as 1881, President Kruger took the first somewhat optimistic step towards industrialising the Transvaal when he granted a concession for the manufacture of alcohol from locally grown products to the Pretoria-based entrepreneur, A.H. Nellmapius. ... Once the Witwatersrand goldfields were discovered, however, the company’s prospects were transformed overnight. In May 1889 it

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<sup>289</sup> T.N. Moswane, ‘An Ethnography of a Mamelodi West Hostel: Analysing how Stigma, Gender, Crime and Political Structure is understood outside and within the hostel’, MSocSci (Anthropology) dissertation, University of Pretoria, 2018, pp. 21-22.

<sup>290</sup> Anon, ‘Mamelodi’, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/mamelodi> Accessed: 16 March 2021.

<sup>291</sup> R.M. Ralinala, ‘Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990’, PhD thesis, 2002, p. 43.

<sup>292</sup> C. van Onselen, *New Babylon, New Nineveh: Everyday life on the Witwatersrand 1886-1914*, Jonathan Ball Publishers, Johannesburg, 2001, p. 7.

was noted of the distillery that, 'from a very modest beginning on a tentative scale, its success has become unprecedentedly rapid, and it is now developing itself into a great industry'. Three years later, in 1892, *De Eerste Fabrieken* became a public company, and amongst the most prominent investors in the new venture were several of the Rand mine owners.<sup>293</sup>

When *De Eerste Fabrieken* became the Hatherley Distillery in 1892 it put a partnership which had been developing between Boer agricultural producers and the mine owners ever since the opening of the goldfields on a slightly more formal footing.<sup>294</sup>

With the demolition of freehold areas in an around Pretoria as a result of the Group Areas Act of 1950, it was estimated that by 1964, 471 families had been removed to Mamelodi<sup>295</sup> from Lady Selbourne alone. In total, a population of 6,561, comprising 744 families were resettled in Mamelodi.<sup>296</sup> By September 1976, there were 13,833 houses and a registered population of 114,340<sup>297</sup> people living in Mamelodi. Furthermore, by the end of 1987, there were 16,439 houses in the township [with an] estimated population of 265,793, a figure based on the census results of 1987.<sup>298</sup> According to Statistics South Africa's 2016 Census, Mamelodi now has a population of 334,577. As with the previous census data, many observers consider the census data a gross underestimation given the exponential burgeoning of informal settlements in and around Mamelodi, a feature also referenced by Ogude et al.<sup>299</sup> It was estimated that about 80% of residents in Mamelodi moved into the township from the locations of Bantule, Eastwood, Lady Selborne, and Marabastad.<sup>300</sup> These people were evicted and relocated by the then apartheid South African government, which grouped the inhabitants according to race and ethnicity and developed "boundaries" between neighbourhoods, a characteristic still evident today. This feature, like so much of the design of townships, is clearly illustrated by the language

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<sup>293</sup> C. van Onselen, *New Babylon, New Nineveh: Everyday life on the Witwatersrand 1886-1914*, Jonathan Ball Publishers, Johannesburg, 2001, p. 7.

<sup>294</sup> C. van Onselen, *New Babylon, New Nineveh: Everyday life on the Witwatersrand 1886-1914*, Jonathan Ball Publishers, Johannesburg, 2001, p. 17.

<sup>295</sup> T.J. Chiloane, 'The Establishment of Black Settlement Areas in and around Pretoria with Special Reference to Mamelodi, 1900-1970', M.A. thesis, 1990, p. 97.

<sup>296</sup> T.J. Chiloane, 'The Establishment of Black Settlement Areas in and around Pretoria with Special Reference to Mamelodi, 1900-1970', M.A. thesis, 1990, p. 98.

<sup>297</sup> R.M. Ralinala, 'Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990', PhD thesis, 2002, p. 47.

<sup>298</sup> R.M. Ralinala, 'Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990', PhD thesis, 2002, p. 67.

<sup>299</sup> N.A. Ogude, et al, 2020, 'Mamelodi Pre-University Academy: Aligning Campus Strategic Goals to Achieve a University's Anchor Institution Strategy Mandate'. *Metropolitan Universities*, 2020, 31(2), p. 33.

<sup>300</sup> T.J. Chiloane, 'The Establishment of Black Settlement Areas in and around Pretoria with Special Reference to Mamelodi, 1900-1970', M.A. thesis, 1990, p. 112; R.M. Ralinala, 'Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990', PhD thesis, 2002, p. 30; R.M. Ralinala, Countering Municipal Monopoly in Mamelodi: An Economic Struggle, 1953-1961. 2002. *South African Historical Journal*, 46, p. 203.

of instruction the schools still use in various parts of the neighbourhood, particularly the primary schools. Although some new cultural elements emerged in Mamelodi due to residential segregation, residents maintained the urban culture that was already planted in their hearts and minds by the social agencies that had existed in their old locations and black people who migrated from rural areas to the township were assimilated into the existing culture, as in many townships countrywide.<sup>301</sup>

Relentless community campaigns, protests and defiance changed the perspective of the rulers regarding urban blacks, following the government's realisation of the failure of its urban policies.<sup>302</sup> The majority of Mamelodi residents, who were resettled from freehold areas in and around the city, had already established a sense of identity and community, as many of them were born and bred in the areas from which they were being forcibly relocated.<sup>303</sup> Consequently, the Mamelodi township became a cultural broker where cultural features and identities were being remade. To complicate the mix of disaffection and dissatisfaction, those members of the community who managed to own their own houses frequently complained about high rents and coercive measures that were used by local authorities to pressurise residents to pay their arrears. Due to local grievances such as these, residents attached themselves to the national liberation struggle and amplified the call for the abolition of all apartheid structures. Placement of the township under the control of the Central Transvaal Administration Board in 1964, the successor to the City Council of Pretoria, did not alter this state of affairs.<sup>304</sup> The Board continued to co-opt a few residents to pursue its agenda to implement all the laws and regulations that upheld urban apartheid. Unpopular leadership in the township resulted in a state of dysfunction due to co-ordinated popular campaigns such as bus, rent, consumer, and school boycotts.<sup>305</sup> International observers, such as G.M. Fredrickson,

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<sup>301</sup> R.M. Ralinala, 'Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990', PhD thesis, 2002, p. 72.

<sup>302</sup> R.M. Ralinala, 'Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990', PhD thesis, 2002, p. 72.

<sup>303</sup> R.M. Ralinala, 'Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990', PhD thesis, 2002, p. 72.

<sup>304</sup> R.M. Ralinala, 'Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990', PhD thesis, 2002, p. 72.

<sup>305</sup> R.M. Ralinala, 'Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990', PhD thesis, 2002, p. 23.

note how he, in the 1980s, watched with fascination as a massive resistance movement challenged white supremacy as it had never been challenged before in South Africa.<sup>306</sup>

Although there were many protests, petitions and deputations against urban apartheid across the land, the Mamelodi community had its own way of social organisation. Ralinala's thesis documents the accompanying black urban culture that became institutionalised in the township of Mamelodi. It also focused on the economic life of the residents to show how urban blacks reacted to the state's economic interests and how this changed over time amid protests and defiance. Political activism and opposition were seen as effective weapons to deal with urban apartheid, a system that affected township residents throughout their lives. Apart from reflecting residents' dissatisfaction with the urban policies that were intended to shape their lives, Ralinala also sought to illuminate the urban black response to unpopular policies implemented by the local authorities in the township. Because urban policies reflected the institutionalised political ideology of the rulers, residents had to deal with the rulers politically in order to foster their own community-based ideology in the quest for a better urban life.<sup>307</sup>

To a certain degree, and contrary to Aubrey Mogase's recollection, Ralinala reports that residents who settled in Mamelodi in 1953 and subsequent years had already been exposed to political trends spearheaded by the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) in the freehold areas.<sup>308</sup> Some had participated in campaigns that were organised by these organisations. A case in point is the 1953 campaign against the rondavel houses of the *Lapa* Scheme<sup>309</sup> built by the City Council in the new township, which was one of the first campaigns that reflected the political consciousness of urban blacks in this community. The *Lapa* Scheme was a spatial development plan to develop rondavels, i.e., traditional round huts in Mamelodi akin to the designs of homes in rural communities across the continent, which was rejected by the community. The rejection of the *Lapa* Scheme led to

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<sup>306</sup> G.M. Fredrickson, *Black Liberation: A comparative history of Black ideologies in the United States and South Africa*, 1995.

<sup>307</sup> R.M. Ralinala, 'Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990', PhD thesis, 2002, p. 72.

<sup>308</sup> R.M. Ralinala, 'Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990', PhD thesis, 2002, p. 72.

<sup>309</sup> J. Walker and G-M van der Waal, *A working history of Mamelodi*, Unpublished HSRC report, 1991, p. 10; K.A. Bakker et al, 'The "Mamelodi rondavels" as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)', *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), p. 17.



the abandoning of the plan in favour of the building of the “matchbox” four-roomed houses that are still visible in Mamelodi today.<sup>310</sup> In effect, the Mamelodi community commenced their presence in the location with protests against the plans of the local, provincial and national authorities, which reflects and confirms their heightened political awareness, organisation and sense of agency.

This character of the community’s response to institutional interventions in their area were prevalent from the beginning of the community’s establishment right through to the current context. It also suggests that the participation by some members of the community in campaigns organised by national black political bodies indicate that such urban blacks viewed themselves as part of the national struggle against apartheid, which challenged all aspects of existence as regulated by the apartheid authorities. Furthermore, and as local ANC underground leaders encouraged the youth to leave the country to join *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, the military wing of the ANC, many residents began to associate themselves with the Charterist tradition.<sup>311</sup> The Congress Alliance composed of the ANC (representing Africans), the Indian Congresses (Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses), the Congress of Democrats (representing whites), and the South Africa Coloured People’s Organisation, convened in Kliptown on 25 June 1955 to adopt the Freedom Charter, which was their blueprint of the kind of country and society they wished for in a future South Africa. These organisations, led by the ANC, became known as the Charterists in relation to other organisations also involved in the struggle against apartheid. The Freedom Charter remains to this day the fundamental statement of the ANC’s philosophy.<sup>312</sup> By the end of 1979, the Charterist tradition had become the dominant ideological force in the area. The uprising of the mid-1980s that demonstrated the dysfunction of township management and policies designed by the National Party government was a result of enormous campaigns organised by the mass-based organisations. Campaigns such as school,

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<sup>310</sup> R.M. Ralinala, ‘Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990’, PhD thesis, 2002, p. 72.

<sup>311</sup> G.M, Fredrickson, *Black Liberation: A comparative history of Black ideologies in the United States and South Africa*, 1995.

<sup>312</sup> G.M, Fredrickson, *Black Liberation: A comparative history of Black ideologies in the United States and South Africa*, 1995.

consumer, and rent boycotts became popular at the time.<sup>313</sup> This confirms the claim by Zegeye that “[t]he history of Mamelodi was characterized by struggle”.<sup>314</sup>

From its inception, Mamelodi was the domicile of multiple ethnic groups of South African origin—Tswana, Ndebele, Venda, Zulu, Shangaan, South Sotho, and a few Xhosa. As the Group Areas Act of 1950 demanded the segregation of ethnic groups even in the black townships, Chiloane reports that “from 1953 Mamelodi was rezoned along ethnic lines, according to the principles of apartheid in order to bring it into line with other townships”.<sup>315</sup> In the formative years, the Council allocated houses according to ethnicity in order to break any possible sense of social cohesion that might exist in the new locations. By 1955 the City Council began implementing the system of ethnic-based sections in the township, against the wishes of the residents.<sup>316</sup> Mamelodi was run by the Pretoria City Council’s Non-European Affairs Department during the initial stages of its development.<sup>317</sup> The Advisory Boards were established in 1955 by the government as the central administrative bodies in the black municipal townships. The residents of Mamelodi served on the Advisory Board which was replaced by the Urban Council in 1968, which in turn became a Community Council in 1970. Elections to these bodies constantly produced low polls because the majority of the residents rejected them as powerless as they had no control over finance, housing or land in the township.<sup>318</sup> The Advisory Board “members themselves were frustrated at their own powerlessness”.<sup>319</sup> The rejection of the Advisory Board by some of the residents because of the Board’s impotence led to a clamour for its abolition. This reached fruition in 1961 when the Urban Council was established to replace the Advisory Boards.<sup>320</sup>

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<sup>313</sup> R.M. Ralinala, ‘Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990’, PhD thesis, 2002, p. 23.

<sup>314</sup> A. Zegeye, ‘Of Struggle and Whistles: Mamelodi’s Black Youth Culture’, *Current Sociology*, 2004, 52(5), p.853.

<sup>315</sup> T.J. Chiloane, ‘The Establishment of Black Settlement Areas in and around Pretoria with Special Reference to Mamelodi, 1900-1970’, M.A. thesis, 1990, p. 158.

<sup>316</sup> T.J. Chiloane, ‘The Establishment of Black Settlement Areas in and around Pretoria with Special Reference to Mamelodi, 1900-1970’, M.A. thesis, 1990, p. 158.

<sup>317</sup> S. Bekker & R. Humpries, *From control to confusion: The changing role of the Administration Boards in South Africa, 1971-1983*, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, 1985, p. 10.

<sup>318</sup> T.J. Chiloane, ‘The Establishment of Black Settlement Areas in and around Pretoria with Special Reference to Mamelodi, 1900-1970’, M.A. thesis, 1990, p. 166.

<sup>319</sup> W.B. Vosloo, *Local Government in South Africa*, Cape Town, 1984, p. 35.

<sup>320</sup> T.J. Chiloane, ‘The Establishment of Black Settlement Areas in and around Pretoria with Special Reference to Mamelodi, 1900-1970’, M.A. thesis, 1990, p. 187.

To change the existing administrative structure in Mamelodi the Black Council Act, Act No. 79 of 1961 was promulgated to establish the Urban Council which replaced the Advisory Board in Mamelodi.<sup>321</sup> The Native Advisory Board of Mamelodi operated under the leadership of the Pretoria City Council, which, like other white councils countrywide, did not cater for the interests of blacks—instead they were preoccupied with the need to implement the racial laws of the government. Since Mamelodi was declared a township, the Non-European Affairs Committee, which was composed of the township managers and superintendents, was entrusted with the mandate to oversee the administration of all issues affecting black people. The local governing structures in Mamelodi became more unpopular because they failed to consult residents on administrative issues of the township. As indicated earlier in this chapter, the City Council and the Advisory Board decided to change the name of the township from Vlakfontein to Mamelodi in July 1962, without consulting the residents, albeit the given reason for the change was the Advisory Board’s preference for an African name for the township, given that it was a black residential area.

The lack of consultation by the Advisory Board started with the naming of streets in Mamelodi in 1958. When the Non-European Affairs Committee requested the Advisory Board to furnish the proposed street names for Mamelodi, it decided to submit the names of its black members without the mandate of the residents. Some of the names, such as Pitje, Kekana, Maseko, Nkintle, Maila, Makhubela, Shabangu, Somo, Masethe, and Sehlabi, still appear in Mamelodi currently. They belong to the members of the deeply disliked, distrusted and community rejected Advisory Board.<sup>322</sup> In June 1971, the Bantu Affairs Administration Act, Act No. 45 of 1971,<sup>323</sup> was passed by Parliament, which called for the establishment of the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards. These boards were to replace the white local authorities in the townships. All the structures that were set up by the City Council of Pretoria to administer the townships were dissolved in favour of the new Bantu Affairs Administration Board (BAAB). The township was then placed under the Central Transvaal Administration Board, which was

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<sup>321</sup> A. Borraine, “Mamelodi: From Parks to People’s Power: A Survey of Community Organisation in South Africa”, BA Honours dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1987, p. 25.

<sup>322</sup> R.M. Ralinala, ‘Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990’, PhD thesis, 2002, p. 44.

<sup>323</sup> *Government Gazette* No. 4628, 27 March 1975.

established in 1964 and was in essence a regional body that fell under the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.<sup>324</sup>

In 1980, conditions became more difficult for the residents as they were faced with a rent increase recommended by the Council to the Administration Board following the Pretoria City Council's increase of electricity rates twice in the same year. The situation became worse in 1981 and 1982 following the Council's imposition of high rent increases demanded by the Administration Board. By 1984 it was clear that the City Council did not have any possibility of solving the housing backlog due to lack of land as the government was not prepared to grant permission to utilise the vacant land extending towards Waltloo, which was designated an industrial area. By January 1985 it was clear that the City Council had lost credibility because of its actions. As there were no attempts to address township problems, the housing list had become meaningless, and residents began to accuse the City Council of corruption, misadministration, obstruction, and inefficiency. By December 1985, the City Council was on the brink of collapse due to the financial constraints worsened by the intensive rent boycott organised by community organisations in the township.<sup>325</sup>

Mamelodi was, like other townships across the country, swept up in the popular resistance activities characterising the lead up to the historical 1990 watershed in South Africa. According to Tom Lodge, “[b]etween 1973 and 1994, a succession of protests and rebellions transfigured South African political life”.<sup>326</sup> On 12 June 1986, the government declared a State of Emergency, which included Mamelodi.<sup>327</sup> Ralinala notes that “[t]he State of Emergency resulted in the establishment of an army camp on a hillside of the Magaliesberg range that forms the northern border of the township”.<sup>328</sup> The army was ostensibly deployed to “monitor the political events

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<sup>324</sup> R.M. Ralinala, ‘Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990’, PhD thesis, 2002, p. 45.

<sup>325</sup> R.M. Ralinala, ‘Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990’, PhD thesis, 2002, p. 65.

<sup>326</sup> T. Lodge, ‘Resistance and Reform, 1973-1994’, in R. Ross, A.K. Mager & B. Nasson (eds.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa, Volume 2: 1885-1994*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011, p. 409.

<sup>327</sup> R.M. Ralinala, ‘Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990’, PhD thesis, 2002, p. 231.

<sup>328</sup> R.M. Ralinala, ‘Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990’, PhD thesis, 2002, p. 231.

in the township”.<sup>329</sup> Lodge further reports that “[s]till, violent political conflict continued to claim increasing numbers of victims after 2 February 1990”.<sup>330</sup> With the momentous changes announced by President F.W. de Klerk on 2 February 1990,<sup>331</sup> again similar to other townships, Mamelodi was among the areas that celebrated the unbanning of political organisations and the release of many political prisoners in the country.<sup>332</sup>

The election of a democratic government in South Africa in 1994 as a result of the negotiated settlement of hostilities, created new opportunities to address the problems plaguing South Africa and communities like Mamelodi. However, the post-apartheid state faced the fundamental economic challenge and dilemma that had faced the South African state across the course of the twentieth century: a well-organised set of citizens demanding a certain minimum standard of living, too small internal markets and too competitive global markets.<sup>333</sup>

Similarly, the racially based preferential investment in education posed its own challenges. The new democratic government commenced measures to unravel the apartheid legacy in both school and postsecondary education. According to Jonathan Jansen, “[t]he founding policy document on higher education after apartheid is the [1996] report of the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE): A Framework for Transformation which advised the Minister of Education on ‘the shape of the higher education system ... in terms of types of institutions’ and ‘what the size of the higher education system should be’”.<sup>334</sup> In March 2001, the Minister appointed a National Working Group (NWG) “to advise the minister on the appropriate arrangements for restructuring the provision of higher education, including institutional

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<sup>329</sup> A. Boraine, ‘Security Management and Urban Upgrading under the State of Emergency: A Case Study of State Strategy in Mamelodi Township, 1986-1988’, A paper presented to the Nineteenth Annual Congress of the Association of Sociology in Southern Africa, July 1988.

<sup>330</sup> T. Lodge, ‘Resistance and Reform, 1973-1994’, in R. Ross, A.K. Mager & B. Nasson (eds.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa, Volume 2: 1885-1994*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011, p. 483.

<sup>331</sup> T. Lodge, ‘Resistance and Reform, 1973-1994’, in R. Ross, A.K. Mager & B. Nasson (eds.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa, Volume 2: 1885-1994*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011, p. 481.

<sup>332</sup> R.M. Ralinala, ‘Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990’, PhD thesis, 2002, p. 239.

<sup>333</sup> N. Natrass & J. Seekings, ‘The economy and poverty in the twentieth century’, in R. Ross, A.K. Mager & B. Nasson (eds.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa, Volume 2: 1885-1994*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011, p. 571.

<sup>334</sup> J.D. Jansen (ed.), *Mergers in Higher Education: Lessons learned in Transitional Contexts*, University of South Africa, Pretoria, 2002, p. 3.

mergers”.<sup>335</sup> In 2004, these policy interventions to reshape the higher education landscape led to the incorporation of the Mamelodi Campus of the erstwhile Vista University into the University of Pretoria as will be discussed later in this study.

At the early stages of its development, Mamelodi had five schools, four primary schools and a technical school. The number of schools increased to 20 schools by 1960.<sup>336</sup> Nonetheless, the number of schools was inadequate for the demand and needs of the community and they often remained overcrowded. According to Ralinala, the South African government had a formula that was provided by the Bantu education system that demanded that

for every 8 000 families, almost ten sites of two and half morgen each (about 2.14 hectares) for lower primary schools, five sites of two and half morgen each for higher primary schools and finally, two sites of two and half morgen each for secondary schools should be provided. In addition, for creches, the formula emphasised that 8 000 families should be catered for by twelve acres (about 4.9 hectares) of ground. However, the government easily ignored the formula, especially after the adoption of the homeland system.<sup>337</sup>

Walker et al report that the high school that was to be built by the Department of Education was called Mamelodi Model School,<sup>338</sup> which only had fourteen classrooms that were not sufficient given the population growth rate of Mamelodi at the time.<sup>339</sup> However, according to one of the respondents in this study, Respondent WS, the school was built “in 1954 as the first modern primary school building in Vlakfontein and was erected in the present day, Section M (D1) - Mamelodi West. It was named Mamelodi Model School and later renamed Gamelodi Higher Primary School”.<sup>340</sup> The respondent reports that the Mamelodi High School was established at the beginning of 1955 and shared premises with the newly registered Mamelodi Secondary School under the leadership of Mr C.A.R. Motsepe. Before the close of 1955, Mr Motsepe, his staff and pupils moved to Mamelodi High School as it is presently called.<sup>341</sup>

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<sup>335</sup> J.D. Jansen (ed.), *Mergers in Higher Education: Lessons learned in Transitional Contexts*, University of South Africa, Pretoria, 2002, p. 6.

<sup>336</sup> T.J. Chiloane, ‘The Establishment of Black Settlement Areas in and around Pretoria with Special Reference to Mamelodi, 1900-1970’, M.A. thesis, 1990, p. 144.

<sup>337</sup> R.M. Ralinala, ‘Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990’, PhD thesis, 2002, p. 80.

<sup>338</sup> J. Walker and G-M van der Waal, *A working history of Mamelodi*, Unpublished HSRC report, 1991, p. 32.

<sup>339</sup> R.M. Ralinala, ‘Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990’, PhD thesis, 2002, p. 80.

<sup>340</sup> Interview with Respondent WS, 2020.

<sup>341</sup> Interview with Respondent WS, 2020.

Ralinala postulates that this set a precedent for the mushrooming of schools in the township and by 1984, there were nine secondary and high schools, namely: Mamelodi High School (1955), Vlaktefontein Technical High School (1955), Ribane-Laka High School (1967), J. (John) Kekana High School (1977), J. (Jaftha) Mahlangu Secondary School, Rethabile Secondary School, Lehlabile Secondary School, Tsako-Thabo High School (1978), and Izikhulu Secondary School.<sup>342</sup> At the time of this study, Mamelodi had 20 high schools (16 public; 2 private; 1 finishing school; and 1 special needs school) and 46 primary schools (43 public; 1 private; 1 public combined; and 1 special needs school).<sup>343</sup> Some of the schools are as old as the earliest buildings erected in Mamelodi in 1953 around what was the Rondavels area opposite Moretele Park Resort.

### **3.3. Interplay and tensions between postsecondary education institutions, urbanisation and modernity**

There is an observable interplay between urbanization and modernity for blacks who accessed postsecondary education institutions commencing with the unfolding regulatory dispensation and the evolving implementation of separate development, which was finally formalized as national policy from 1948 onwards and how these forces shaped the understanding and appreciation of postsecondary institutions, their value and utility for the communities and populations exposed to them and benefiting from their existence. As any community, Mamelodi is not just a physical place. It is a social, political, economic and education space that is shaped by national policy and community responses to such policy and regulations. Postsecondary institutions, following the 1955 Extension of Universities Education Act, also became blatant social, political, economic and education spaces. These entities interacted and engaged with one another for compliance, submission, subjugation, and rejection of these sensibilities.

South African higher education was from its inception driven by serving its different racial groups. White South Africans enjoyed the benefits of the “westernization” and modernization industrialization ushered in with the discovery of the rich mineral resources in the country in the late nineteenth century, blacks experienced the concomitant colonization, racial

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<sup>342</sup> R.M. Ralinala, ‘Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990’, PhD thesis, 2002, p. 82.

<sup>343</sup> *Pretoria: Life in the Capitol*, 2019, <http://www.pretoria-south-africa.com/mamelodi-schools.html>

separation, and disenfranchisement accompanying these selfsame developments. Postsecondary education was structured in such a manner as to support these developments by attempting to create, in the minds and lives of the differently categorized and classed racial groups in the country a particular disposition towards the political ambitions of the colonial and apartheid governments of the time.

The urbanisation of blacks greatly contributed to their appreciation of the utility and value of postsecondary education. Many black students lived in the continuously developing and expanding urban townships, even when some of them later attended postsecondary education institutions located in rural areas due to the proclivities of the then ruling government and its policies of separate development and apartheid. These experiences and orientations among blacks, i.e., their modernization and engagement and interaction with a postsecondary education experience set on controlling and moulding them to fit the prescripts of demands and needs of a racially oriented polity and economy, sheds light on the relationship between the community of Mamelodi and the postsecondary education institutions in its back yard.

In his “Preface” to Luthuli’s *The philosophical foundations of Black education in South Africa*, Prof Absolom L. Vilakazi, Director of the University of Zululand’s Centre for Research and Documentation, reports that historically, the foundation of black education in the “Western mould” was first designed by missionaries who had their own ethnocentric Christian philosophies to guide them. Following the missionaries were the designs of the colonial governments, which had their own particular brands of philosophy and degraded views of blacks. Consequently, black education was viewed by those for whom it was intended as an instrument for the destabilisation of black societies and for the destruction of black personalities and self-image. This was the sense in which black people talked of the imposed Western-type forms of black education as deliberate socio-cultural and spiritual sabotage.<sup>344</sup>

Furthermore, and as referenced by Nadine L. Moore,

[o]nce large-scale urbanisation took place, however, attitudes started shifting as it became apparent that education could in fact be used as a ‘method of control’. This notion was

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<sup>344</sup> P.C. Luthuli, *The philosophical foundations of Black education in South Africa*, Butterworths, Durban ,1981.



supported by the state in its attempts at coping with the demands of labour unrest and changing social conditions in 1945, by expanding funding to black education.<sup>345</sup>

Supporting this view, but closer to the area under consideration, Bakker et al report that the Mamelodi rondavels were not only the oldest known buildings in Mamelodi, but they may and should also be understood as symbols of apartheid, its accompanying education ideology and, from an architectural and town planning perspective, its accompanying town planning ideology.<sup>346</sup> The strange phenomenon of establishing postsecondary institutions in Mamelodi right as the township was being planned, demarcated and developed, is hard to discern. Yet, it is clear that

[t]here was complete synergy and co-operation between the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, the Department of Native Affairs and the Department of Bantu Education to streamline black education to clearly reflect a 'positive Christian foundation' [one that emanated from the Protestant-Calvinist creed] and the Union's pro-Nationalist civil servants' intentions to construct a core of Christian-national education policy in the North. Furthermore, it appears as if local white Universities greatly supported the concept that black university colleges were to be strongly influenced and managed.<sup>347</sup>

Articulating some of the outcomes of the philosophical foundation of apartheid education, Soudien notes that

[r]acial self-perceptions within South African society in the late 1940s is a complex field marked by continuities and discontinuities ... It is hardly surprising, therefore, that in all the distinct South African communities, on the basis of the evidence, there is both consensus and dissonance, generating a wide spectrum of opinion".<sup>348</sup>

With the recent calls for a decolonised curriculum emanating from the #FeesMustFall movement of 2015, such wide-ranging opinions still prevail in contemporary South African society, albeit in different guises regarding the nature and utility of postsecondary education in modern South African society.

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<sup>345</sup> N.L. Moore, *In a class of their own: The Bantu Education Act (1953) revisited*. MA (History) dissertation, University of Pretoria, 2015, p. 52.

<sup>346</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, 'The "Mamelodi rondavels" as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)', *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), p. 22.

<sup>347</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, 'The "Mamelodi rondavels" as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)', *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), p. 14.

<sup>348</sup> C. Soudien, 'Racial Discourse in the Commission on Native Education (Eiselen Commission), 1949–1951: The Making of a 'Bantu' Identity', *Southern African Review of Education*, 2005, 11(1), p. 44; University of Pretoria 1987. *Ad Destinatum II, 1960-1982*, p. 46.

Racially differentiated education systems and institutions were differently resourced with white education institutions enjoying the larger share of government expenditure. When government finally saw it fit to take responsibility for black education with the Bantu Education Act of 1953, including postsecondary education with the Extension of University Education Act of 1959, the disparities in government provision and support reflected the racial policies that favoured white South Africans against the other racial groups in the country with black South Africans placed at the bottom of such educational provision and concerns. Commensurate with the ideas of separate and unequal development, residential areas for blacks and whites were disparately resourced and so too education institutions, including postsecondary education institutions.

While many black South Africans clamoured for access to postsecondary education institutions, they demonstrated an awareness of the limitations of these opportunities and also the ideological machinations subjecting oneself to these institutions provided and made possible. The history of postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi reflect these contestations and manifestations from its inception into modern times.

This chapter sought to outline the history of education in South Africa with particular focus on postsecondary education of blacks and by extension education in Mamelodi by considering the genesis and development of discrimination and the extreme disparities characterizing the racially preferential provision of education in South Africa, with specific focus on how this manifested through the provisioning of education and postsecondary education in Mamelodi. To complete the background, this chapter introduces Mamelodi and its community as both a place and a space within a specific context in South Africa's history of segregation and apartheid. In concluding the introduction to Mamelodi, the chapter also sought to contextualize the development of education in communities like Mamelodi by also referencing the larger forces possibly shaping, driving, and influencing education institutions as government institutions and how communities viewed these developments.

## Chapter 4: Postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi

### 4.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses and documents the history of postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi beginning with the *Kolege Ya Bana Ba Afrika* (1945/6)<sup>349</sup> and the Pretoria Bantu Normal College (1947).<sup>350</sup> These earlier institutions were later followed by Vista University (1981) and its campus in Mamelodi (1983),<sup>351</sup> the Thuto Matlhale Technical College (1983),<sup>352</sup> and the University of Pretoria's Mamelodi Campus (2004).<sup>353</sup> The history concludes with the Tshwane North Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) College's Mamelodi Campus (2014).<sup>354</sup> While this reads as Mamelodi having a total of six institutions altogether over the course of this study, they actually are only three postsecondary education institutions as the first two shared the same premises and operated during the same period, and the other institutions replaced one another over time on the same premises. Due to the lack of documentary sources, particularly for the earlier institutions, interviews with Mamelodi residents were conducted to help fill the gap and assist with constructing a comprehensive history of postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi through oral sources with the necessary corroboration and validation.

As noted earlier, Mamelodi has the singular distinction of being one of the first, if not the only, township in South Africa to have a postsecondary education institution exist alongside the township's very own establishment and even before any other education institutions were developed in the neighborhood.

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<sup>349</sup> M-L Suttie, 'The formative years of the University of South Africa library, 1946 to 1976'. *Mousaion* 23(1), 2005. p. 98; Boucher, M., *Spes in Arduis: a history of the University of South Africa*, 1973, p. 239.

<sup>350</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, 'The "Mamelodi rondavels" as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)', *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), pp. 5 and 12.

<sup>351</sup> H.M. Van der Merwe, HM, (), 'The Vudec merger: a recording of what was and a reflection on gains and losses', *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 2007, 21(3), p. 543.

<sup>352</sup> H.M. Van der Merwe, HM, (), 'The Vudec merger: a recording of what was and a reflection on gains and losses', *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 2007, 21(3), p. 543.

<sup>353</sup> *Government Gazette* No. 23540. Transformation and Restructuring: A New Institutional Landscape for Higher Education. 21 June 2002.

<sup>354</sup> Further Education and Training Amendment Act, Act No. 1 of 2013.

#### 4.2. *Kolege Ya Bana Ba Afrika (1945-1959)*

Other than the reference by Mochacha Mathews Kgoale in his master's thesis on the "History of Education" where he reports that the "Kollege ya Bana BaAfrika [sic] was established in 1926 ... [and held its classes] in the evening at the Furgerson Coloured School in Marabastad, Pretoria",<sup>355</sup> all other sources referenced in this study report the *Kolege Ya Bana Ba Afrika* to have been established in 1945 in Atteridgeville.<sup>356</sup> According to Bakker, et al, the Mamelodi rondavels were also associated with the *Kolege Ya Bana Ba Afrika (Kolege)*, which was a private enterprise, established on 17 October 1945 by members of the Transvaal-Mannesendingsbond, the Dutch Reformed Mission Church of the Transvaal and businessmen from Pretoria.<sup>357</sup> The *Kolege* was formally opened in Atteridgeville, a township on the western side of Pretoria, on 23 March 1946 as an institution that provided a Christian-national based, university-type tertiary education for blacks in the Pretoria area.<sup>358</sup> As if to register the historical moment, Henry Swanzy notes that "in March there died another pioneer, Dr John Langalibalele Dube, the Zulu founder of the Oglange [sic] Institute and of the leading Natal newspaper *Ilanga laseNatal*. In the same month, the Dutch Reformed Church opened their *Kolege ya Bana ba Afrika* in a suburb in Pretoria".<sup>359</sup>

The *Rand Daily Mail* of 20 November 1947 reported that there was an:

ambitious scheme for technical and vocational education for non-Europeans [that was being] undertaken by the Transvaal Education Department and the governing body of the Bantu University College (*Kolege ya Bana ba Bantu* [sic] at the Vlakfontein location new Pretoria).<sup>360</sup>

This plan included building "an industrial school and a normal college on a 25-morgen<sup>361</sup> site in the location". The industrial school became known as Vlakfontein Industrial School and was

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<sup>355</sup> M.M. Kgoale, 'The Development of University Education for Blacks in South Africa with special reference to the Transvaal (1900-1970)', MA thesis, University of South Africa, 1982, p. 44.

<sup>356</sup> M-L Suttie, 'The formative years of the University of South Africa library, 1946 to 1976'. *Mousaion* 23(1), 2005. p. 98; Boucher, M., *Spes in Arduis: a history of the University of South Africa*, 1973, p. 239.

<sup>357</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, 'The "Mamelodi rondavels" as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)', *SA Journal of Cultural History*. 17(2), p. 5.

<sup>358</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, 'The "Mamelodi rondavels" as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)', *SA Journal of Cultural History*. 17(2), p. 5.

<sup>359</sup> H. Swanzy, 'Quarterly Notes', *African Affairs*, 1946, 45(180), p. 119.

<sup>360</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 November 1947.

<sup>361</sup> As one morgen equals 8,567 square meters or 0.8567 hectares, this amounts to 214 square meters or 21,4 hectares.

located adjacent the Normal College, which were housed in the ‘Mamelodi rondavel’ complex.

For Bakker et al,

The ‘Mamelodi rondavel’ complex, as the spatial container for the PBNC and the *Kolege*, played its part as a racially separated educational venue during the very period when the government’s race policies were being consolidated to reflect the momentous political changes of 1948. The rondavel college complex was to be the place where the students were to be moulded in the die of the government’s vision of building whole but separate cultures and the retention of a non-modernising ‘traditional’ culture for blacks.<sup>362</sup>

Both the Normal College and *Kolege* were intertwined entities that, as “Volksuniversiteite vir Naturelle (National Universities for Natives)” in the North of the country, were intended to pro-actively counteract the specific religious and political influence of institutions like the SA Native College (Fort Hare) and Adams College (part of the University of Natal) in the South, as well as to mould citizens, which would come to accept and act on the Christian-Nationalist ethic, but in their own realm. The *Kolege*, at its conception also called the *Nie-Blanke Universiteit van die Noorde* (Non-white University of the North), steadily grew in importance. It was intended to function eventually as an “organic element” in the rehabilitation and development programme in the homeland dispensation. As such it was reborn as the ethnically-specific Turfloop<sup>363</sup>, the ‘new’ University of the North in 1 August 1959.<sup>364</sup>

Both the *Kolege Ya Bana Ba Afrika* and the Normal College did not have their own staff. Academic staff from the University of South Africa and the University of Pretoria (UP) were utilised to provide tuition at these institutions.<sup>365</sup> The University of Pretoria’s involvement and relations with non-white higher education concerns in the nation may not be apparent from reading the University’s official record as published in *Ad Destinatum: 1910-1960*.<sup>366</sup> This

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<sup>362</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, ‘The “Mamelodi rondavels” as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)’, *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), p. 12.

<sup>363</sup> The University of the North is “nicknamed” Turfloop as it was built on the Turfloop farm, which was about 40 east of Pietersburg, currently Polokwane in the Limpopo Province — studentroom.co.za/university-of-limpopo-ul/ Accessed: 8 April 2021.

<sup>364</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, ‘The “Mamelodi rondavels” as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)’, *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), p. 15; Kgoale, M.M, 1982. ‘The Development of University Education for Blacks in South Africa with Special Reference to the Transvaal (1900-1970)’, MEd dissertation, 1982, p. 96.

<sup>365</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, ‘The “Mamelodi rondavels” as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)’, *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), p. 4-5; Kgoale, M.M, ‘The Development of University Education for Blacks in South Africa with Special Reference to the Transvaal (1900-1970)’, MEd dissertation, 1982, p. 44.

<sup>366</sup> A.N. Pelzer, F.J. du Toit Spies, W.J. de Kock & University of Pretoria. 1960. *Ad Destinatum: Gedenkboek van die Universiteit van Pretoria 1910-1960*. Voortrekkerpers, Beperk, Johannesburg.

notwithstanding the publicly known support the University had for Afrikaner nationalism during this period.<sup>367</sup> However, *Ad Destinatum II: 1960-1982* devotes two chapters (Chapters IX and X) to the University's involvement with postsecondary education in Mamelodi and its activities and relations.<sup>368</sup> Accordingly, the University's Senate referred the university's consideration of its involvement with the *Kolege Ya Bana Ba Afrika* to an institutional committee convened by Prof W.W.M. Eiselen in 1948.<sup>369</sup> Prof Eiselen is the self-same Eiselen of the Eiselen Commission that laid the foundation for national government policy for black education in South Africa,<sup>370</sup> which further supports Bakker et al's view above. The university's silence on Prof Eiselen's involvement with government policy may be because it was not a university event or activity, but a national government endeavour which did not merit mention in an institutional history.

Consequently, UP was another role player in the establishment of the *Kolege*. Apart from authorising some of its academic staff to teach at the *Kolege*, the University also developed proposals for the establishment of the *Kolege's* facilities either in Vlakfontein or in Atteridgeville. UP was of the view that there was already 15 morgen [sic] of land available in Vlakfontein (current Mamelodi) that had been donated by the Pretoria City Council and a significant amount of money raised that a construction programme for the *Kolege* could commence.<sup>371</sup> When the Minister of Education could not indulge a UP delegation in November 1948 as requested, a decision was taken to request the City Council to donate land on the western side of Pretoria on the other side of Atteridgeville in exchange for the land in Vlakfontein for the establishment of the *Kolege*.<sup>372</sup> Furthermore, the academic staff, who worked at the *Kolege* part-time, were employed by Unisa and UP.<sup>373</sup> The committee also recommended that the *Kolege* be placed

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<sup>367</sup> F.A. Mouton, (Editor), *History, Historians & Afrikaner Nationalism: Essays on the History Department of the University of Pretoria, 1909-1985*, 2007, p. 23.

<sup>368</sup> F.J. Du Toit, Heydenrych and University of Pretoria. *Ad Destinatum II: Gedenkboek van die Universiteit van Pretoria 1960-1982*. 1987. Voortrekkerpers, Bepark, Johannesburg, pp. 399-414.

<sup>369</sup> F.J. Du Toit, Heydenrych and University of Pretoria. *Ad Destinatum II: Gedenkboek van die Universiteit van Pretoria 1960-1982*. 1987. Voortrekkerpers, Bepark, Johannesburg, p. 399.

<sup>370</sup> C. Soudien, 'Racial Discourse in the Commission on Native Education (Eiselen Commission), 1949–1951: The Making of a 'Bantu' Identity', *Southern African Review of Education*, 2005, 11(1), p. 44; F.J. Du Toit, Heydenrych and University of Pretoria 1987. *Ad Destinatum II, 1960-1982*, p. 399.

<sup>371</sup> F.J. Du Toit, Heydenrych and University of Pretoria. *Ad Destinatum II: Gedenkboek van die Universiteit van Pretoria 1960-1982*. 1987. Voortrekkerpers, Bepark, Johannesburg, p. 399.

<sup>372</sup> F.J. Du Toit, Heydenrych and University of Pretoria. *Ad Destinatum II: Gedenkboek van die Universiteit van Pretoria 1960-1982*. 1987. Voortrekkerpers, Bepark, Johannesburg, p. 399.

<sup>373</sup> M.A. Beale, 'The evolution of the policy of university apartheid', *The Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, 1992, p.83; Kgoale, M.M, (1982), 'The Development of University Education for Blacks in South Africa with special reference to the Transvaal (1900-1970)', MEd thesis, University of South Africa, p. 44.

under the supervision of the University of Pretoria and that the Minister of Education be requested to establish a [proper] university college for blacks under the auspices of the University of Pretoria,<sup>374</sup> presumably because both the *Kolege* and Bantu Normal (discussed later) were initiatives from church-based entities.

The *Kolege* never succeeded in raising sufficient funds to acquire its own buildings before 1959 and used the Normal College classrooms, along with other educational institutions in Mamelodi.<sup>375</sup> Hence the Normal College and *Kolege ya bana ba Afrika* are oftentimes used interchangeably to refer to both institutions while they actually were two separate institutions. As an example, the *Rand Daily Mail* of 20 November 1947 report cited earlier refers to “the Bantu University College (Kolege ya Bana ba Bantu) [sic] at the Vlakfontein location near Pretoria” and “a normal college on a 25-morgen site in the location” in the same article.<sup>376</sup> Furthermore, Zegeye reports that “Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the famous South African Nobel laureate, studied at the *Kolege ya Bana ba Afrika*, established at Vlakplaas [sic] during the 1950s”.<sup>377</sup> In fact, Desmond Tutu studied at the Pretoria Bantu Normal College, which is also confirmed by Respondent WS in this study who shared a dormitory room at the college with Tutu and Dr. Steve “Kalamazoo” Mokone, another luminary graduate of the Normal College.<sup>378</sup>

Bakker et al further report that, at its conception, the *Kolege* was referred to in the mission statement of the first *Kolege* Board meeting on 5 July 1947 as the “*Nie-Blanke Universiteit*” (Non-white University).<sup>379</sup> In a memorandum to the National Education Department in 1949, it was also called the “*Nie Blanke Universiteit van die Noorde*” (Non-white University of the North), foreshadowing its always intended role as a homeland university. Furthermore, and like the Normal College, various documents of the *Kolege* show that most of the lecturers were

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<sup>374</sup> University of Pretoria, *Ad Destinatum II: 1960-1982*, 1986, p. 399.

<sup>375</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, ‘The “Mamelodi rondavels” as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)’, *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), p. 5.

<sup>376</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 November 1947.

<sup>377</sup> Zegeye, A., (2004), ‘Of Struggle and Whistles: Mamelodi’s Black Youth Culture’, *Current Sociology*, p.854.

<sup>378</sup> Interview with Respondent WS, 2020; Anon, University of Alberta International, [ualberta.ca/international/global-education/visiting-lectureship-human-rights/past-lecturers/1998-1999-desmond-tutu.html](http://ualberta.ca/international/global-education/visiting-lectureship-human-rights/past-lecturers/1998-1999-desmond-tutu.html) Accessed: 10 March 2021; Anon, The Nobel Prize, Desmond Tutu Biographical, [nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1984/tutu/biographical/](http://nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1984/tutu/biographical/) Accessed 10 March 2021; Staff reporter, ‘A short history of “The Arch”’, *Mail & Guardian*, 9 November 2010.

<sup>379</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, ‘The “Mamelodi rondavels” as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)’, *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), p. 5.

attached to the University of South Africa and the University of Pretoria, working with the full support of their respective universities.<sup>380</sup> Though formally established in 1945 in Atteridgeville, it appears that the *Kolege* only commenced operations in Mamelodi in 1947 alongside the Normal College, and, like the Normal College, the *Kolege* was also dissolved at the end of 1959.<sup>381</sup>

Ostensibly, the *Kolege Ya Bana Ba Afrika* is among the first postsecondary education institutions established at the creation of the Mamelodi community. Having been officially created in Atteridgeville in 1945 and “[t]hrough the efforts of the Dutch Reformed church, established in 1946,”<sup>382</sup> it preceded the establishment of the Pretoria Bantu Normal College, which was established in 1947. However, the *Kolege* only commenced its work in 1947, sharing the same premises as the Normal College in Mamelodi. Consequently and although the *Kolege* was created in Atteridgeville, it never operated in Atteridgeville because the founders were not able to raise sufficient funds to build facilities in Atteridgeville for the *Kolege*. Commencing with 27 students in 1946, by 1953 there were 76 students enrolled at the institution,<sup>383</sup> which ended up sharing facilities with the Pretoria Bantu Normal College in Mamelodi.<sup>384</sup>

As reported earlier, the *Kolege* was closed in 1959<sup>385</sup> as part of the implementation of the racially and ethnically separate postsecondary education provision through the promulgation of the Extension of University Education Act, Act No. 45 of 1959,<sup>386</sup> which led to the establishment of the University of the North (Turfloop).

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<sup>380</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, ‘The “Mamelodi rondavels” as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)’, *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), p. 5.

<sup>381</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, ‘The “Mamelodi rondavels” as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)’, *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), p. 6. However and differing with this detail, Kgoale reports that “the college [Kollege ya Bana BaAfrika] [sic] closed down at the end of 1958” in M.M. Kgoale, ‘The Development of University Education for Blacks in South Africa with special reference to the Transvaal (1900-1970)’, MEd thesis, University of South Africa, 1982, p. 45.

<sup>382</sup> M-L. Suttie, ‘The formative years of the University of South Africa library, 1946 to 1976’. *Mousaion* 23(1), 2005. p. 98; Boucher, M., *Spes in Arduis: a history of the University of South Africa*, 1973, p. 239.

<sup>383</sup> M.A. Beale, ‘The evolution of the policy of university apartheid’, in *The Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Vol.18, London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1992, p. 84.

<sup>384</sup> K.A. Bakker, R.C. de Jong and A. Matlou. 2003. The ‘Mamelodi rondavels’ as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West). *SA Journal of Cultural History*. 17(2), p. 5.

<sup>385</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, ‘The “Mamelodi rondavels” as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)’, *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), p. 6.

<sup>386</sup> Government Gazette No. , *Extension of University Education Act, Act No. 45 of 1959*, Government Printers, 11 June 1959.



### 4.3. The Pretoria Bantu Normal College (1947-1959)

The establishment of the Pretoria Bantu Normal College (Normal College), a teacher training college in Mamelodi in 1947, is instructive in understanding the Mamelodi community's early response to postsecondary education institutions in its midst. The record suggests a great enthusiasm on the part of the white national, provincial, and local government authorities to establish the institution, oftentimes without the requisite approvals and signing off of plans by the relevant and necessary authorities and in the face of the community's resistance to the 'tribalisation' and segregation of an urbanising black population. As an example, funding for the development of the Normal College was approved by the Native Education Section of the Transvaal Education Department (TED) in 1947 and construction commenced the same year on 13 November 1947.<sup>387</sup>

Walker et al report that the idea behind the new Normal College was "to establish a local place of study, which would complement Kilnerton's position".<sup>388</sup> This enabled us to understand this to mean that the Normal College, like Kilnerton College, would also provide Calvinist based tuition locally, but that in this instance, it would be a non-sectarian concern, managed by Afrikaner dominated governmental and cultural institutions.<sup>389</sup> Kilnerton College was a school for social work in Johannesburg. Bakker et al, further argue that the significance of the rondavels as a "heritage place ... is important because it exists as [a] significant visual local remnant of the history of Bantu Education and the subsequent struggle for a non-discriminatory, non-racial society. They also report that the "rondavel complex, the historical core of the now defunct Pretoria Bantu Normal College [1947-] and the *Kolege ya bana ba Afrika*, is specifically associated with the tertiary education of celebrated citizens in South African history".<sup>390</sup> During its 11-year existence, the Normal College was associated with

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<sup>387</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, *History and documentation of the Mamelodi rondavels* (Unpublished research report by Cultmatrix cc for the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, 2002, p. ; K.A. Bakker et al, 'The "Mamelodi rondavels" as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)', *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), p. 3.

<sup>388</sup> J. Walker & G-M van der Waal, *A working history of Mamelodi*, Unpublished HSRC report, 1991, p. 27.

<sup>389</sup> J. Walker & G-M van der Waal, *A working history of Mamelodi*, Unpublished HSRC report, 1991, p. 27.

<sup>390</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, 'The "Mamelodi rondavels" as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)', *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), p. 2.

luminaries in the black South African community. Figure 2 below lists the few for whom information is available.

**Figure: 2 Select list of luminary graduates from the Pretoria Bantu Normal College<sup>391</sup>**

Dr. Mmutlanyane Stanley Magoba	Bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa <sup>392</sup> and President of the PAC <sup>393</sup>
Desmond Tutu	Archbishop Emeritus, Anglican Church and Nobel Laureate
Stanley Motjuwadi	Journalist and writer
Dr. Russel Marivate	Doctor and son of first Xitsonga novelist, Daniel Cornel Marivate
Prof. G. Muxe Nkondo	Deputy Vice-Chancellor and Vice-Principal (Academic Affairs), University of the North (1991- 1993); Vice-Chancellor and Principal, University of Venda (1994 – 2005)
Mr. Staupitz Makopo	Journalist and writer
Mr. Walter Sebone	Educator and Secretary General of the Education and Training Advisory Committee
Prof. James Steven Mzilikazi Khumalo	South African Composer, Arranger & Choral Director; Professor Emeritus of African Languages
Prof. A.C. Nkabinde	First black Rector of the University of Zululand
Dr. Steve Kalamazoo Mokone	First black African football player in Europe who also obtained PhD in Psychology from Rutgers University (USA)
Prof. Serudu	Professor of Northern Sotho Literature
Mr. Casey Motsisi	Journalist and Writer
Basil Siphon Neo Bridgeman “Doc” Bikitsha	Journalist and Writer. Was awarded the Order of Ikhamanga in Silver for his contribution to journalism and literature and as an important social commentator
Mrs. Patricia Mokoena	First black woman journalist

While the above list is remarkably incomplete, this record demonstrates a high production of citizens who became luminaries across the South African socio-political, economic and education landscape.<sup>394</sup> Furthermore, the majority of these graduates were not necessarily Mamelodi residents but came from across the country and primarily from Limpopo, the broader Gauteng province, KwaZulu-Natal, and Mpumalanga.<sup>395</sup> Respondent WS in this study, who is named in the preceding list of graduates of the “Normal”, as the Pretoria Bantu Normal College is colloquially referred to, clearly remembers his time at the college. He was at the Normal from 1952 to 1954 and reports that he shared a dormitory room with Nobel Prize winner, Anglican Church Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu and the late Dr. Steven “Kalamazoo” Mokone

<sup>391</sup> This is a seriously select list of luminary graduates due to the brevity of the archive record.

<sup>392</sup> M. Madise, ‘The leadership of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa during the 1980s and 90s: The transition from apartheid to the democratic era in South Africa’, *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, 2014, 40(1), p. 122.

<sup>393</sup> C. Saunders and N. Southey, *A Dictionary of South African History*, David Philip, Johannesburg, 1998, p. 130.

<sup>394</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, ‘The “Mamelodi rondavels” as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)’, *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), p. 21.

<sup>395</sup> H.M. Van der Merwe, HM, ‘The Vudec merger: a recording of what was and a reflection on gains and losses’, *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 2007, 21(3), p. 544.

whilst at the college.<sup>396</sup> He has fond memories of his time at the Normal. His proud and cherished experience of education in Mamelodi led him to commence composing a history of education in the community, from primary schools through to tertiary institutions, because he was frustrated at the lack of information available about the achievements of education in the community.

Respondent WS confirms that students at the Normal were mainly from outside of Mamelodi. As an example, he, Tutu, and Mokone were all from outside Mamelodi. Respondent WS was in high school with Tutu at “Madibane”, the Johannesburg Bantu High School<sup>397</sup> and Mokone came from Kilnerton to the Normal.<sup>398</sup> Many of the other students he recalls were also not native to Mamelodi. This fact might be insignificant because Mamelodi was still being developed at the time and it might be unrealistic to expect “native” Mamelodians to be attending postsecondary education institutions in the community during this time. Some of the graduates, like Respondent WS, settled in Mamelodi after graduating from the college.

While officially the University of Pretoria is one of the most recent postsecondary education institutions to take up citizenship in the Mamelodi community with the incorporation of the erstwhile Vista University campus in Mamelodi in 2004, the establishment and operation of the Normal College suggest the University of Pretoria being involved in postsecondary education in Mamelodi before the establishment of the township itself. Bakker et al, report that on the basis of Committee minutes of 1948 and a letter of the Rector of the University of Pretoria, dated October 1948, “[w]hile many lecturers of the University of South Africa and other institutions were used at the PBNC, it was eventually run under the auspices of the University of Pretoria”.<sup>399</sup>

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<sup>396</sup> Interview with Respondent WS, 2020.

<sup>397</sup> Anon, University of Alberta International, [ualberta.ca/international/global-education/visiting-lectureship-human-rights/past-lecturers/1998-1999-desmond-tutu.html](http://ualberta.ca/international/global-education/visiting-lectureship-human-rights/past-lecturers/1998-1999-desmond-tutu.html) Accessed: 10 March 2021; Anon, The Nobel Prize, Desmond Tutu Biographical, [nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1984/tutu/biographical/](http://nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1984/tutu/biographical/) Accessed 10 March 2021; Staff reporter, ‘A short history of “The Arch”’, *Mail & Guardian*, 9 November 2010.

<sup>398</sup> Interview with Respondent WS, 2020.

<sup>399</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, ‘The “Mamelodi rondavels” as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakkfontein (Mamelodi West)’, *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), p. 4.

Though it is clear that many of the students who attended the Normal College appreciated the opportunity they were offered to acquire postsecondary education qualifications, indications are that some were critical about studying in these racially ordered postsecondary education institutions. Writing about Casey 'Kid' Motsisi, a student at the Bantu Normal, Stanley Motjuwadi,<sup>400</sup> a fellow student, reflected on meeting up with 'The Kid' following his expulsion from the Bantu Normal. According to Motjuwadi:

Perhaps the unconventional Kid, who always cocked a snook at the high and mighty, was never meant for teaching. When we met at Reno Cinema in Newclare during the winter vacation, The Kid was in very high spirits.

I wanted to know if he had acquired a new girlfriend. Oh no, the reason for The Kid's elation was that he had received a letter from the principal, sacking him.

Always one to look at the funny side of things The Kid asked me to help him draft a five-page letter to the principal. As this is how he started it:

'The worst thing that ever happened to me was being admitted to the Normal. It is anything but normal. The best thing that ever happened to me was to be dismissed by you.'<sup>401</sup>

Such a view illustrates an awareness among the students of the Normal College of the larger forces at play in the existence of postsecondary institutions in their community. Other students, however, had positive views about the value of "Western education" in line with the overarching sentiment of national authorities at the time as illustrated by a submission to the Eiselen Commission. "An intriguing witness, a Mr S Sol Modise from the Kolege Ya Bana Ba Afrika, was to say that 'without European contact, the Bantu would still be the so-called savage he was three hundred years ago'".<sup>402</sup>

However and in the face of the multi-ethnic constitution of the Vlakfontein location and the *Kolege* and Normal College, the divisive and ethnocentric politics of the Nationalist government were experienced as the underlying reasons for the closure of these institutions in Mamelodi in 1959.<sup>403</sup> A student respondent relates that

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<sup>400</sup> Both Casey Motsisi and Stanley Motjuwadi were students at the Pretoria Bantu Normal College.

<sup>401</sup> C. Motsisi, C, *Casey & Co: Selected writings of Casey 'Kid' Motsisi*, edited by Mothobi Mutloatse, 1980, p. VIII.

<sup>402</sup> C. Soudien, 'Racial Discourse in the Commission on Native Education (Eiselen Commission), 1949–1951: The Making of a 'Bantu' Identity', *Southern African Review of Education*, 2005, 11(1), p. 44; University of Pretoria 1987. *Ad Destinatum II, 1960-1982*, p. 46.

<sup>403</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, 'The "Mamelodi rondavels" as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)', *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), p. 6.

initially there was talk that the Pretoria Bantu Normal College was to have been converted into a local university, but National policy dictated that all tertiary education [for blacks] was to be moved to homelands. This accurately reflects government's intention with the reconstitution of university colleges in homelands along ethnic divides.<sup>404</sup>

With the closure of these postsecondary education institutions, Ralinala postulates that the lack of tertiary institutions in townships contributed to the disillusionment among many children, as possibilities for them to further their education were restricted and rare. This influenced the Mamelodi Town Council to apply for the establishment of a Teacher Training College funded by the Department of Education and Training because training colleges outside urban borders admitted a limited number of children from the townships.<sup>405</sup> Furthermore, the low admission rate of Mamelodi children in these institutions was also influenced by the 1976 students' upheavals as institutions argued that the admission of these children would contribute to the culture of class boycotts, which was popular in the township schools<sup>406</sup> at the time. Thus for over two decades there were no postsecondary education institutions within the confines of Mamelodi. It was the 1976 uprisings that would be the catalyst for the next developments in Mamelodi.

#### **4.4. Vista University (1981-2003)**

##### **4.4.1. The decision to establish Vista University**

During 1978 the National Party government appointed a commission of enquiry, the De Lange Commission, which "was set up as a result of the turmoil in education from 1976 to 1980"<sup>407</sup> to, among other things, investigate university needs and requirements of urban blacks in the Republic of South Africa. The commission submitted its report to the government in July 1981,<sup>408</sup> which, among other things, resulted in the establishment of Vista University, albeit the de Lange Report recommended that the government not establish race-based universities.

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<sup>404</sup> K.A. Bakker et al, 'The "Mamelodi rondavels" as place in the formative period of Bantu Education and in Vlakfontein (Mamelodi West)', *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 2003, 17(2), p. 12.

<sup>405</sup> R.M. Ralinala, 'Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990', PhD thesis, 2002, p. 83.

<sup>406</sup> R.M. Ralinala, 'Urban Apartheid and African Responses: Aspects of life in Mamelodi Township: 1953-1990', PhD thesis, 2002, p. 83.

<sup>407</sup> *Hansard*, Assembly Debates. 1983. p. 154; C.B. Collins & R.R. Gillespie, "'Moving Education Forward to Keep Society Back": The South African "De Lange Report" Reevaluated', *Comparative Education Review*, 1984, p. 626.

<sup>408</sup> C.B. Collins, & R.R. Gillespie, 'Moving Education Forward to Keep Society Back': The South African "De Lange Report" Reevaluated'. *Comparative Education Review*, 1984, 28(4), p. 631.

Vista University's original purpose was to improve the qualifications of black in-service teachers by means of contact tuition. Vista University's first academic year began on 1 January 1983. As such, Vista was a multi-campus, mixed-mode university providing tertiary education at seven contact campuses based in major black urban areas and correspondence study through a distance education campus based in Pretoria.<sup>409</sup>

Respondent WS reports that the Council for Education and Training that he served on, and which advised the Minister of Education, was responsible for the idea of creating a university system in townships to serve the needs of the black population, particularly since at the time, there were few institutions catering for the needs of Africans. This is, according to Respondent WS, how Vista University came into being. Furthermore, Respondent WS also reports that the Council for Education and Training was responsible for the idea of establishing the Medical University of Southern Africa (Medunsa), which was located in Soshanguve to cater for black students.<sup>410</sup>

On the occasion of the debate on the Appropriation Bill, Vote No. 24 "Education and Training", the Minister of Education and Training, The Honourable B.J. du Plessis, in his maiden vote for the Department of Education and Training in the Standing Committee of the House of Assembly as minister, reported that in "recognition of the supportive role the Council for Education and Training has played in the formulation of general policy, [he] also want[ed] to express [his] thanks and appreciation to the members of that council."<sup>411</sup> The Minister proceeded to name the members of the council, confirming the role of Respondent WS as an office-bearing member of the Council.<sup>412</sup>

Although the Minister "appreciate[d] the work and the advice given by the Council for Education and Training [he thought one had] to start looking for additional inputs closer to the grassroots, parental and community levels".<sup>413</sup> And although Vista University eventually

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<sup>409</sup> H.M. Van der Merwe, HM, (), 'The Vudec merger: a recording of what was and a reflection on gains and losses', *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 2007, 21(3), p. 543.

<sup>410</sup> Interview with Respondent WS, 2020.

<sup>411</sup> *Hansard*, Assembly Debates: 1983, pp. 149-150.

<sup>412</sup> *Hansard*, Assembly Debates: 1983, pp. 149-150.

<sup>413</sup> *Hansard*, Assembly Debates: 1983, p. 157.

commenced by providing teachers a university qualification, Respondent WS reports that the Council for Education and Training's proposal was for a university that provided learning in all areas other than teaching and education as these were the skills lacking severely in the black communities and which black students did not have access to at university level study.<sup>414</sup>

While Vista University would commence by providing teachers university qualifications in teaching and education it eventually grew to include qualifications in law, commerce and business, public administration, science, and social sciences. According to the *Rand Daily Mail* of 10 December 1984, although Vista University was ostensibly established for black people, its first degree recipients were white. John Mojapelo of the Pretoria Bureau reported that:

Mr. J.G.H. Necker, 53, an assistant head of sociopedagogics with the Transvaal Education Department, will receive a PhD in Education at the Soweto Campus tomorrow; Mr. R.W.C. Naude, 53, a senior lecturer in education at Vista will be capped with a similar degree at the Mamelodi campus on the same day; and a master's degree in education will be conferred on Mr. J.A. du Plessis, also at the Mamelodi Campus.<sup>415</sup>

#### 4.4.2. Structure and leadership

According to Prof W.A. Landman, Act No. 106 of 1981 provided for the establishment of Vista University in November 1981. Vista University was founded in 1982 and its first Council constituted.<sup>416</sup> Prof C.F. Crouse was appointed as its first Rector.<sup>417</sup> Vista University was established with a central administration office in Pretoria and decentralised campuses in black urban areas such as the Bloemfontein campus, the East Rand campus at Daveyton, Springs, the Mamelodi campus at Pretoria, the Port Elizabeth campus, the Sebokeng campus at Vanderbijlpark, the Soweto campus, and the Welkom campus.<sup>418</sup>

The University also inaugurated its first Chancellor, Dr. R.N. Gugushe and conferred its first bachelor's degrees.<sup>419</sup> Mojapelo further reports that the "university will only confer its first

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<sup>414</sup> Interview with Respondent WS, 2020.

<sup>415</sup> J. Mojapelo, 'Whites win first Vista degrees', *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 December 1984.

<sup>416</sup> W.A. Landman, 'Brief History of Vista University: 1 January 1982—31, December 1989'. Vista University website: [www.vista.ac.za](http://www.vista.ac.za)

<sup>417</sup> W.A. Landman, 'Brief History of Vista University: 1 January 1982—31, December 1989'. Vista University website: [www.vista.ac.za](http://www.vista.ac.za)

<sup>418</sup> H.M. Van der Merwe, 'The Vudec merger: a recording of what was and a reflection on gains and losses', *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 2007, 21(3), p. 543.

<sup>419</sup> W.A. Landman, 'Brief History of Vista University: 1 January 1982—31, December 1989'. Vista University website: [www.vista.ac.za](http://www.vista.ac.za)

bachelors degrees at the end of the 1985 academic year”. However, a “total of 426 certificates and diplomas are to be awarded in different ceremonies to be held in Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth, Soweto, Sebokeng and Mamelodi”.<sup>420</sup> The University’s second Council was constituted in 1986 and the first Bachelor in Education degrees were conferred.<sup>421</sup> The second Rector, Prof S.W.B. Engelbrecht, was appointed in 1988.<sup>422</sup> In 1990 the third Council was constituted, and the faculty system was introduced.<sup>423</sup>

The Vista University Distance Education Campus (VUDEC) was the first to be established of the Vista University campuses in April 1982<sup>424</sup> when the Distance Education Campus in Pretoria was taken over from the Department of Education and Training on 1 April 1982. Initially the campus was known as Vista University Further Training campus and its purpose lay in assuming the function of teacher education from the department responsible for the education of black learners, i.e., the Department of Education and Training. In 1998 its name changed to Vista University Distance Education Campus (VUDEC).<sup>425</sup>

The Faculty of Education and the Faculty of Arts, established in 1981, were the first faculties at Vista University. The Faculty of Law was established in 1991 as the fourth faculty and the Faculty of Science, was established in 1992 as the fifth faculty.<sup>426</sup> From the list of the various Deans indicating “Dean: Management” from 1991 through to 2003, it can be inferred that the Faculty of Management was the third faculty to be established at Vista University<sup>427</sup>

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<sup>420</sup> J. Mojapelo, ‘Whites win first Vista degrees’, *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 December 1984.

<sup>421</sup> W.A. Landman, ‘Brief History of Vista University: 1 January 1982—31, December 1989’. Vista University website: [www.vista.ac.za](http://www.vista.ac.za)

<sup>422</sup> W.A. Landman, ‘Brief History of Vista University: 1 January 1982—31, December 1989’. Vista University website: [www.vista.ac.za](http://www.vista.ac.za)

<sup>423</sup> W.A. Landman, ‘Brief History of Vista University: 1 January 1982—31, December 1989’. Vista University website: [www.vista.ac.za](http://www.vista.ac.za)

<sup>424</sup> H.M. Van der Merwe, ‘The Vudec merger: a recording of what was and a reflection on gains and losses’, *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 2007, 21(3), p. 543.

<sup>425</sup> W.A. Landman, ‘Brief History of Vista University: 1 January 1982—31, December 1989’. Vista University website: [www.vista.ac.za](http://www.vista.ac.za)

<sup>426</sup> Vista University Department of Corporate Communication and Marketing, *The Story of Vista University, University: 21<sup>st</sup> Anniversary*, Vista University, Pretoria, 2004, pp. 8-16.

<sup>427</sup> Vista University Department of Corporate Communication and Marketing, *The Story of Vista University, University: 21<sup>st</sup> Anniversary*, Vista University, Pretoria, 2004, p. 26.



In 1983 five campuses opened and the first diplomas and certificates were awarded. In 1984 the sixth campus opened, and autonomy was granted by the State. In 1985 the University obtained its own building for its Head Office on Skinner Street in Pretoria.<sup>428</sup> In 1987 three teaching centers were opened and sites for four permanent campuses obtained. In 1988 the building of permanent buildings for the Soweto Campus commenced and the seventh and eighth campuses were opened. In 1989 the permanent buildings for Soweto Campus were occupied. Permanent buildings for the East Rand and Welkom campuses were occupied.<sup>429</sup>

The same year, the building of permanent buildings for the Bloemfontein Campus commenced and the building complex for the Soweto Campus was officially opened. During the same year, the building of permanent buildings for the Port Elizabeth Campus commenced. In 1991, the fourth faculty, the Faculty of Law, was established. In 1992 the fifth faculty, the Faculty of Science, was established and the official opening of the building complex for the Bloemfontein Campus as well as the complex for the Port Elizabeth Campus happened. Vista University Chancellor, Dr. R.N. Gugushe also resigned during 1992.<sup>430</sup>

In 1994, the fourth Council of the University was constituted and so too the Transformation Forum for the University.<sup>431</sup> 1995 saw the appointment of a new Vice-Chancellor, Prof. H.P. Africa, who assumed office in 1996 with Prof. T. Keto and Prof. K. Nyamapfene as his Deputy Vice-Chancellors.<sup>432</sup> Prof Keto succeeded Prof Africa as Vice-Chancellor and Principal in January 2001.<sup>433</sup>

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<sup>428</sup> Vista University Department of Corporate Communication and Marketing, *The Story of Vista University, University: 21<sup>st</sup> Anniversary*, Vista University, Pretoria, 2004, p. 10.

<sup>429</sup> Vista University Department of Corporate Communication and Marketing, *The Story of Vista University, University: 21<sup>st</sup> Anniversary*, Vista University, Pretoria, 2004, p. 10.

<sup>430</sup> W.A. Landman, 'Brief History of Vista University: 1 January 1982—31, December 1989'. Vista University website: [www.vista.ac.za](http://www.vista.ac.za)

<sup>431</sup> W.A. Landman, 'Brief History of Vista University: 1 January 1982—31, December 1989'. Vista University website: [www.vista.ac.za](http://www.vista.ac.za)

<sup>432</sup> W.A. Landman, 'Brief History of Vista University: 1 January 1982—31, December 1989'. Vista University website: [www.vista.ac.za](http://www.vista.ac.za)

<sup>433</sup> Vista University Department of Corporate Communication and Marketing, *The Story of Vista University, University: 21<sup>st</sup> Anniversary*, Vista University, Pretoria, 2004, p. 15.

With a total student enrolment of 35,611 students in 1995, which represents Vista University's highest enrolment over the period of its existence,<sup>434</sup> Vista became the second largest university in South Africa at the time. Having been established in 1981, Vista was also South Africa's youngest university at the time. Apart from its academic mission, Vista placed strong emphasis on community development.<sup>435</sup> The University's Centre for Community Development had extensive experience in providing cognitive education workshops for students and teachers from the pre-primary to tertiary level. A number of community projects were managed by the various campuses and the University had two research units: the Employment Research Unit, which focused on employment creation and the Research Unit for Indigenous Languages, which focused on the development of South Africa's indigenous languages.<sup>436</sup>

The Mamelodi Campus of Vista University was first established in temporary structures in Mamelodi West next to the Vlakfontein Technical High School in 1983 before it occupied its permanent facilities in Mamelodi East in 1993, which were built on the new site in 1991. In 1993 the permanent buildings for the Mamelodi Campus were occupied<sup>437</sup> in Mamelodi East.

#### 4.4.3. Differing views about Vista University

The possible tension between authoritarian intent and purpose and the community's divergent view may be a key to understanding the utility, value and appreciation of the opportunities of having postsecondary education institutions on a community's doorstep makes available to both the institutions and the communities they seek to serve. This can also shed light on the under-acknowledgement of appreciation and pride the community may have had having such institutions in their confines. The establishment of Vista University was not without contention and resistance.

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<sup>434</sup> S. Seepe, 'Preface', *The Story of Vista University, University: 21<sup>st</sup> Anniversary*, Vista University, Pretoria, 2004, 2.

<sup>435</sup> H.M. Van der Merwe, HM, 'The Vudec merger: a recording of what was and a reflection on gains and losses', *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 2007, 21(3), p. 546.

<sup>436</sup> H.M. Van der Merwe, HM, 'The Vudec merger: a recording of what was and a reflection on gains and losses', *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 2007, 21(3), pp. 537-551.

<sup>437</sup> W.A. Landman, 'Brief History of Vista University: 1 January 1982—31, December 1989'. Vista University website: [www.vista.ac.za](http://www.vista.ac.za)

In the report about “Govt to go ahead on black university” in the *Rand Daily Mail* of 14 August 1981, the newspaper reports on the “strongest form of protest from Opposition” to the government establishing an “apartheid university” for blacks. Progressive Federal Party (PFP) Education spokesperson, Dr. Alex Boraine, viewed the establishment of Vista University as “a serious step backwards and would only serve to entrench apartheid”.<sup>438</sup>

Stephen Finn, Professor of English at Vista University, Mamelodi, confirms that North Sotho was the most common first language of students on the Mamelodi campus of Vista University, which is also syntactically related to Tswana, the second most common. North Sotho is also known as Sepedi. In his study of “The abuse of English by Vista students”, Finn concludes that “Vista does have some excellent English students. But unless it introduces a relevant and intensive English language course for the poorer (and that is most) students, the picture will be a dismal one”.<sup>439</sup> Both Finn and van der Merwe comment on the quality, in Finn’s case of language skills and command and, in van der Merwe’s case, academic proficiency in general, the students enrolled at Vista University generally commanded, which affected the view of Vista University’s standing among the postsecondary education institutions in the country and influenced and affected its attractiveness for the Mamelodi community.<sup>440</sup>

Negative accounts existed of the academic proficiency of many of the Vista University and VUDEC students. According to van der Merwe, many VUDEC students were underprepared for higher education and were aware that they would not have survived nor even been accepted at other higher education institutions. Students were desperate for higher education and the option of lower admission requirements enabled many to complete their qualifications eventually after a longer stay in the system.<sup>441</sup> Van der Merwe further reports that a significant proportion of students approached VUDEC as “a university of last resort ... and the sad part is

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<sup>438</sup> H. Zille, ‘Govt to go ahead on black university’. *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 August 1984.

<sup>439</sup> S.F. Finn, ‘The abuse of English by Vista Students’, *English Usage in Southern Africa*, 2003, p.7.

<sup>440</sup> S.F. Finn, ‘The abuse of English by Vista Students’, *English Usage in Southern Africa*, 2003, p.7; H.M. Van der Merwe, HM, (), ‘The Vudec merger: a recording of what was and a reflection on gains and losses’, *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 2007, 21(3), p. 543.

<sup>441</sup> H.M. Van der Merwe, HM, (), ‘The Vudec merger: a recording of what was and a reflection on gains and losses’, *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 2007, 21(3), p. 545.

that they pass enough first year modules to carry on with the second year, but many of them seriously battle to pass a degree”.<sup>442</sup>

Former University of Pretoria Vice-Chancellor, Prof Johan van Zyl, obtained a PhD in Economics from Vista University in 1989.<sup>443</sup> He already had a DSc (Agric) in Agricultural Economics from the University of Pretoria that he obtained in 1985.<sup>444</sup> Van Zyl reports that while teaching on the Mamelodi Campus on a part-time basis for about three years as part of his community engagement activities while being employed by UP on a full-time basis, he realised how the students on the Mamelodi campus undervalued their Vista University training and qualifications.<sup>445</sup> This was one of the reasons why he undertook the PhD studies with Vista, from which he harvested over five articles for publication to show the students that a Vista degree was as good a qualification as one from any other institution. Van Zyl also confirms the low esteem the student community had for studying at Vista University.<sup>446</sup>

According to Respondent EK who studied at Vista University’s Mamelodi campus, she commenced her studies at Vista as a part-time student while she worked as a teacher. Respondent EK subsequently took a three-year leave of absence from teaching to study full-time. She enjoyed her studies at Vista and having had to take some modules through Unisa, did not find any difference to the academic rigour of the Vista programme.<sup>447</sup> She, however, also noted that many students at Vista were not from Mamelodi. In her cohort of friends while studying at Vista, there were two other local students, and a student from Limpopo and one from the Northwest Province. Respondent EK considers herself a “die-hard” Vista student and felt Vista was a “community school” when it started.<sup>448</sup> That the registration fees included the cost of study material for all her years of study was one distinction she enjoyed about the cost

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<sup>442</sup> H.M. Van der Merwe, HM, (), ‘The Vudec merger: a recording of what was and a reflection on gains and losses’, *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 2007, 21(3), p. 545.

<sup>443</sup> F. van der Watt, *Rectores Magnifici*, Protea Boekhuis, Pretoria, 2003, p. 180; Personal correspondence with Prof Johan van Zyl, 2019.

<sup>444</sup> F. van der Watt, *Rectores Magnifici*, Protea Boekhuis, Pretoria, 2003, p. 180; Personal correspondence with Prof Johan van Zyl, 2019.

<sup>445</sup> Personal correspondence with Prof Johan van Zyl, 2019.

<sup>446</sup> Personal correspondence with Prof Johan van Zyl, 2019.

<sup>447</sup> Interview with Respondent EK, 2020.

<sup>448</sup> Interview with Respondent EK, 2020.

of studying at Vista, which she considers a remarkable benefit to financially strapped blacks wishing to obtain a university qualification.<sup>449</sup>

Another respondent, Respondent AV, also had positive memories of studying at Vista University and was fond of the role and contribution Vista had for the community.<sup>450</sup> However, Respondent JT did not like being at Vista.<sup>451</sup> She is among the few respondents to actually refer to Vista University as an “apartheid institution” catering for blacks with two-year programmes which, to her, were a waste of time.<sup>452</sup> Respondent JT even remembers that Hans Strijdom Avenue (currently Solomon Mahlangu Drive) was built when the new Vista University campus in Mamelodi was built, ostensibly to ensure the white lecturers did not have to drive through the township to get to work on the campus.<sup>453</sup>

For Respondent PS, going to Vista was not a choice.<sup>454</sup> But neither was going to the Ndebele College of Education. There was segregation and higher education and ‘career-pathing’ for blacks was limited. Opportunities for blacks were relatively limited to becoming a policeman, teacher or nurse. According to Respondent PS, many people went to the University of the North to study law or Medunsa to study medicine. Being poor and based on high school results, to be accepted at these institutions, one did not have much of a choice if you could not afford it or your grades were not good enough to gain admission to these institutions.<sup>455</sup>

Notwithstanding the above, Respondent PS has very fond memories of studying at Vista University, where, among other things, he met his wife in her final year of study at the same institution.<sup>456</sup> As a qualified and working teacher, he was excited to be at university, where he met interesting and new people who were his peers and colleagues and with whom he made friends. He was also very pleased to meet familiar faces on the campus.<sup>457</sup> For Respondent PS, Vista was extremely important to have as a university in the township. It was an accessible black

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<sup>449</sup> Interview with Respondent EK, 2020.

<sup>450</sup> Interview with Respondent AV, 2020.

<sup>451</sup> Interview with Respondent JT, 2020.

<sup>452</sup> Interview with Respondent JT, 2020.

<sup>453</sup> Interview with Respondent JT, 2020.

<sup>454</sup> Interview with Respondent PS, 2020.

<sup>455</sup> Interview with Respondent PS, 2020.

<sup>456</sup> Interview with Respondent PS, 2020.

<sup>457</sup> Interview with Respondent PS, 2020.

university with white and some black lecturers, who taught thought-provoking topics. According to Respondent PS, Vista University played a huge role in instilling an academic life and culture in the community. It was a university for the community, serving the black community in and beyond Mamelodi. Consequently, Respondent PS has a close affinity to Vista University and loved being on the campus, notwithstanding the fact that it was a black university.<sup>458</sup>

Although he did not study at a postsecondary education institution in the community, Respondent JM had relatives who studied at postsecondary institutions in Mamelodi, including Vista University. As a result of these experiences, he was of the view that the postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi were very good and because they were nearby, reduced the cost of obtaining a postsecondary qualification for local learners.<sup>459</sup>

Respondent TM offers the view that the attachment to Vista many graduates hold is a result of their feeling that Vista was a “real” university, more so its permanent campus than its first campus in Mamelodi West, which was housed in prefabricated structures, creating the feeling of temporariness.<sup>460</sup> Many students at Vista came from afar and were accommodated in the community, making it like a home for them. Respondent TM explained that students in different families became like family and even staff on the campus became like family, which helped to make Vista feel like home.<sup>461</sup>

Respondent MJ knows a number of community members who studied at Vista University. His neighbour attended Vista University, though he started at Unisa first. He also recalls a Director of Tourism as an alumnus of Vista University. Though he does not know how they felt about studying at Vista, he assumes they were happy because they left with a qualification. It is important to note that a number of Mamelodi residents graduated from these institutions and the culture of learning was elevated.<sup>462</sup> If you had no options, as a fall back, Vista and Thuto Matlhale presented viable options, albeit they did not have the prestige of the University of the

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<sup>458</sup> Interview with Respondent PS, 2020.

<sup>459</sup> Interview with Respondent JM, 2020.

<sup>460</sup> Interview with Respondent TM, 2020.

<sup>461</sup> Interview with Respondent TM, 2020.

<sup>462</sup> Interview with Respondent MJ, 2020.

North and Wits University.<sup>463</sup> According to Respondent MJ, they were viable last resorts if you could not get a place at other institutions and they were cost effective as well.<sup>464</sup>

Respondent PM was aware of Tshwane North TVET College and Vista University, now the University of Pretoria Mamelodi Campus. His older brother studied at Vista University and obtained a degree in Criminal Psychology. He liked studying at Vista and made life-long friends while at university.<sup>465</sup> Respondent PM thinks the university was perfect for the community. Not everybody wants to go to university, but seeing locals go to university gives you hope and inspires you.<sup>466</sup> He added that while university is not for everyone it did not connect with the community before. He felt that there was no relationship with the community and kids in the community did not know what to study. Vista never advertised its programmes to learners in the community.<sup>467</sup>

Notwithstanding these divergent views, it is evident that Vista University had utility for the community and others seeking a postsecondary education qualification. As such, it contributed to the improvement of the lives of members of the community and their families.

#### **4.5. Thuto Matlhale Technical College (1983 to 2014)**

Thuto Matlhale Technical College was established in 1983 from the trade school (Ambagskool) in the area. It was officially inaugurated by Dr. C. van N. Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development on 16 October 1986. On 22 May 1999, Prof Mary Metcalfe, Member of the Executive Committee (MEC) for the Gauteng Provincial Department of Education, unveiled the college as the Mamelodi College for Further Education and Training. From 2003 to 2004, the Mamelodi College for Further Education and Training merged with the Pretoria College for Further Education and Training and the Soshanguve South College for Further Education and Training, together with the Soshanguve campus's skills campus and Soshanguve North campus to form the Tshwane North Further Education and Training (FET) College.<sup>468</sup> The college

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<sup>463</sup> Interview with Respondent MJ, 2020.

<sup>464</sup> Interview with Respondent MJ, 2020.

<sup>465</sup> Interview with Respondent PM, 2020.

<sup>466</sup> Interview with Respondent PM, 2020.

<sup>467</sup> Interview with Respondent PM, 2020.

<sup>468</sup> Interview with Respondent TT, 2020.

acquired the Rosslyn Campus from Nampak in 2005 and due to the border demarcation changes, Tshwane North also acquired the Themba Campus, which was part of Orbit Campus, in 2007. In 2014, the college became the Tshwane North Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET) College.<sup>469</sup>

While all the respondents in this study remembered the Thuto Matlhale Technical College, only five of the respondents either studied, studied and worked, or worked at Thuto Matlhale. According to Respondent DM<sup>470</sup> and Alice Weil, Thuto Matlhale, offering a three-year course, had the only watchmaking training facility in the country.<sup>471</sup> Weil further reports in 1997 that the “Mamelodi School [Thuto Matlhale] was managed for some 20 years jointly by ETA, the Swiss Development Corporation (DDA) with input from the South African Government,”<sup>472</sup> notwithstanding that Thuto Matlhale only came into existence in 1983. However, Respondent DM’s recollection of the Swiss watchmakers training programme existing at the Vlakfontein Hoërskool before Thuto Matlhale came into existence may help to confirm the 20-year existence of the Swiss watchmaking partners in Mamelodi referred to by Weil.

Weil also reports that “thirty-two students were enrolled in the programme in 1997, of which four were in their final year”. The students were “drawn from as far afield as Tzaneen and Port Elizabeth areas, but mostly from Gauteng, and out-of-towners were assisted with accommodation”.<sup>473</sup> Respondent DM remembers students coming from as far afield as the neighbouring Southern African states such as Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe, and Namibia because the watchmaker programme at Thuto Matlhale was the only one of its kind in the Southern Africa region.<sup>474</sup>

Weil further reports that Newyear Ntuli, the Rector of the school (Thuto Matlhale),

was a protégé of former ETA SA Fabriques des d’Ebauches’ Silvio Frattin, a Swiss technician who was the school’s director until the end of 1991. ETA is Switzerland’s largest watch

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<sup>469</sup> Interview with Respondent TT, 2020.

<sup>470</sup> Interview with Respondent DM, 2020.

<sup>471</sup> A. Weil, “Collaboration would ensure satisfactory training”. *Diamond News & SA Jeweller*, September 1997.

<sup>472</sup> A. Weil, “Collaboration would ensure satisfactory training”. *Diamond News & SA Jeweller*, September 1997.

<sup>473</sup> A. Weil, “Collaboration would ensure satisfactory training”. *Diamond News & SA Jeweller*, September 1997.

<sup>474</sup> Interview with Respondent DM, 2020.



movement manufacturer. Thuto Matlhale graduated 18 students with the school's Diploma in Watchmaking in 1998.<sup>475</sup>

In addition, Ntuli also spent five weeks in Switzerland on an ETA technical refresher course, and, like Respondent DM who went to Switzerland in 1973, a “watch instructor at Thuto-Matlale [sic], Paulus Nonyana, participated in the Watchmakers of Switzerland Training Programme (Wostep) seminar” in 1998.<sup>476</sup>

Respondent FM also noticed that the large majority of students at Thuto Matlhale, both during his time as a student there as well as when he eventually taught at the college, were mainly not from Mamelodi. Even though his son studied at Thuto Matlhale, it was mainly so he could keep an eye on him and ensure he completed his studies successfully.<sup>477</sup>

Notwithstanding the sparse record, there is evidence of other trades that were offered at Thuto Matlhale. The *African Panorama* reports that Obed Mahlangu, an artist from Mamelodi who “began art lessons in 1984 at the local YMCA centre” progressed so well “under the tutelage of Aura Joubert at the Thuto Matlhale Technical College [that] he entered his first competition, in which he came second”.<sup>478</sup>

Respondent MM remembers the postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi as being of high standard and good for the community, though he noted that the authorities created these institutions without any consultation with the community and changed them as and when it pleased them. As an example, he notes that watchmaking was dropped as a course at Thuto Matlhale (now Tshwane North TVET College).<sup>479</sup>

Respondent TM remembers both Thuto Matlhale and Vista University as post-secondary education institutions in the community. He remembers Vista as a very good institution.<sup>480</sup> Though a multi-disciplinary institution in his time, he did not study at Vista because it did not

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<sup>475</sup> A. Weil, “Collaboration would ensure satisfactory training”. *Diamond News & SA Jeweller*, September 1997.

<sup>476</sup> A. Weil, “Collaboration would ensure satisfactory training”. *Diamond News & SA Jeweller*, September 1997.

<sup>477</sup> Interview with Respondent FM, 2020.

<sup>478</sup> *African Panorama*, ‘Obed Mahlangu’, 1996. 41(2), p. 104.

<sup>479</sup> Interview with Respondent MM, 2020.

<sup>480</sup> Interview with Respondent TM, 2020.

offer Library Sciences. For him, Thuto Matlhale was meant for “hands-on”, technical learning and not for degree studies, which is what he wanted.<sup>481</sup> He knows many local people who studied at these institutions, who became teachers and other professionals. He remembers most of the people who studied at Vista University as enjoying being at university regardless of Vista being an “apartheid institution”.<sup>482</sup> As an example, Vista University graduates created a formidable Alumni Association to organize themselves as a community. For these alumni, Vista provided them an opportunity to study and get a university qualification. They mourn the closing of Vista University as a result of national government policy.<sup>483</sup>

To illustrate the value Thuto Matlhale had for the community, Respondent MJ reports that he knows of a local resident who went to Thuto Matlhale Technical College, encouraged by his parents because of their experience with his brother who, after studying at Thuto Matlhale, worked and helped the family financially.<sup>484</sup> Furthermore, this recollection is also a direct example of the cross-generational transfer of knowledge taking place in the community.

#### **4.6. The University of Pretoria (2004)**

While contemporary public memory may suggest that the University of Pretoria (UP) is formally one of the most recent postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi since the conception of the township in 1947, this is not the case. As indicated earlier, a deeper reading of the history reveals that UP was involved with postsecondary education in Mamelodi from the beginning. UP was involved with the *Kolege Ya Bana Ba Afrika* established in 1945 and the Pretoria Bantu Normal College established in 1947. This makes the University of Pretoria among the oldest postsecondary education institutions involved in the Mamelodi community.

More recently, the University of Pretoria incorporated the Mamelodi Campus of the erstwhile Vista University as per the new democratic government decree in 2004.<sup>485</sup> At the time of incorporating the Mamelodi Campus, the University of Pretoria did not have any particular idea

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<sup>481</sup> Interview with Respondent TM, 2020.

<sup>482</sup> Interview with Respondent TM, 2020.

<sup>483</sup> Interview with Respondent TM, 2020.

<sup>484</sup> Interview with Respondent MJ, 2020.

<sup>485</sup> *Government Gazette* No. 23540. ‘Transformation and Restructuring: A New Institutional Landscape for Higher Education’. 21 June 2002.

of what it was going to do with the campus it was incorporating apart from implementing the directives issued by national government.<sup>486</sup> During the first three years following the incorporation of the campus, the university was confronted with a host of allegations, ranging from accusations that the University was closing down a university in the community,<sup>487</sup> to the university turning the campus into a non-academic space where local students would no longer be able to obtain a university qualification.<sup>488</sup> The mergers and incorporations, which were part of the national democratic government's policy to transform the higher education landscape in South Africa, were not without their detractors.<sup>489</sup>

Fifteen years into an often difficult and challenging investment towards developing a mission and vision for its campus in the Mamelodi community with the view to generating benefits for the institution and its surrounding community, the University of Pretoria continues to face similar, if not identical accusations.<sup>490</sup> While these accusations, fears and concerns might have been understandable, tenable, or even tolerable at the start of this journey, they are, fifteen years later, greatly intriguing. These antagonistic, alienating and conflicting community and institutional points of view, which have historical precedence, provide the clear need to interrogate the record of postsecondary education in Mamelodi to help contextualise these concerns for an improved understanding of these views. This is particularly so in the face of the generally held view that education is one real way in which to stem the cycle of poverty in communities as discussed earlier in this study. Through its many years of experience in the Mamelodi community, the University of Pretoria continues to hold this view.<sup>491</sup> Furthermore, and as noted by Zegeye, in "many societies, education of the youth is regarded as the key to

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<sup>486</sup> *Government Gazette* No. 25737. 'Incorporation of the Mamelodi Campus of Vista University with the University of Pretoria', 14 November 2003; Ministry of Education, Higher Education Restructuring and Transformation: Guidelines for Mergers and Incorporations, April 2003.

<sup>487</sup> D. Matsena, 'Hard Talk', *Rekord Mamelodi*, 4 August 2006.

<sup>488</sup> Anon, 'Protests at Tuks Mamelodi campus', IOL: *South Africa*, 6 March 2007, <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/protests-at-tuks-mamelodi-campus-317871> Accessed on 18 February 2020.

<sup>489</sup> S. Maphumulo and SAPA, 'Angry student protest targets merger' in *Time*, 22 February 2005.

<sup>490</sup> Anon, 'Letter from Concerned Mamelodi Residents', May 2019.

<sup>491</sup> University of Pretoria. We are Mamelodi, *Mamelodi Dipolelo*, Vol 1, Issue 1, September 2017. p. 2; N.A. Ogude et al, 2020, "Mamelodi Pre-University Academy: Aligning Campus Strategic Goals to Achieve a University's Anchor Institution Strategy Mandate". *Metropolitan Universities*, June 17. p. 33.

self-improvement and, among other things, changes in the personal identity of youth. South Africa is no exception”.<sup>492</sup>

In implementing national government policy directives around the mergers and incorporation of higher education institutions,<sup>493</sup> the University of Pretoria commenced what became an almost three-year-long consultation process to arrive at a view on what would be the most appropriate and significant use of the campus given the challenges in the community and in the higher education sector in general.<sup>494</sup> The consultations, which for some seemed tedious and unending, were extensive and exhaustive. They were also very instructive. Anyone who had a view or opinion was invited and allowed to share them. These were then considered in shaping and informing the final decision of what the University of Pretoria would do with its new acquisition in the form of the erstwhile Vista University campus in Mamelodi. The consultations were open to everyone: students from the former Vista University and the University of Pretoria, staff from the incorporating and incorporated institutions, local community members, trade unions at the university, and any interested party.<sup>495</sup>

From the outset, the development of the national government policy was a very contested exercise.<sup>496</sup> In some instances, the contestations resulted in modifications to how the policy

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<sup>492</sup> A. Zegeye, (2004), ‘Of Struggle and Whistles: Mamelodi’s Black Youth Culture’, *Current Sociology*, p.872.

<sup>493</sup> *Government Gazette* No. 23540. Transformation and Restructuring: A New Institutional Landscape for Higher Education. 21 June 2002.

<sup>494</sup> University of Pretoria, ‘Report of the Task Team for Academic Structure and Programmes: Incorporation of the Vista Mamelodi Campus into the University of Pretoria’, May 2003.

<sup>495</sup> University of Pretoria, ‘Minutes of the Mamelodi Campus Management meeting’, 31 January 2005; University of Pretoria, ‘Minutes of the meeting with Deans and other role players involved in the Mamelodi Campus’, 9 February 2005; University of Pretoria, ‘Minutes of a meeting to discuss security at the Mamelodi Campus’, 22 April 2005; University of Pretoria, ‘Minutes of the Mamelodi Campus Management meeting with campus stakeholders’, 1 June 2005; University of Pretoria ‘Minutes of the Mamelodi Campus Management with University stakeholders’, 2 September 2005; University of Pretoria, ‘Minutes of meeting with staff working on the Mamelodi Campus’, 6 October 2005; University of Pretoria, ‘Minutes of meeting with campus stakeholders’, 13 October 2005; University of Pretoria, ‘Minutes of meeting with Mamelodi Campus staff’, 18 October 2005; University of Pretoria, ‘Minutes of meeting with student organisations’, 25 October 2005.

<sup>496</sup> N. Cloete & J. Muller, ‘South African higher education reform: What comes after post-colonialism?’ Centre for Higher Education Trust (CHET): Transformation Debates, 1998; J.D. Jansen, ‘Guest Editorial: Does the national plan effectively address the critical issues facing higher education?’ *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 2001, 15(3), pp. 7-8; J.D. Jansen, ‘Guest Editorial: How mergers shape the institutional curriculum’, *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 2004, 18(1), p. 16; A.T. Mokadi, ‘Conceptions of the transformed university: South-African/African engaged’, Paper presented at the Council on Higher Education Colloquium, 10-12 November 2004, p.1; B. Capazorio, Mergers move into delicate final phase: Funding, staff uncertainties cause concern’, *The Herald*, 26 June 2006; Anon, ‘Universities on course:

was eventually concluded and rolled out. As an example, a proposal of the National Working Group tasked with the restructuring of the higher education landscape to merge the University of Fort Hare with Rhodes University was modified. Instead, the final national policy developed had the University of Fort Hare remain an independent institution, incorporating the East London campus of Rhodes University without the Health Sciences Faculty of the University of Transkei as recommended.<sup>497</sup> Similarly, the University of Pretoria's consultations were not free from contestations, disruptions, and protests by those segments in the university<sup>498</sup> and the surrounding community with a special interest in the matter.<sup>499</sup>

The University of Pretoria was so keen to reach consensus on the way forward that it bent over backwards to accommodate and allow the campus and surrounding community the opportunity to have their say and input into what was going to happen on the campus. This was done regardless of the fact that the national government directive was unambiguous about the burden and responsibility placed on the University of Pretoria as a public university incorporating a sub-division of another public institution.<sup>500</sup> So clear was the directive that the then National Department of Education promulgated through *Government Gazette* No. 25737 the rules of incorporation and how these were to be implemented for each institution incorporating a subdivision of another institution, thereby leaving very little room for imagination nor deviation on or about the process.<sup>501</sup>

The National Department of Education also took great pains to distinguish between mergers and incorporations, which were the two main modes of transforming the higher education landscape. As per the policy directives, mergers were defined as two or more institutions coming together to form a new entity altogether, with a new name, identity, rules, etc.; and an

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University of Johannesburg a perfect case study', *Finweek*, 20 July 2006; D. Matsena, 'Hard Talk' *Rekord Mamelodi*, 4 August 2006.

<sup>497</sup> Ministry of Education, June 2002.

<sup>498</sup> J. De Beer, U. Smith, & C. Jansen, 'Situated' in a separated campus – Students' sense of belonging and academic performance: A case study of the experiences of students during a higher education merger, *Education As Change*, 2009, 13(1), p. 168.

<sup>499</sup> D. Matsena, 'Hard Talk', *Rekord Mamelodi*, 4 August 2006; Anon, 'Protests at Tuks Mamelodi campus', *IOL: South Africa*, 6 March 2007, <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/protests-at-tuks-mamelodi-campus-317871> Accessed on 18 February 2020; S. Maphumulo and SAPA, "Angry student protest targets merger" in *Time*, 22 February 2005.

<sup>500</sup> Government Gazette 23540, 2002.

<sup>501</sup> Government Gazette 23540, 2002.

incorporation being an existing institution incorporating a subsection or subdivision of another institution where the incorporating institution remains intact and the incorporated institution becomes part and parcel of the incorporating institution's existing structures, rules and regulations.<sup>502</sup>

Notwithstanding the aforementioned, the University of Pretoria engaged in an elaborate consultation exercise to ensure it understood the needs of the community in relation to its having a university campus on its doorstep and how this particular feature of the Mamelodi community could be used to best serve the interest of the community, the higher education sector, national priorities, and the University of Pretoria's own transformation challenges and imperatives.<sup>503</sup> To allow for an extended period of consultations, the University established its extended curriculum programmes on the Mamelodi Campus to address the need to enroll prospective students in University of Pretoria programmes while phasing out the Vista University degree programmes.<sup>504</sup> In the end, the University decided to make the Mamelodi campus a science hub by hosting its BSc Extended Curriculum Programmes on the campus from 2008 onwards.<sup>505</sup> This decision was, among other things, motivated by the low enrollment of black students in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) related fields of study in higher education in general and at the University of Pretoria in particular.<sup>506</sup> In 2010, the University located the BCom Extended Curriculum Programme on the Mamelodi Campus and initiated an exercise to consider developing and locating a BA Extended Curriculum Programme on the Mamelodi Campus.<sup>507</sup>

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<sup>502</sup> Government Gazette 23540, 2002.

<sup>503</sup> UP Senate Committee for Academic Issues at the Mamelodi Campus, 'Motivation for Introduction of New UP Programmes in 2005', Senate Executive, 24 August 2004.

<sup>504</sup> UP Senate Committee for Academic Issues at the Mamelodi Campus, 'Motivation for Introduction of New UP Programmes in 2005', Senate Executive, 24 August 2004.

<sup>505</sup> UP Senate Committee for Academic Issues at the Mamelodi Campus, 'Motivation for Introduction of New UP Programmes in 2005', Senate Executive, 24 August 2004; M. Potgieter et al, 'Reflections of science students on their experience of an academic development programme in South Africa', *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 2016, 29(1), p. 110; N.A. Ogude et al, 2020, 'Mamelodi Pre-University Academy: Aligning Campus Strategic Goals to Achieve a University's Anchor Institution Strategy Mandate'. *Metropolitan Universities*, 2020, 31(2), p. 33.

<sup>506</sup> UP Senate Committee for Academic Issues at the Mamelodi Campus, 'Motivation for Introduction of New UP Programmes in 2005', Senate Executive, 24 August 2004.

<sup>507</sup> N.A. Ogude et al, 2020, 'Mamelodi Pre-University Academy: Aligning Campus Strategic Goals to Achieve a University's Anchor Institution Strategy Mandate'. *Metropolitan Universities*, 2020, 31(2), p. 33.

Alongside these academic activities, the Mamelodi Campus also became the University's community engagement hub,<sup>508</sup> which was structured in such a manner so as to enable curricular and non-curricular community engagement activities on the campus. These were generally "outwardly focused" in that they were providing services to the surrounding community. In this regard, the campus hosted the Itsoseng Psychology Clinic from the Faculty of Humanities's Department of Psychology; the Animal Health Clinic from the Faculty of Veterinary Sciences; the Business Clinic from the Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences; the Law Clinic from the Faculty of Law; the Siyathemba Occupational Health Clinic from the Faculty of Health Sciences; the Educational Psychology Clinic from the Education Faculty; Contextual Ministry's pastoral counseling services from the Faculty of Theology; and some community-based project module (JCP) projects from the Faculty of Engineering, Built Environment and Information Technology.<sup>509</sup> With the Faculty of Natural and Agricultural Science responsible for the anchor academic programmes, this effectively ensured that all faculties of the University of Pretoria were involved on the Mamelodi Campus in one way or the other.

In effect, this enlarged the participation of the different faculties on the Mamelodi Campus contrary to the view that the University was involved in a reduction of offerings on the Mamelodi Campus.<sup>510</sup> One of the features of the University of Pretoria in the South African higher education sector is that it has the greatest number of faculties of all universities in the system. As an example, it is the only university with a veterinary sciences faculty offering qualifications in veterinary sciences. As a result, the involvement of all the university's faculties on the Mamelodi Campus extended anything on offer on the campus prior to the incorporation.<sup>511</sup> The University of Pretoria did, however, alter the academic offering on the campus. By only offering the first year of the Four-year Extended Curriculum Programmes on the campus, the university effectively turned the Mamelodi Campus into a first-year-only academic campus. In this configuration, students would commence their academic career at

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<sup>508</sup> N.A. Ogude et al, 2020, 'Mamelodi Pre-University Academy: Aligning Campus Strategic Goals to Achieve a University's Anchor Institution Strategy Mandate'. *Metropolitan Universities*, 2020, 31(2), p. 33.

<sup>509</sup> N.A. Ogude et al, 2020, 'Mamelodi Pre-University Academy: Aligning Campus Strategic Goals to Achieve a University's Anchor Institution Strategy Mandate'. *Metropolitan Universities*, 2020, 31(2), p. 33.

<sup>510</sup> Anon, 'Letter from Concerned Mamelodi Residents', May 2019.

<sup>511</sup> UP Vice-Chancellor and Principal's response to "Letter from Concerned Mamelodi Residents", 22 May 2019.

the University of Pretoria on the Mamelodi Campus and upon successfully completing the first year and meeting the admission requirements of their elected degree programmes, they would articulate to either the Hatfield Campus (also commonly known as the Main Campus) or to any of the other campuses of the University offering specific disciplines.<sup>512</sup>

One of the significant factors that led to the decision to host only the first year of the extended curriculum programmes on the Mamelodi Campus was the real challenge the University faced with the growing gap of preparedness of high school graduates entering university level study for the first time.<sup>513</sup> With the growing challenges in the public education system in post-apartheid South Africa, it was becoming increasingly clear that many students were ill prepared to make a smooth transition from high school to university level study.<sup>514</sup> Though this was not necessarily unique to South Africa, the apartheid legacy with its differential investment in the education of the South African population based on race, had bequeathed an under-resourced and dysfunctional public school education system to black communities, which was increasingly affecting higher education institutions given the growing demand for university qualifications from an ever increasing number of high school graduates across the racial and socio-economic spectrum of the country.<sup>515</sup> Township schools, like all the schools in Mamelodi and the surrounding communities, were real living proof of the poor investment and support schools enjoyed in the previous dispensation.

The structure and location of the extended curriculum programmes on the Mamelodi Campus was the best chance students from schools in Mamelodi and the surrounding community had to gain access to study programmes at the University of Pretoria, particularly in the Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) related fields of study. As an example, Mamelodi had 19 high schools that over a four-year period of study delivered only 200 students for admission to the University of Pretoria in total. Each year of the period under consideration,

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<sup>512</sup> M. Potgieter et al, 2015. 'Reflections of science students on their experiences of an academic development programme in South Africa', *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 29(1), p. 109.

<sup>513</sup> N.A. Ogude et al, 2020, 'Mamelodi Pre-University Academy: Aligning Campus Strategic Goals to Achieve a University's Anchor Institution Strategy Mandate'. *Metropolitan Universities*, 2020, 31(2), p. 33.

<sup>514</sup> N.A. Ogude et al, 2020, 'Mamelodi Pre-University Academy: Aligning Campus Strategic Goals to Achieve a University's Anchor Institution Strategy Mandate'. *Metropolitan Universities*, 2020, 31(2), p. 33.

<sup>515</sup> N.A. Ogude et al, 2020, 'Mamelodi Pre-University Academy: Aligning Campus Strategic Goals to Achieve a University's Anchor Institution Strategy Mandate'. *Metropolitan Universities*, 2020, 31(2), p. 33.



Menlo Park High School in Pretoria provided the University of Pretoria 200 learners for study in STEM related fields alone.<sup>516</sup> That one previously advantaged high school outperformed an entire community of schools in delivering suitably qualified learners for admission to the University of Pretoria was a reality the University had to contend with and address in a structured and real manner to ensure access for Mamelodi learners at the University.<sup>517</sup> The Mamelodi Campus's new configuration was a direct response to the prevailing circumstances preventing local Mamelodi learners from access to the University of Pretoria and higher education in general.

The success of the academic programmes on the Mamelodi Campus has been such that the University of Pretoria dubbed the Extended Curriculum Programmes on the campus the University's "flagship programmes".<sup>518</sup> The University has now extended its approach to include a science education research platform through its "Anchor Strategy" for the Mamelodi Campus. The Anchor Strategy, which is discussed in further detail later in Chapter 5 in this study, is the University's partnership with Rutgers University-Newark (USA), which seeks to leverage the University's capacities and needs to benefit the immediate community around the University campus.<sup>519</sup> For the Mamelodi Campus this meant the Mamelodi and surrounding communities. To achieve this, the University of Pretoria, as part of its anchor strategy, established the Mamelodi Community of Learning Collaborative (MCLC), a vehicle to pull together all role players in the education ecosystem in Mamelodi.<sup>520</sup> These include government departments responsible for all the schools in the community, Universities of Technology, Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) colleges, non-governmental and non-profit organizations involved with capacity and skills building and development in the community, businesses and foundations involved in Mamelodi, etc., so as to ensure a focused

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<sup>516</sup> University of Pretoria Department of Student Administration, currently Department of Enrolment and Student Administration Report, 2006.

<sup>517</sup> University of Pretoria Report to Council: Update on the future of the Mamelodi Campus, September 2006; Minutes of meeting of role players to discuss the decision taken by the Executive on 15 October 2010 regarding the future of the Mamelodi Campus, 1 November 2010.

<sup>518</sup> N.A. Ogude et al, 2020, 'Mamelodi Pre-University Academy: Aligning Campus Strategic Goals to Achieve a University's Anchor Institution Strategy Mandate'. *Metropolitan Universities*, 2020, 31(2), p. 33.

<sup>519</sup> N.A. Ogude et al, 2020, 'Mamelodi Pre-University Academy: Aligning Campus Strategic Goals to Achieve a University's Anchor Institution Strategy Mandate'. *Metropolitan Universities*, 2020, 31(2), p. 33.

<sup>520</sup> N.A. Ogude et al, 2020, 'Mamelodi Pre-University Academy: Aligning Campus Strategic Goals to Achieve a University's Anchor Institution Strategy Mandate'. *Metropolitan Universities*, 2020, 31(2), p. 33.

and measured intervention in the entire human development value chain of the community from early childhood development through primary, secondary and tertiary education, to employment in the workplace.<sup>521</sup>

All the respondents were aware of the University of Pretoria's campus in Mamelodi. Notwithstanding the nostalgia for Vista University, the respondents considered the University of Pretoria an asset to the community.<sup>522</sup> Their only concern was that the University's admission requirements made it almost inaccessible for local school learners, which was compounded by its specialist offering and structure which does not allow a student to commence and complete a degree programme on the campus.<sup>523</sup>

However, the community service clinics and other community outreach activities on the University of Pretoria's Mamelodi Campus provided new assistance and support for the community. Among these, the respondents noted particularly the Animal Health Clinic, the Law Clinic (which was closed in 2016), and the Business Clinic.<sup>524</sup> They also felt the University of Pretoria Mamelodi Campus, unlike the previous post-secondary education institutions in the community, made a serious effort to connect with the school going population in Mamelodi and advertised their study options more aggressively than ever before, which creates a greater awareness of the University in the community.<sup>525</sup> As was made apparent, many of the previous post-secondary education institutions were noted for their lack of marketing and community engagement.

The University of Pretoria's Mamelodi Campus community engagement programmes enjoyed considerable praise among some of the respondents. As an example, Respondent GN had been associated with the University of Pretoria Mamelodi Campus since he was in Grade 8 through

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<sup>521</sup> N.A. Ogude et al, 2020, "Mamelodi Pre-University Academy: Aligning Campus Strategic Goals to Achieve a University's Anchor Institution Strategy Mandate". Metropolitan Universities, June 17. p. 33.

<sup>522</sup> Interview with Respondent ZS, 2020; Interview with Respondent TM, 2020; Interview with Respondent MJ, 2020; Interview with Respondent GN, 2020.

<sup>523</sup> Interview with Respondent ZS, 2020; Interview with Respondent TM, 2020; Interview with Respondent MJ, 2020; Interview with Respondent GN, 2020.

<sup>524</sup> Interview with Respondent ZS, 2020; Interview with Respondent TM, 2020; Interview with Respondent MJ, 2020; Interview with Respondent GN, 2020.

<sup>525</sup> Interview with Respondent ZS, 2020; Interview with Respondent TM, 2020; Interview with Respondent MJ, 2020; Interview with Respondent GN, 2020.

its outreach programmes for local school learners like the Mae Jemison US Science Reading Room, the Mamelodi Mathematics and Science Programme (MMSP), the Mamelodi Initiative's winter and summer school programmes, and the after-school football programme. He considers himself as growing up on the campus.<sup>526</sup> Furthermore, Respondent GN was aware of Vista University as his uncle studied at Vista (Vista University Mamelodi Campus). For his uncle at the time, it was great to be studying at Vista because when people heard you were at university, they admired you. The community had high regard for the Vista programmes. He also knows quite a few people who studied at Vista who earned BCom and Education qualifications.<sup>527</sup> According to Respondent GN, the TVET colleges were somewhat important and better than not studying at all. He has fond memories and a strong affinity to postsecondary education institutions in the community.<sup>528</sup>

Respondent ZS, though she did not study at a postsecondary education institution in Mamelodi, reported that her cousin studied at the University of Pretoria Mamelodi Campus and two of her nieces are currently enrolled on the Mamelodi Campus extended curriculum programmes. According to her, her cousin loved studying at the University of Pretoria Mamelodi Campus and could not stop talking about it to such an extent he regularly posted about his time and experiences on the campus on social media.<sup>529</sup> While she was not interested or aware of the University of Pretoria's Mamelodi Campus before she worked on the campus and was exposed to what the campus offered the community, she then realized its value to the community such as the support offered through the after-school programmes for students interested in mathematics and science and the Mae Jemison US Science Reading Room, which provides a lot of information about careers, and the clinics on campus that offer services to the community. She now feels a closeness to the campus as it has been useful and helpful to her and also to her mother who benefitted from the sewing project of the Business Clinic on the Mamelodi Campus. She concludes that the University of Pretoria Mamelodi Campus is for the community because it offers services and benefits to the community.<sup>530</sup>

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<sup>526</sup> Interview with Respondent GN, 2020.

<sup>527</sup> Interview with Respondent GN, 2020.

<sup>528</sup> Interview with Respondent GN, 2020.

<sup>529</sup> Interview with Respondent ZS, 2020.

<sup>530</sup> Interview with Respondent ZS, 2020.

Respondent PM remarked that there has been a great improvement since the Vista campus in Mamelodi had become the University of Pretoria Mamelodi Campus. The University now goes to the community and schools. There is a closer relationship with the community. The university has a huge impact on the community. The university is for the community because they are serving the community.<sup>531</sup> The respondents to this study demonstrate a real and tangible appreciation for the presence of the University of Pretoria in the community.

#### **4.7. Tshwane North Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET) College (2014)**

The Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) launched 50 Technical Vocational and Training (TVET) Colleges across the country in 2014. Due to an amendment to Section 26 of the FET Amendment Act, Act No. 1 of 2013, Further Education and Training (FET) Colleges were now referred to as Technical Vocational and Training (TVET) colleges.<sup>532</sup> The concept of TVET colleges was introduced into the South African education and training sector as part of a drive to provide high-quality education and training that offers a wide range of learning options. The Tshwane North TVET College (TNC), with a campus in Mamelodi at the premises of the erstwhile Thuto Matlhale Technical College, is a Public Technical and Vocational Education and Training College operating under the auspices of the Department of Higher Education and Training. The Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) Colleges as well as the Community Education and Training (CET) functions were transferred from the Provincial Education Departments (PED) to the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) on 1 April 2015.<sup>533</sup> TVET colleges are accredited by Umalusi and several Sector Education and Training Authorities (SETAs). These colleges offer training, mostly in the FET and GET bands of NQF Levels 2 to 4. Courses are also offered in the Higher Education band, i.e., the N4 to N6 levels.<sup>534</sup>

None of the respondents studied at the Tshwane North TVET College, although all of them were aware of its existence. Their recollections of the college were mostly of its predecessor, Thuto Matlhale and are reflected on in section 4.1.4. However, Respondent TT worked at both Thuto Matlhale Technical College and Tshwane North Further Education and Training (FET) College,

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<sup>531</sup> Interview with Respondent PM, 2020.

<sup>532</sup> Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) Communication Circular No 1/2015

<sup>533</sup> Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) Communication Circular No 1/2015

<sup>534</sup> Collegelist.co.za, 2019

[https://collegelist.co.za/?gclid=EAlalQobChMlseWJu5Sq4wIVwpTVCh1EFwIbEAAAYASAAEgJZ0fD\\_BwE](https://collegelist.co.za/?gclid=EAlalQobChMlseWJu5Sq4wIVwpTVCh1EFwIbEAAAYASAAEgJZ0fD_BwE)

the precursor to the Tshwane North TVET College, and could therefore reflect on both institutions. Respondent TT now works for the Tshwane North TVET College.<sup>535</sup>

Besides being in the postsecondary education space and knowing a number of professionals who attended institutions in Mamelodi, Respondent TT's husband also obtained a BA (Human Resource Management) degree from Vista University's Mamelodi Campus. She views these institutions as very important to the community with definitive advantages for access and reduced cost for studying at postsecondary education institutions for local learners. However, acknowledging that students from further afield made greater use of these opportunities, she recalls students commuting to Mamelodi from Hammanskraal and Soshanguve as well. During the time of the existence of these institutions, parents were very supportive of their children obtaining a post-school qualification. Even though they may have been struggling, most parents managed to pay for their children's education.<sup>536</sup>

For Respondent TT, regardless of the stigma that technical colleges had as places for those who could not get into university, the colleges developed people of stature like the current Deputy Minister of Education Bhuti Manamela who is a graduate of Thuto Matlhale, Andrew Nditshe Chirwa, President of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa), and Romeo Khumalo, a successful businessman and radio personality, who studied at the Soshanguve Technical College (Soteco).<sup>537</sup>

For Respondent TM, many Mamelodi residents mainly went to Turfloop, the University of the North, which boasts a substantial alumni population in Mamelodi. Furthermore, Respondent TM also observed that even at school, students living in Mamelodi West preferred schools in Mamelodi East and vice versa as they seem not to want to study near their homes. This suggests one of the reasons why local residents preferred not to study in institutions close to home, if they had an option to attend post-secondary institutions further away from home.<sup>538</sup>

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<sup>535</sup> Interview with Respondent TT, 2020.

<sup>536</sup> Interview with Respondent TT, 2020.

<sup>537</sup> Interview with Respondent TT, 2020.

<sup>538</sup> Interview with Respondent TM, 2020.

Respondent MJ considered the postsecondary education institutions like Thuto Mathlale alternatives to those who could not attend university and those who were technically inclined. Furthermore, he was aware of technikons that provided technical training and internships in industry. When Vista came along, there were doubts about it being an institution for blacks, so many left to study at Wits University and Turfloop (the University of the North).<sup>539</sup>

For Respondent MJ, the local institutions enjoyed an inferior standing compared to other institutions, partly because they did not market themselves well.<sup>540</sup> Unlike Medunsa, that would come to the schools to offer career guidance and opportunities to local learners, the local institutions did not come to the schools. With no marketing, the stigma of being in a township was compounded by the lack of resources.<sup>541</sup> That these institutions lacked science programmes when they started was a further negative in the eyes of some prospective students in the community.<sup>542</sup>

Schools such as Mamelodi High School had teachers who were university graduates in the sciences like mathematics, chemistry, and physics. These teachers would come to school assemblies in their academic regalia to inspire learners.<sup>543</sup> They also provided guidance on fields of study and institutions that provided such study programmes. One teacher resigned from school in order to study medicine at Medunsa.<sup>544</sup>

Respondent JM's decision to study at the University of the Witwatersrand was also informed by the unrests at Turfloop.<sup>545</sup> He was disinterested in the technical college also because their "N-courses" did not articulate with university study, which basically meant a dead end if you wished to proceed to university level study after completing a qualification at the technical college.<sup>546</sup>

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<sup>539</sup> Interview with Respondent MJ, 2020.

<sup>540</sup> Interview with Respondent MJ, 2020.

<sup>541</sup> Interview with Respondent MJ, 2020.

<sup>542</sup> Interview with Respondent MJ, 2020.

<sup>543</sup> Interview with Respondent MJ, 2020.

<sup>544</sup> Interview with Respondent MJ, 2020.

<sup>545</sup> Interview with Respondent MJ, 2020.

<sup>546</sup> Interview with Respondent MJ, 2020.

This chapter considered the histories of the postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi, from its inception to 2017. Though not established in Mamelodi, the chapter includes the *Kolege Ya Bana Ba Afrika* as it only operated in Mamelodi, sharing facilities with the Pretoria Bantu Normal College at the Mamelodi rondavel complex. The chapter records the founding and history of Vista University and its campus in Mamelodi, Thuto Mathlale Technical College, the University of Pretoria's Mamelodi Campus, and the Tshwane North Technical Vocational Education and Training College's campus in Mamelodi.

By integrating the memories, views and experiences of the respondents, the chapter provides a rounded view of the history of the postsecondary education institutions in the community and a view of how the community perceived and related to these institutions. The respondents' inputs, as tangible assets in this study, confirms the value the communities experiences have in understanding and evaluating the town-gown relationship. As is clear from the study, the respondents were overwhelmingly positive about the postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi. They offered the explanation that the tendency for Mamelodi residents to leave the township to go and study elsewhere is due, in the main, to a desire to expand their horizons and explore other places rather than to a negative perception of local institutions.

## Chapter 5: An international comparison and anchor institution strategies

The penultimate chapter takes on a comparative approach. It is divided into four sections looking at postsecondary education in the United States of America, followed by a focus on postsecondary education of historically disadvantaged African-Americans in the USA. The chapter also considers anchor institution strategies and their role in promoting town-gown relations in the USA and how the University of Pretoria's anchor institution strategy developed and its manifestation on the Mamelodi Campus.

### 5.1. Postsecondary education in the United States of America

For a number of reasons, the United States of America (USA) is one of the best international comparisons for issues facing South Africa. Not only is the USA a former colony of European colonial masters, sharing a number of colonial masters with South Africa such as the Portuguese, the English, and the Dutch colonists, the USA also shares a history of slavery and racial segregation with South Africa. Among the other commonalities is the building of the USA nationhood on the basis of its former colonial past such as the Roman-Dutch and English Common law doctrines. Furthermore and as observed by Philip Bonner,

the histories of both South Africa and the United States of America pivot around the issues of migration and racial (and, to some degree, ethnic) exclusion. In both societies, the process of industrialization and urbanization prompted massive increases in the flows of migration and the elaboration of racially exclusive ideologies which went by the name of segregation.<sup>547</sup>

While there are a number of differences in the development of these two countries and societies, the commonalities are sufficient to draw comparisons and learn from these experiences, including the role of education in development and attention given to the challenges both societies faced and how they dealt with these in the preceding years. Furthermore and “[d]espite their different social and political contexts, the challenges facing South Africa's higher education system bear comparison with struggles around issues of race and class that continue to unfold on many American campuses.<sup>548</sup>

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<sup>547</sup> P. Bonner, “‘The Great Migration’ and ‘The Greatest Trek’: Some Reflections’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 2004, 30(1), p. 87.

<sup>548</sup> D. Hendricks and J. Flaherty, ‘Integrating the edges: University of Pretoria's neighbourhood anchor strategy’, *Development Southern Africa*, 2018, p. 1.



G.M. Fredrickson, author of *Black Liberation: A comparative history of Black ideologies in the United States and South Africa* (1995), notes that when he began to read more deeply in the literature of African and African-American protests, he became acutely aware that the two discourses addressed common questions, often in astonishingly similar ways. He noted, furthermore, that the ideologies of black advancement or liberation that emerged from these discourses, were much closer to one another than the external circumstances had led him to expect.<sup>549</sup> It is therefore not surprising that the US postsecondary education experience for its African-American population, which suffered slavery, emancipation, segregation, and eventual inclusion, mirrors closely the experiences of South Africa, and, in this case, the community in Mamelodi as well.

According to Berger and Calkins, the higher education system of the United States was not so much a formal system as it was an informal formation of varied institutions. Furthermore, the development of the American system was unique in comparison to other national postsecondary educational systems around the world.<sup>550</sup> Unlike most other countries, where higher education systems have largely developed outward from a central, government-supported university such as was the case in South Africa, the United States never had a central institution giving birth to their higher education system.<sup>551</sup> Instead, the evolution of the US system was shaped by many different influences, including state and local needs, demographics, religious and social contexts. Consequently, postsecondary education institutions in the United States mirror the multifaceted complexities of the broader society in which they were embedded and the diversity of the people they served.<sup>552</sup>

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<sup>549</sup> G.M. Frederickson, *Black Liberation: A comparative history of Black ideologies in the United States and South Africa*, 1995.

<sup>550</sup> J.B. Berger & M.V. Calkins, 'Higher Education in the United States: Systems', 2019, <https://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/2044/Higher-Education-in-United-States.html> Accessed: 9 June 2019.

<sup>551</sup> J.B. Berger & M.V. Calkins, 'Higher Education in the United States: Systems', 2019, <https://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/2044/Higher-Education-in-United-States.html> Accessed: 9 June 2019.

<sup>552</sup> J.R. Thelin et al, 'Higher Education in the United States: Historical Development', 2019, <https://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/2044/Higher-Education-in-United-States.html> Accessed: 9 June 2019.

Moreover, Berger and Calkins argue that the American higher education system is quite disorderly in structure and function in contrast to many national postsecondary systems like South Africa and even in sharp contrast to the rationally organised American compulsory primary and secondary education system. Postsecondary education institutions and the students they serve are diverse and not easily categorised. Furthermore, this disorder is characterised by a variety of individual institutional goals and missions, types of degrees offered, finance and governance structures, and even curricula, course contents, and instructional methodologies.<sup>553</sup> There have been many attempts to develop classification systems to categorise US postsecondary education institutions, commencing in the 1970s. The best-known and most well-established classification system is known as

the Carnegie Classification, which was developed by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, first published in 1973 and most recently updated in 2000. The Carnegie Classification is the framework most used in describing institutional diversity in the US and heavily relied on by researchers and educational leaders to ensure appropriate comparisons between and among colleges and universities.<sup>554</sup>

While the US does not have a national system of postsecondary education, all states have developed some type of public higher education system.<sup>555</sup> Within these systems, public institutions usually fall into one of three major categories: universities, state colleges, and community colleges. Public universities typically grant the full range of graduate degrees, i.e., undergraduate, masters, and doctoral degrees. They also tend to have a strong research focus, and typically have large student enrollments. State colleges, on the other hand, are typically smaller, may serve a particular region of a state, and usually offer both bachelor's and master's degrees. Community colleges are two-year colleges that provide associate degrees, preparation for transfer to four-year institutions, vocational and technical education and training, and large numbers of continuing education offerings.<sup>556</sup>

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<sup>553</sup> J.B. Berger & M.V. Calkins, 'Higher Education in the United States: Systems', 2019, <https://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/2044/Higher-Education-in-United-States.html> Accessed: 9 June 2019.

<sup>554</sup> J.R. Thelin et al, 'Higher Education in the United States: Historical Development', 2019, <https://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/2044/Higher-Education-in-United-States.html> Accessed: 9 June 2019.

<sup>555</sup> J.R. Thelin et al, 'Higher Education in the United States: Historical Development', 2019, <https://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/2044/Higher-Education-in-United-States.html> Accessed: 9 June 2019.

<sup>556</sup> J.B. Berger & M.V. Calkins, 'Higher Education in the United States: Systems', 2019, <https://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/2044/Higher-Education-in-United-States.html> Accessed: 9 June 2019.

Institutions also vary by the core constituents they serve, particularly with regard to the particular types of students served, for instance institutions serving primarily student groups that have been traditionally underserved by the majority of postsecondary institutions. These institutions include historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), Hispanic-serving institutions (HSIs), tribal colleges, and women's institutions. HBCUs primarily exist to provide postsecondary education to African American students. There are currently 109 HBCUs in the USA, almost half of which are public. These institutions enroll fewer than 20 percent of African American undergraduate students, yet produce one-third of all African American bachelor's degrees.<sup>557</sup>

Berger and Calkins argue that while the lack of a system-wide structure creates a somewhat incoherent system of higher education in the US where widespread coordination is virtually impossible, there are many advantages to this noncentralised approach to a national higher education system. The large institutional diversity the decentralised US higher education has generated has a number of benefits on institutional, societal, and systemic levels. These include institutional diversity in the variety of the student body, institutional size, programmes offered, and academic standards; societal advantages include social mobility and political interest; and systemically, higher education is viewed as an "open system", characterised by diverse inputs and outputs. Diversity is also important because "differentiation of component units ... lead to stability that protects the system itself".<sup>558</sup> According to Thelin et al, higher education in the USA is a formidable enterprise at the start of the twenty-first century. Its profile includes more than 4,000 accredited institutions, enrolling over fifteen million students and conferring in excess of two million degrees annually. Furthermore, colleges and universities spend about \$26 billion per year on research and development, of which \$16 billion comes from federal government agencies. This success story of growth and expansion began more than 300 years ago before the USA existed as a federal state. It began in the seventeenth century where the idea of an American higher education grew to fruition throughout the ensuing centuries. While

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<sup>557</sup> US Department of Education, 'Historically Black Colleges and Universities and Higher Education Desegregation', March 1991; J.B. Berger & M.V. Calkins, 'Higher Education in the United States: Systems', 2019, <https://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/2044/Higher-Education-in-United-States.html> Accessed: 9 June 2019.

<sup>558</sup> R. Birnbaum, *Maintaining Diversity in Higher Education*, 1983.

differences developed with each new era of collegiate growth, the story of the success of the US higher education system has remained one of expanding access.<sup>559</sup>

Following the struggles of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and 1970s and from 1970 onwards, postsecondary institutions enrolled an increasingly diverse student body in terms of race, gender, and ethnicity. Less clear, however, is the question of whether the educational experiences within those institutional structures were effective and equitable, given the criticism US higher education faced of tracking lower income students into particular subsets of institutions and courses of study. Currently, grappling with educational equality and access has taken on an increased urgency in the USA because of the widespread embrace of higher education being a means to legitimacy, literacy, and respectability. Furthermore, as a mature industry, higher education now has to also compete with numerous activities for a share of the public purse and private donations.<sup>560</sup>

## **5.2. Postsecondary education of historically disadvantaged African-Americans in the USA**

In modern society, participation in higher education has become an essential mechanism for gaining access to economic prosperity, political influence, and social status. This is especially true for groups that have been traditionally absent from the ranks of the privileged and powerful, such as African-Americans, American Indians and Latinos.<sup>561</sup> According to the Institute for Higher Education Policy (2010), African-Americans have always recognized the value of an education and its power for transforming lives and communities.<sup>562</sup> During the earliest years of US history, African Americans were prohibited from learning to read or write. These efforts were designed to ensure submission while enslaved. Revolts by the enslaved community, like those led by Nat Turner in Virginia, frightened plantation owners, who reacted by limiting information and schooling. Despite the risks, the Quaker community, other

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<sup>559</sup> J.R. Thelin et al, 'Higher Education in the United States: Historical Development'. 2019. <https://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/2044/Higher-Education-in-United-States.html> Accessed: 9 June 2019.

<sup>560</sup> J.R. Thelin et al, 'Higher Education in the United States: Historical Development'. 2019. <https://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/2044/Higher-Education-in-United-States.html> Accessed: 9 June 2019.

<sup>561</sup> B.C. Clewell and B.T. Anderson, 'African Americans in Higher Education: An Issue of Access', *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*, 1995, 21(2), p. 56.

<sup>562</sup> Anon, 'Mini Brief: A Snapshot of African Americans in Higher Education', Institute of Higher Education Policy, 2010.

abolitionists, and educated slaves remained committed to educating more African Americans by secretly offering them tutoring and instruction as by 1840 teaching blacks to read was forbidden by legal statutes in every slave state in the South. During reconstruction, some trade school education was allowed, which served to keep blacks in the bottom economic ranks of US society. In the post-civil war America, higher education became a tool of racial and class discrimination, rather than a means for bringing about political and social parity in America.<sup>563</sup>

By 1900 there were approximately 2,500 African American college graduates. About half were employed as teachers, 17 percent as ministers of religion, six percent as doctors and dentists, five percent as lawyers, and three to four percent as businessmen.<sup>564</sup> After 1900 black colleges were key to the doubling of the African American enrolment in higher education each decade: from 700 to 800 in 1900 to between 3,000 and 4,000 in 1910 to a range of 6,000 to 8,000 in 1920 to about 20,000 to 25,000 in 1930 to between 45,000 and 50,000 in 1940, and an increase to about 95,000 to 105,000 full-time African American students in 1950.<sup>565</sup> After World War II, there occurred an unprecedented expansion and transformation of higher education in the nation. The G.I. Bill, officially the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944,<sup>566</sup> increased access to college for veterans who could not have afforded it before; consequently, enrolment in higher education surged. During the 1950s the expansion of state systems of higher education was in process; by the 1960s and 1970s universities and community colleges would be located in every corner of the United States. In this mood of optimism, higher education seemed accessible to all, including the large number of African Americans who had migrated to the northern states and who had fought for their country in World War II and were eligible for access to education in terms of the G.I. Bill.<sup>567</sup>

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<sup>563</sup> B.C. Clewell and B.T. Anderson, 'African Americans in Higher Education: An Issue of Access', *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*, 1995, 21(2), p. 60.

<sup>564</sup> A. Pifer, *The Higher Education of Blacks in the United States*. 1973, p. 15.

<sup>565</sup> B.C. Clewell and B.T. Anderson, 'African Americans in Higher Education: An Issue of Access', *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*, 1995, 21(2), p. 61.

<sup>566</sup> J.R. Thelin et al, 'Higher Education in the United States: Historical Development'. 2019. <https://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/2044/Higher-Education-in-United-States.html> Accessed: 9 June 2019.

<sup>567</sup> N. Lemann, *The Big Test: The Secret History of the American Meritocracy*, Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, New York, 1999, p. 17.

The 1960s were the years of the struggle for African Americans to forge an identity and to gain equal rights as US citizens through the Civil Rights Movement and later, affirmative action. They were also the years of great social change for the nation. President Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society reforms" strove to redress past inequities suffered by the poor and racial/ethnic minorities in the US. In the 1960s and 70s, one of the most striking changes in American society was the vast expansion of college education, which reached a much higher proportion of the population than in other industrialised countries.<sup>568</sup> Whereas in 1940 less than one American adult in 20 was a college graduate, that number had quadrupled by 1986 to one in five.<sup>569</sup> The percentage of adults with college degrees by the late 1980s was higher than the percentage with high school diplomas in 1930.<sup>570</sup> Many of these "new" college students were African-Americans and members of other "disadvantaged" groups. The War on Poverty recruited inner-city students for college, and federal civil rights agencies and courts put pressure on white colleges in the south that failed to integrate minority students and faculty. A number of federally-funded efforts were established to increase access to higher education for those who had been underrepresented. The 1965 Higher Education Act provided the first general federal undergraduate scholarships ("educational opportunity grants") in the history of the nation. This Act also made the work-study program a permanent part of federal higher education policy.<sup>571</sup>

By 1992, African-Americans had made gains in the percentage of high school graduates enrolled in college and in the percentage of the 18-to-24-year-olds enrolled in college. There was a 26.5 percent increase in college enrolment from 1982 to 1992.<sup>572</sup> From 1991 to 1992, there was a 4.3 percent increase and this increase occurred because of the enrolment gains by African-American women. Over the past decade, 1980 to 1990, African-American women had an

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<sup>568</sup> N. Lemann, *The Big Test: The Secret History of the American Meritocracy*, Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, New York, 1999, p. 17.

<sup>569</sup> National Center for Education Statistics, 1988a in Orfield, 1990.

<sup>570</sup> J.K. Folger and C.B. Nam, 'Education of the American population'. Prepared in cooperation with the Social Science Research Council, 1967. [https://books.google.co.za/books?id=G2-fAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.co.za/books?id=G2-fAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false) Accessed: 16 August 2019.

<sup>571</sup> J.K. Folger and C.B. Nam, 'Education of the American population'. Prepared in cooperation with the Social Science Research Council, 1967. [https://books.google.co.za/books?id=G2-fAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.co.za/books?id=G2-fAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false) Accessed: 16 August 2019.

<sup>572</sup> D.J. Carter & R. Wilson, *Minorities in Higher Education. 1993 Twelfth Annual Status Report*, American Council on Education, 1993, p. 16.

enrolment gain of about 33 percent, compared to 17 percent for African American males. Additionally, African-American women had greater gains than their male counterparts from 1990 to 1991 in all four major degree categories.<sup>573</sup> Though 13 percent of the total population, in 2007, the percentage of recent African-American high school completers who enrolled in college was 56 percent.<sup>574</sup>

Carter and Wilson argue that as seen from the above, access to quality higher education was systematically and deliberately denied African-Americans for close to two hundred years.<sup>575</sup> It took almost forty years to lay the legal groundwork to ensure fair and equitable access to higher education for African-Americans and other minority groups. However, the gains made in achieving equal access have been continuously threatened by conservative elements in government and in society.<sup>576</sup> As enrolment data show, the participation of African-Americans in higher education is responsive to public and private policies that have restricted or encouraged access to higher education. Although the legal framework now exists to ensure equal access to higher education, a history of savage oppression, calculated exploitation, and systematic exclusion resulted in a playing field that is far from level. Consequently, what is required to eliminate racial inequalities in higher education in the USA is a combination of enforced legal mandates and affirmative action efforts to achieve equitable representation of African Americans in higher education. Then, perhaps, “we might expect to see equal representation of persons of African American heritage among the elite of the nation”.<sup>577</sup>

In terms of their contemporary experiences at colleges and universities, in 2007–08, 49 percent of African-American students were first-generation college students and 46 percent had taken remedial courses, reinforcing the need for academic and social support such as bridge programmes, first-year experience courses, learning communities, and financial literacy

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<sup>573</sup> D.J. Carter & R. Wilson, *Minorities in Higher Education. 1993 Twelfth Annual Status Report*, American Council on Education, 1993, p. 16.

<sup>574</sup> Anon, ‘Mini Brief: A Snapshot of African Americans in Higher Education’, Institute of Higher Education Policy, 2010.

<sup>575</sup> D.J. Carter & R. Wilson, *Minorities in Higher Education. 1993 Twelfth Annual Status Report*, American Council on Education, 1993. p. 16.

<sup>576</sup> D.J. Carter & R. Wilson, *Minorities in Higher Education. 1993 Twelfth Annual Status Report*, American Council on Education, 1993. p. 18.

<sup>577</sup> D.J. Carter & R. Wilson, *Minorities in Higher Education. 1993 Twelfth Annual Status Report*, American Council on Education, 1993.

programs.<sup>578</sup> With respect to “high-impact practices” that prompt greater student engagement and success, African-American students reported participation in learning communities and research with faculty at rates comparable to white students, but indicate less frequent participation in study abroad and senior capstone experiences. Despite the proliferation of diversity programmes and the reported successes, African-American students continue to report, at a higher rate than both white students and other minority populations, “guarded, tense, and threatening” interactions with other students.<sup>579</sup>

From the above, it can be noted that notwithstanding the great achievements in the uptake of postsecondary education opportunities available to them as a result of the larger political changes taking place in the US following the Civil Rights Movement, African-Americans continue to face and confront obstacles in accessing and succeeding in higher education, disproportionately in relation to other Americans, and particularly white Americans.

### **5.3. Anchor institution strategies and the promotion of ‘town-gown’ relations**

The notion of anchor institutions as it is currently understood and pursued in higher education, is often linked to the efforts started by the University of Pennsylvania (Penn) in Philadelphia, USA in the late 1990s. This started when Penn, as it is commonly known, suffered the features of urban decay that resulted in increased crime and safety concerns for the university community. Judith Rodin, Penn’s President at the time, commenced an urban renewal strategy, initially driven by the need to make the community and neighbourhood around Penn safe for students and staff, that demonstrated the virtues and benefits of what is now understood as part of anchor institution strategies for urban higher education institutions in the USA.<sup>580</sup>

Rodin documented Penn’s journey into the new paradigmatic shift in town-gown relations in a book titled *The University & Urban Revival: Out of the Ivory Tower and into the Streets*, published in 2007 by the University of Pennsylvania Press.<sup>581</sup> In response to the safety and

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<sup>578</sup> D.J. Carter & R. Wilson, *Minorities in Higher Education. 1993 Twelfth Annual Status Report*, American Council on Education, 1993.

<sup>579</sup> D.J. Carter & R. Wilson, *Minorities in Higher Education. 1993 Twelfth Annual Status Report*, American Council on Education, 1993.

<sup>580</sup> B. Dever et al, ‘(Re)Defining Successful Anchor Strategies’, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy Working Paper, 2014, p. 1.

<sup>581</sup> J. Rodin, *The University & Urban Revival: Out of the Ivory Tower and into the Streets*, 2007.



security threats in the surrounding community, Penn embarked on the West Philadelphia Initiatives (WPI) to strengthen the economy and quality of life in the neighbourhood surrounding the university. The WPI focused activities in five key issue areas: improving neighbourhood services and capacity (including safety); providing high quality, diverse housing choices; reviving commercial activity; accelerating economic development; and enhancing local school options. The University's efforts included forming partnerships with neighbourhood organisations and civic groups, the private sector, and local government. An evaluation conducted in 2003 found that the initiatives had met a number of benchmarks related to accomplishing its goals, including a significant drop in crime reports, increased property values, and improvement in local economic activity.<sup>582</sup>

Almost 30 years later, there is a growing scholarship on anchor strategies in higher education. According to Friedman, Perry and Menendez:

In the past quarter century, universities [in the USA] have committed themselves to greater engagement in their communities. They are increasingly seen as 'anchor' institutions—whose physical presence is integral to the social, cultural, and economic wellbeing of the community. Urban-based universities, in particular, have recognized the many challenges facing their—and the nation's—cities. Understanding that their fortunes are tied in part to those of their neighbours and physical surroundings, many have expanded their efforts to engage new partners and address pressing community issues. In the process, they are broadening the education of students, improving neighbourhoods and cities, helping strengthen other anchor institutions, and informing and advancing the larger society.<sup>583</sup>

Anchor institutions are large, place-based organisations, often public or non-profit, that exist as core fixtures in local communities—once established, they do not tend to move. "Anchor institutions—universities, hospitals, and large non-profit organisations—are referred to as 'anchors' because of their permanence and their physical and social ties to surrounding communities".<sup>584</sup> They serve as an economic (and at times social and cultural) center for local regions, and have a significant stake in what happens in their surrounding communities. An anchor institution shapes the economic landscape and viability of a city and its region as a major employer, local purchaser, and investor and powerful stakeholder in community-development

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<sup>582</sup> B. Dever et al, '(Re)Defining Successful Anchor Strategies', Lincoln Institute of Land Policy Working Paper, 2014, p. 4.

<sup>583</sup> D. Friedman et al, 'The Foundational Role of Universities as Anchor Institutions in Urban Development: A Report of National Data and Survey Findings', *Coalition of Urban Serving Universities*, 2015, p. 1.

<sup>584</sup> B. Dever et al, '(Re)Defining Successful Anchor Strategies', Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2014, p. 1.

efforts. As anchor institutions, public and private universities offer tremendous resources for the local communities in which they are located and provide opportunities for transforming local communities.<sup>585</sup>

By virtue of their mission, intellectual capital, and investments in physical facilities, urban universities are uniquely positioned to play a leading and significant role in their communities in powerful ways should they embrace the paradigm shift required to realise such urban revitalisation efforts.<sup>586</sup> Often, these urban colleges and universities are their cities' largest employers and a significant engine of economic activities in their cities. In 2010–11 alone, urban degree-granting institutions in the USA employed 2.6 million employees, with over 1.9 million full-time equivalent staff, paying over \$190 billion in salaries, wages, and employee benefits. These institutions had total annual expenses of \$340 billion, total annual revenues of \$405 billion, and total assets worth over \$700 billion.<sup>587</sup>

Notwithstanding this characteristic, urban universities have not always and typically been the most agreeable neighbours in their communities. Their involvement in and with their adjacent communities has been intermittent and inconsistent at best.<sup>588</sup> According to Rubin and Rose, many anchor institutions have a history of being distant from grassroots communities or of wielding their power and influence in ways that advance their immediate agenda but not that of nearby residents or the broader public. Sometimes, they have a workforce that does not reflect local demographics, and procurement policies that lead them to spend their money mostly outside of their neighbourhood, home city and region. At other times, they may have pursued real estate development strategies that were at odds with local community priorities, and they may have absorbed the kinds of implicit biases that have led to racial or gender disparities in hiring, pay, and advancement in many organisations. Although anchor institutions are not at all unique in this respect, they can be highly visible reflections of persistent social problems. Antagonistic or unproductive relationships are not inevitable, though, and a growing number of anchor institutions have developed more authentic and reciprocal ways of engaging

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<sup>585</sup> V. Rubin and K. Rose, 'Strategies for Strengthening Anchor Institutions' Community Impact'. *PolicyLink*. 2015, p.3.

<sup>586</sup> J. Rodin, *The University and Urban Revival: Out of the Ivory Tower and Into the Streets*, 2007, p. 5.

<sup>587</sup> D. Friedman et al, 'The Foundational Role of Universities as Anchor Institutions in Urban Development: A Report of National Data and Survey Findings', Coalition of Urban Serving Universities, 2015, p. 3.

<sup>588</sup> J. Rodin, *The University and Urban Revival: Out of the Ivory Tower and Into the Streets*, 2007, p. 10.

with, and providing valuable support to, lower-income neighbourhoods and communities such as those of colour in the USA. Engaged anchor institutions demonstrate a strong commitment to community partnerships and play a crucial role in revitalising local economies.<sup>589</sup>

Since Penn's changed strategy to confront the threats to its enterprise, universities across the USA have adopted in increasing numbers and speed, anchor institution strategies to varying degrees and with varying results. Rubin and Rose further indicate that the truly engaged anchor institutions, through planning and action, aim to achieve a number of key goals such as implementing projects in partnership with community-based organisations and agencies that improve the lives of children, youth, and their families and contribute to the enhancement or expansion of an institution's broadly based commitments to sustainable, authentic community engagement.<sup>590</sup>

#### **5.4. The University of Pretoria's Anchor Institution Strategy**

The anchor institution strategies which were first developed in the United States of America, have been adopted by higher education institutions across the world. The University of Pretoria formally adopted an anchor institution role for the University in 2017 following the former Vice-Chancellor and Principal of the University, Prof Cheryl de la Rey, together with Kgosientso Ramokgopa, the former Executive Mayor of the City of Tshwane's visit to the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan, and the University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland in 2015.<sup>591</sup> Following the visit, American consultants U3 Advisors, who had played an instrumental role in the West Philadelphia Initiatives, were invited in 2015 to conduct a feasibility study in Hatfield where the University's main campus is located. The U3 team led focus groups of leading administrators and academics, as well as students at UP. It engaged community and civic leaders, including the former executive mayor of the City of Tshwane and the local authority's city manager, foreign diplomatic missions in the area, local and national police, real estate developers and operators, representatives from local schools and the business community, and members of the Hatfield

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<sup>589</sup> V. Rubin and K. Rose, 'Strategies for Strengthening Anchor Institutions' Community Impact'. *PolicyLink*. 2015, p.2.

<sup>590</sup> V. Rubin and K. Rose, 'Strategies for Strengthening Anchor Institutions' Community Impact'. *PolicyLink*. 2015, p.2.

<sup>591</sup> D. Hendricks & J. Flaherty, 'Integrating the edges: University of Pretoria's neighbourhood anchor strategy', *Development Southern Africa*, 2018, p. 7.

City Improvement District (CID) in which the university was already playing a leading role. U3 Advisors produced a framework report identifying the University's potential as an anchor institution and the steps that needed to be taken to implement an effective anchor strategy in Hatfield.<sup>592</sup>

As a result, UP's anchor strategy was initially rolled out in the neighbourhood around its Hatfield Campus where the majority of its assets, students and staff and the larger of its six campuses are located. The Hatfield campus, with its developed business community already engaged with the University through a City Improvement District (CID), a legally defined and established urban revitalisation vehicle, enabled the speedy development and implementation of an anchor strategy as all the ingredients considered crucial to changing an area's trajectory were already present in the Hatfield precinct. These are: a collaborative private real-estate market; strong urban fabric; close civic alignment; adequate precinct infrastructure; top-rated schools; and effective security (provided by national and metro police, as well as privately contracted firms hired by the University).<sup>593</sup> Consequently, the adoption of an anchor strategy for the Hatfield Campus was a logical evolution of work already happening in the neighbourhood.

The University of Pretoria, from the onset, understood and undertook to roll out its anchor strategy to all its other campuses, with a view to considering the specifics of the neighbourhoods around these campuses. While the Hatfield Campus anchor strategy is greatly developed and evolved due to the existence of a vibrant business community collaborating with the university in the Hatfield City Improvement District (CID) precinct, the Mamelodi Campus strategy provides different challenges, in part due to the campus being located in an economically disadvantaged community with very little or no meaningful economic partners in the area around the campus. The Mamelodi Campus anchor strategy therefore focuses on how best to harness partnership to improve the educational opportunities for members of the community.

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<sup>592</sup> D. Hendricks & J. Flaherty, 'Integrating the edges: University of Pretoria's neighbourhood anchor strategy', *Development Southern Africa*, 2018, p. 7.

<sup>593</sup> D. Hendricks & J. Flaherty, 'Integrating the edges: University of Pretoria's neighbourhood anchor strategy', *Development Southern Africa*, 2018, p. 7.

For the Mamelodi Campus, the anchor strategy therefore took the form of the Mamelodi Collaborative (MC), a partnership between the Mamelodi Campus and Rutgers University-Newark in the USA. The Mamelodi Collaborative secured a year-long planning grant from the Kresge Foundation to develop a collaboration between two former Kresge grant recipients, i.e., the University of Pretoria and Rutgers University-Newark, that leverages institutional capacities and experiences in improving access for historically disadvantaged communities in Mamelodi and Newark, New Jersey.<sup>594</sup> As part of the planning process, the Mamelodi Collaborative identified five niche areas around which it could realise such collaboration. These are: broadening education pathways; strong, healthy and safe neighbourhoods; entrepreneurship and economic development; and leveraging arts and culture for community development. These five niche areas can be understood as creating the “key ingredients” critical to changing an area’s developmental trajectory as anticipated in anchor institution strategies.<sup>595</sup>

Through interactions and exchanges between UP Mamelodi and Rutgers University-Newark, the Mamelodi Collaborative evolved additional permutations based on Rutgers University-Newark’s experience. The Mamelodi Collaborative launched the Mamelodi Community of Learning Collaborative (MCLC), which seeks to partner with all entities in the community involved in the education ecosystem. These include community-based organisations, non-governmental organisations, not-for-profit organisations, businesses, foundations, other postsecondary education partners, and government departments and agencies involved in capacity and skills development in the community from the early childhood development level through to the workplace. The idea was to collaborate with the entire human development value chain in the community through alignment of interventions, connecting the various interventions logically along the value chain, and harnessing capacity and resources around the myriad of efforts involved in turning the community’s fortunes around for maximum impact. This is done through a data-driven approach to intervention development, assessment, measurement and evaluation of the impact of the interventions.<sup>596</sup>

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<sup>594</sup> N.A. Ogude et. al, ‘Mamelodi Pre-University Academy: Aligning Campus Strategic Goals to Achieve a University’s Anchor Institution Strategy Mandate’, *Metropolitan Universities*. 31(2), 2020, p. 34.

<sup>595</sup> N.A. Ogude et. al, ‘Mamelodi Pre-University Academy: Aligning Campus Strategic Goals to Achieve a University’s Anchor Institution Strategy Mandate’, *Metropolitan Universities*. 31(2), 2020, p. 34.

<sup>596</sup> N.A. Ogude et. al, ‘Mamelodi Pre-University Academy: Aligning Campus Strategic Goals to Achieve a University’s Anchor Institution Strategy Mandate’, *Metropolitan Universities*. 31(2), 2020, p. 36.

Both the University of Pretoria's Hatfield Campus and its Mamelodi Campus anchor strategies are still in their infancy. While great strides have been made with the University's anchor strategy around its Hatfield Campus, mainly due to the well-developed business establishment and interest in the community surrounding the Hatfield Campus, the Mamelodi Campus faces different obstacles in developing and rolling out a meaningful anchor strategy. There are no formal or established business concerns to partner with in the area of Mamelodi where the University campus is located. Consequently, the Mamelodi Campus has, in the meantime, elected to focus its efforts on the "education eco-system" as a way of leveraging its institutional resources and capacities to promote a post-school going culture in the community by working with the local schools and community based organisations providing training in the community. This effort needs time to unfold and generate lessons and insights as to its effectiveness and the value it generates in promoting improved and sustainable town-gown relationships. From the feedback received from the respondents, it can be discerned that the anchor strategy has great traction in the community.<sup>597</sup>

This study, through its cohort of local Mamelodi respondents, reveals a complexity of understanding and responses from the participants in relation to the general understanding offered earlier. While not rejecting nor disproving the view that communities had a suspicious view of government meddling in their community affairs, respondents also indicate that many engaged with the opportunities on offer as a way to improve their circumstances. The respondents in this study confirm a clear appreciation of the value of a postsecondary education qualification from the earliest years of the founding of the community and postsecondary education institutions up to the current context and time. The respondents further indicate benign and perfectly understandable reasons for electing to study elsewhere as opposed to utilizing the benefits local postsecondary education institutions make available to them. The respondents also reflect appreciation for the community engagement activities offered by the University of Pretoria's Mamelodi Campus as part of its anchor strategy. These reflections are a far cry from the understanding that the community does not appreciate nor

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<sup>597</sup> Interview with Respondent ZS, 2020; Interview with Respondent TM, 2020; Interview with Respondent GN, 2020; Interview with Respondent MJ, 2020; Interview with Respondent PS, 2020; Interview with Respondent TT, 2020.

understand, take up or access the benefits of having postsecondary education institutions in their midst.

## Chapter 6: Reading the bones

As indicated in the introduction to this study in Chapter 1, “[t]he holistic nature of indigenous healing is reflected in the various diagnostic and treatment approaches that traditional healers use when they help those who need their services”.<sup>598</sup> Traditional healers, having thrown their bones, then proceed to read the bones from how they lie and the order in which they present themselves. “The indigenous healer must first identify the fall, interpret it and prescribe the kind of medication or treatment suitable for the patient”,<sup>599</sup> if necessary. The meaning thus derived is used to diagnose the problem at hand and devise solutions or remedies, should this be required. Having thrown the bones of postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi through considering the record and scholarship on postsecondary education institutions in the community, viewing the evidence as presented, we now commence to read the bones as they lie so as to distill their meaning and divine their instruction.

Consequently, this chapter seeks to discern, through interrogating the findings of the study, i.e., through reading the bones, the history of postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi within the context of the history and development of Mamelodi as a community and neighbourhood. The chapter also seeks to contextualize and “round off” the history of postsecondary education institutions in the community, by incorporating the memory, views and experiences of the respondents who are members of the community, i.e., the special artefacts, the history and relationship of the community with the postsecondary education institutions in their back yard.

### 6.1. Findings and discussion

As recorded in Chapter 3, Mamelodi, as a community, fought against, resisted and rejected its forced relocation and constitution as a neighbourhood in Pretoria from the onset. That this character of the community persisted throughout its existence to the current context can be reasonably expected to have affected all government interventions in the community, including the postsecondary education institutions in the neighbourhood. Like a baby protesting its birth

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<sup>598</sup> M. Makgopa & M. Koma, ‘The use of ditaola (divination bones) among indigenous healers in Sekhukhune District, Limpopo Province’, *Indilinga—African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems*, 2009, 8(1), p. 51.

<sup>599</sup> M. Makgopa & M. Koma, ‘The use of ditaola (divination bones) among indigenous healers in Sekhukhune District, Limpopo Province’, *Indilinga—African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems*, 2009, 8(1), p. 52.



into an unjust, unfair and difficult world, the residents of Mamelodi have been protesting their entire existence in the community.

Echoing the history of townships formed as part of the establishment and entrenchment of apartheid, the birth of Mamelodi followed the obliteration of established black communities. In one record of this experience, Bloke Modisane chronicled the destruction of Sophiatown in his autobiography, *Blame Me On History*.<sup>600</sup> According to the foreword to the 1990 US edition, Mark Mathabane<sup>601</sup> noted that:

The book was instantly banned by the South African authorities when it was first published in 1963 ... [because] its human story—the story of growing up black in South Africa, of the destruction and degradation of black family and community life—amounted to a damning indictment of apartheid ... Though [Sophiatown] was in many respects a ghetto, it was alive, vibrant with culture, literature, music, art and nice-time feasting. The proud inhabitants of Sophiatown, despite poverty and the hardships of life, were imbued with a home-bred community spirit. ... [They] were house-proud. [They] took the ugliness of life in a slum and wove a kind of beauty; [they] established bonds of human relationships which set a pattern of communal living, far richer and more satisfying—materially and spiritually—than a model housing could substitute. ... The decades that followed were to reap in blood and death what racism had sown in the ashes of ‘deserted houses and demolished homes, of faded dreams and broken lives’.<sup>602</sup>

This was essentially the same experiences the people removed from their homes in Bantule, Lady Selbourne, Marabastad and other areas and forcibly relocated to Mamelodi brought with them to their new location. And this was what fed and nurtured their continued struggle against the injustices visited upon them by a system hell-bent on the destruction of community and the fashioning of a cheap labour force to service the needs of an industrialising economy for the benefit of its white citizens. In this milieu, which included the introduction of postsecondary education institutions in the community, again to bolster the needs of urbanisation and industrialisation, it is reasonable to expect that these communities brought fervor and determination to their resistance to and outright rejection of the onslaught on their humanity.

The history considered in this study covers a period of over 70 years of postsecondary education institutions in the Mamelodi community. In spite of an extended exposure to postsecondary education institutions on the community’s proverbial doorstep, the opportunities such

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<sup>600</sup> B. Modisane. 1990. *Blame me on History*, pp. 5-311.

<sup>601</sup> M. Mathabane, *Kaffir Boy*, MacMillan, New York, 1986.

<sup>602</sup> B. Modisane. 1990. *Blame me on History*, pp. vii-ix.

institutions typically provide for the advancement of the local community should be instructive in understanding how and why the Mamelodi community appears not particularly known for producing the largest number of well-educated black citizens in South Africa. This reading of history must also be tempered by the view that household income is more decisive an indicator of access to and success in postsecondary education than anything else.<sup>603</sup> As an example, Van der Merwe notes that “[b]esides reducing transport and accommodation expenses, student fees at Vista University were considerably less than those at other universities”.<sup>604</sup> Notwithstanding the initial negatively loaded rationale for its establishment, “over time [Vista] produced significant benefits for the black communities in terms of attainable higher education opportunities and thus, social mobility”.<sup>605</sup> The veracity of this assertion demands attention, particularly since the respondents in this study seem positive about the benefits of having had Vista University in the community and the strong affinity Vista graduates express about their institution.

It is noted in *Blame Me On History* that “belief in education as a powerful weapon of hope is deeply emblazoned in the hearts of black mothers throughout South Africa, many of whom are illiterate”.<sup>606</sup> This indicates that black people in the townships understood and appreciated the value of education and pursued these opportunities, oftentimes at great cost. Given the heightened political awareness and activism against apartheid in Mamelodi, it can be reasonably expected that government education institutions were treated with the same disdain and suspicion, and suffered the selfsame indiscriminate rejection and resistance that other apartheid engineered interventions and developments enjoyed during this period of social development and history of townships in South Africa.

However, the respondents in this study reveal a complicated understanding and relationship with postsecondary institutions in their community. The majority of respondents appreciated the institutions and the opportunities they made available for community members to improve

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<sup>603</sup> N. Hanauer, ‘Better schools won’t fix America’, *The Atlantic*, July 2019 Issue.

<sup>604</sup> H.M. Van der Merwe, HM, (), ‘The Vudec merger: a recording of what was and a reflection on gains and losses’, *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 2007, 21(3), p. 543.

<sup>605</sup> H.M. Van der Merwe, HM, (), ‘The Vudec merger: a recording of what was and a reflection on gains and losses’, *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 2007, 21(3), p. 543.

<sup>606</sup> B. Modisane. 1990. *Blame me on History*, Simon and Schuster, Inc., London, p. X.

their circumstances through gaining a postsecondary education qualification, regardless of their view of institutions being “apartheid institutions” or not.

The development and experience of the US postsecondary education system is instructive to the development and experience of the higher education system in South Africa in understanding how these systems developed and their impact on the larger societies they serve, particularly for the historically excluded groups such as the African-American community in the US and the black residents of Mamelodi. However, this comparison did not succeed very well in highlighting the different responses to the opportunities postsecondary institutions provided these communities. Access to higher education serves to enable social and economic mobility and has been used to buttress the sensibilities and priorities of the dominant order in both the USA and South Africa, with very clear privileges for the white population groups in both societies. In the USA experience cited for this study, the socio-political and education experiences of African-Americans mirror that of the black population group in South Africa like the Mamelodi community. African-American students today have made great strides in education, notwithstanding many bleak predictions and seemingly insurmountable odds.<sup>607</sup>

Notwithstanding their notable achievement against great odds, higher education continues to present challenges and obstacles for African-Americans in the USA. However, the record indicates that African-Americans engage with the system, take their chances and make the best of the opportunities available to them through access to postsecondary education institutions that would accept them and give them an opportunity to improve their life and social circumstances. Having had to contend with a similar hostile history, environment and experience, the uptake of higher education opportunities by African-Americans might not necessarily be significantly better than that of the Mamelodi community. Furthermore, comparing the Mamelodi community’s uptake with that of the African-American community in the USA requires the comparison of similar communities and not a specific community with a national population, which limits any generalisations such a comparison can offer. Mamelodi is a geographically specific and particular community with postsecondary education institutions

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<sup>607</sup> Anon, ‘Mini Brief: A Snapshot of African Americans in Higher Education’, Institute for Higher Education Policy, 2010.

in its back yard. Notwithstanding there being historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) in the United States, the US context does not offer a similar community for comparison as there are no African-American communities or neighbourhoods with postsecondary education institutions like those found in Mamelodi.

While the sample of respondents in this study is insufficient to draw any major or binding conclusions about the community in Mamelodi, the sample is significant in enabling an insight into the sensibilities, views and concerns of the community. As a result, the insights gleaned from the study have great value, also because of their internal coherence and consistency. As an example, the findings of the study greatly questions the notion that the uptake of postsecondary education opportunities among African-Americans is greater than that of the Mamelodi community possibly because of the attitudinal differences to postsecondary educational institutions between the two groups. The study also demonstrates that comparing the Mamelodi community to the African-American community in the USA is comparing a specific community with postsecondary education institutions within their physical geographical space with a national population and postsecondary institutions spread across their country.

The interviews with the respondents indicated and confirmed a high appreciation of the value of education for them and their families. A number of respondents reported that families, like those of the African-Americans in the USA, were heavily invested in ensuring their children access to postsecondary education opportunities, regardless of the cost to the parents. Furthermore, all the respondents in this study had a postsecondary education experience and qualification, indicating a significant uptake, in terms of the cohort of respondents, of postsecondary education opportunities. The study suggests that a better and more significant comparison would have compared a specific African-American community in the United States of America and their uptake of postsecondary education opportunities in their community in relation to the community in Mamelodi and the postsecondary education institutions in that community.

While a significant proportion of the respondents did not study in postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi, they accessed and acquired postsecondary education qualifications

elsewhere, often at great effort and cost. The respondents also indicated that their choice of postsecondary education institution had less to do with a negative attitude towards institutions in their own community, albeit some of them acknowledged the stigma of studying in a township or at a technical college versus a university, and more with the wish to expand their experiences by venturing outside their community if they could afford such an experience, which all the respondents prized.

While the study discerned trans-generational transfer of knowledge in terms of the value of education and the existence of postsecondary education institutions in the community, the study did not detect any trans-generational transfer of animosity, disdain or rejection of local postsecondary institutions in the community. If anything, there was a gradual improvement, across generations, of appreciation for the value of local postsecondary education institutions in the community.

The study further underscored the value of an asset-based approach to studying the history of the community. With the great difficulty in obtaining written records for the establishment of Thuto Matlhale Technical College and its successor, the Tshwane North TVET College, the experiences and memories of the respondents enabled the construction of a valuable record of the history of these institutions in the community. The respondents also demonstrated internal validation of historical details recalled by respondents in the study about the institutions. Respondents were able to corroborate these details about the history of the institutions based on their personal experiences.

The study considered the proposition that anchor institution strategies provide a viable approach to meaningfully promoting “town-gown” relations, particularly in communities such as Mamelodi, which are facing a myriad of challenges. Interventions made in accordance with the anchor institution strategy for the Mamelodi Campus already have traction in the community as indicated by several of the respondents in this study. Because “universities bring together diverse groups (of students and staff) in pursuit of a common goal ... [they] can create

social change through their teaching and research but also through the promotion of integration on and around their campuses,” as noted by Hendricks and Flaherty.<sup>608</sup>

Greater effort and investment in these activities have the potential to change and deepen the relationship between the university and the community in real, meaningful and tangible ways that benefits all involved. With dedicated human, financial and infrastructure resources, the University of Pretoria Mamelodi Campus can restructure and rewrite the narrative of ‘town-gown’ relations in Mamelodi, thereby setting the tone, pace and character of the meaning of the public good of higher education in a developmental and transforming society such as South Africa. Given South Africa’s immediate historical background, this focus should not need significant lobbying to garner the support, enthusiasm and participation of both the University and the Mamelodi community. It will, however, bolster the significance of critically engaging with our history to learn from our past in order to understand our current context with the real view to enabling and make real any imagined and desired future.

One of the significant lessons this study has offered is the need for additional studies of the Mamelodi community. Often, communities like the one in Mamelodi are treated as homogenous entities with the same characteristics, concerns, interests, inclinations, and sensibilities. The fact that information and data about the community are either non-existent, inaccessible, unavailable, and unreliable or dated is a harbinger of the many misgivings, misunderstandings, and failed attempts at addressing some of the most elemental challenges the community faces. This study has revealed that even the questions posed to try and understand the community need careful consideration and crafting, from a research point of view, in order to enable a more complex and nuanced understanding of any issue of interest or concern about the community.

That the respondents to this study were eager, helpful and keen to participate in the study is encouraging in terms of future studies that seek to understand and better comprehend the community, its challenges, hopes and dreams. While it is worth repeating that the cohort of

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<sup>608</sup> D. Hendricks & J. Flaherty, ‘Integrating the edges: University of Pretoria’s neighbourhood anchor strategy’, *Development Southern Africa*, 2018, p. 7.

respondents in this study is statistically not significant to draw any substantial conclusions about the community in Mamelodi, it does, nonetheless, provide an insightful window into the community. The study reveals that the community in Mamelodi has an evolved sense of self and a real conceptualization of its issues and concerns. As per the respondents to this study, they respond positively to any real and meaningful engagement about their past, present and future, and welcome such interest. This study, in its miniscule focus on the history of postsecondary education institutions in the community, exposes a remarkable need for further studies into the history of the community, be it about health and medical service provision, cultural issues such as sport, leisure, dance, performance (music and arts), school education, business and economic activities, social and political life, among others.

The study strongly confirms that incorporating people's experiences and views enables a partnership of discovery and learning for those involved in such an endeavour, which promises to yield significant insights and understanding that can be used to create a different reality for all concerned. Consequently, approaching members of the community from an asset-based point of view, acknowledges their significance and enables the unlocking of their cultural capital in any learning enterprise seeking to make meaning out of the lived experiences of a people.

This particular character of communities and education institutions needs to be studied and better understood in order to better evaluate the benefits to the community of having postsecondary education institutions within its physical geographic confines. Studying the scope and extent of local residents' uptake of postsecondary education opportunities in their community may not be the best determinant of a community's views of and appreciation for the benefits of such opportunities. This study has shown that reducing the success of the presence of postsecondary education institutions in the community to a simple numbers game, by relying solely on a head count of community members enrolled at these institutions, is not a reliable measure. The richness the postsecondary institutions provide the community by bringing new and fresh talent to enrich, address and respond to challenges and opportunities in the community may be a more meaningful and significant measure of the true value of having postsecondary education institutions in a community.

The University of Pretoria's anchor institution strategy, as conceptualised for the Mamelodi Campus, provides a real opportunity to build a healthy and meaningful 'town-gown' relationship based on real partnerships with the communities in which the University's campuses are located by working with the various stakeholders in ensuring tangible benefits for both the University and its partners in the communities. Indications are that implementing the anchor strategy to its fullest potential, the university can change the meaning it has for the community by building a sense of shared ownership, partnership and pride in the institution. The development and implementation of an anchor strategy for the Mamelodi Campus of the University of Pretoria is a topic for further research.

## 6.2. Conclusion

Mamelodi has had more than 70 years' experience with postsecondary institutions in its backyard. The experience is characterized by a complex interplay with the history of social engagement the community exhibited and sustained from its birth as a neighbourhood to the present time. However, no evidence could be found of pervasive rejection of the postsecondary education institutions in its midst by the community on the one hand, or inherent flaws in these institutions on the other.

As referenced earlier, historians such as Martin Legassick are engaged in a continuous effort to refine and delineate different strands of social history, which has led to concepts such as "applied history", meaning "historical writing with a direct application to the people's lives in the present by looking for transformation in the present on the basis of evidence from the past".<sup>609</sup> This study confirms the importance, utility, and significance of studying communities in partnership in order to develop a meaningful understanding and insight of their views about phenomenon of importance in their community and in the process aid the communities to improve their opportunities to access resources and assistance in their neighbourhood.

The study further confirms the need and significance of developing community histories in partnership with them as part of improving social historiography "from the ground" up as this

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<sup>609</sup> M. Legassick, *Hidden Histories of Gordonia: Land Dispossession and Resistance in the Northern Cape, 1800-1990*. 2016. p. xix.



greatly enhances the understanding and appreciation of communities traditionally neglected by formal histories and also to promote the appreciation of the value of history to all concerned. The study also indicates and underscores the value of developing formal social histories of communities in order to improve and enhance urban history. Finally, the study is a form of hidden history, which demonstrates the value of unearthing and unveiling “hidden histories” to enhance and improve historiography in general by correcting, augmenting, enhancing, and deepening existing history in society.<sup>610</sup>

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<sup>610</sup> E.T. Smith, ‘Hidden history: Purchase for South African historiography? A survey of contemporary practice’, forthcoming in *Southern Journal of Contemporary History*, June 2021.

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#### **6.2.8. Personal correspondence**

Email communication with Prof Johan van Zyl (2002/3 and 1 August 2019).

## ANNEXURES

### ANNEXURE A: Letter of Introduction and Informed Consent



February 2020

#### Letter of Introduction and Informed Consent

I, Edwin Terry Smith (Student Number: 04136799) am currently enrolled for a Master's in Social Science (History) in the Department of Historical and Heritage Studies at the University of Pretoria. I am doing a dissertation entitled: "Throwing the bones: Postsecondary education in Mamelodi (1947–2017)", and in compliance with the requirements of a master's thesis, I need to do primary research. This will include archival research as well as certain field research which will take the form of open-ended interviews with individuals with first-hand/or expert knowledge or information relevant to my dissertation. This will form part of my primary research as oral evidence and complies with the accepted standards within the discipline of history. I hereby wish to obtain permission to interview you.

Your input will be acknowledged according to the footnoting system prescribed by the Department of Historical and Heritage Studies. If specifically requested, participants may request to remain anonymous in the study and their information will remain confidential. Your interview will be recorded in writing and/or by digital recorder and will be stored in electronic password protected format for a period of 15 years in compliance with the policy of the University Faculty of Humanities in the safe of the Department of Historical and Heritage Studies. This material may also be used for future research by the candidate. Your participation is entirely voluntary and you may choose to withdraw from the interview at any stage whereupon your information will be deleted. My Supervisor is Prof Karen Harris, should you wish to obtain further information.

I thank you in anticipation of your participation.  
Yours sincerely

I, \_\_\_\_\_ (the undersigned) agree to participate in the master's research project of Mr Edwin Terry Smith (Student Number 04136799) at the University of Pretoria. I have read his letter of introduction and agree that my information may be acknowledged according to the prescribed Departmental footnote reference system.

<input type="checkbox"/>	I give permission for my name to be used in this research.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I wish to remain anonymous in this research.

Yours sincerely

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

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Faculty of Humanities  
Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe  
Lefapha la Bomotheo

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## Annexure B

### Open-ended questions

1. How long have you been living in Mamelodi?
2. Were you born in Mamelodi or did you come from another area?
3. If you came from another area,
  - a. Where did you come from?
  - b. When did you come to live in Mamelodi?
4. Did you go to school in Mamelodi?
  - a. Which schools did you attend?
5. Do you know any of the postsecondary education institutions in Mamelodi, beginning in 1947 with the establishment of the Pretoria Bantu Normal College and the *Kolege ya bana ba Afrika*, Vista University (1983-2004), the University of Pretoria's Mamelodi Campus (2004), FET, and the Tshwane North TVET College (2014)?
6. What did you think of these institutions while they were in existence?
  - a. Would you have liked to study there?
  - b. Were you interested in any of the programmes and qualifications they offered?
7. Do you know any Mamelodi resident who attended these institutions?
8. What were their views and experiences from your recollection?
9. Did you think these institutions are important to the community?
10. How would you describe their importance to the community?
  - a. Did you ever have any close affinity or sense of ownership and belonging to these institutions? If so, please explain how?
  - b. In your view were these institutions for the community or not?