

THE INFLUENCE OF INDIGENOUS AFRICAN EDUCATION IN ATTITUDES TOWARDS
AUTHORITY - WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ZULUS

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BY

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my four sons, BLESSING, WISEMAN, MORDECAI and SOLOMON, and my three daughters, YVONNE, JACQUELINE and VICTORIA.

May it be a source of encouragement throughout their life time and a reminder that hard work and proper education lead to success.

DECLARATION

I, ISRAEL, SYDNEY ZWELINJANI SIBISI, do hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own work in conception and execution, and that all the sources I have used have been acknowledged by means of references.

I.S.Z. SIBISI

I.S.Z. Sibisi

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SUMMARY

The area of concern in this study is the impact of indigenous African education in attitudes towards authority.

Questions this study seeks to answer are:

1. Why was there respect for authority in African society before the influence of other cultures?
2. Why did attitudes towards authority change in African society after the influence of Western culture?
3. What can be done to improve the situation? Society is in a dilemma.

The study tries to investigate the degree of deterioration of order and discipline in African society as a result of negative attitudes towards authority.

The youth have gained the upper hand with the old (adults) and parents relegated to the background as they are accused of accepting the status quo. Political organisations have found a fertile milieu in the school arena and pupils are extremely politicised as never before.

The school situation in some areas is chaotic with unrest being the order of the day. This situation is aggravated by the apartheid system of South Africa where the Africans are the disadvantaged group politically, educationally and economically.

A literature review and interviews will be of great assistance in the investigation.

This study falls within the scope of philosophy of education since it aims at revealing underlying causes of changes in attitudes towards authority as a result of indigenous as well as Western education.

OPSOMMING

Die ondersoekveld van hierdie studie behels die impak wat inheemse Afrika-opvoeding het op houdings teenoor outoriteit/gesag.

Vrae wat in die ondersoek beantwoord word is:

1. Waarom was daar respek vir gesag in die Afrika-gemeenskap voor beïnvloeding deur ander kulture?
2. Waarom het houdings teenoor gesag verander in die Afrika-gemeenskap na beïnvloeding deur die Westerse kulture?
3. Wat kan gedoen word om die situasie te verbeter? Die gemeenskap het te make met 'n dilemma.

In die studie word gepoog om die graad van orde - en dissipline-deteriorasie in die Afrika-gemeenskap te bepaal, as gevolg van negatiewe houdings teenoor gesag.

Die jeug het oorhand verkry oor die ouer geslag (volwassenes) en ouers word op die agtergrond geskuif aangesien hulle beskuldig word daarvan dat hulle die status quo aanvaar. Politieke organisasies vind die skoolmilieu 'n vrugbare teelaarde en leerlinge word meer as ooit tevore politics geïnteresseer.

Op sommige gebiede is die skoolsituasie chaoties en onrus is aan die orde van die dag. Die situasie word vererger deur die Apartheidsstelsel in Suid-

Afrika waar die Swart Afrikaan gesien word as die minder bevoorregte groep op politieke, opvoedkundige en ekonomiese gebiede.

'n Litterere oorsig en onderhoude sal van groot hulp wees in hierdie studie.

Die studie val binne die veld van die Filosofie van die Opvoedkunde aangesien dit ten doel het om die onderliggende oorsake van die verandering in houdings teenoor gesag, as gevolg van inheemse sowel as Westerse opvoeding, aan die lig te bring.

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CHAPTER 1
ORIENTING INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Indigenous education of the African was a system of preparing the child for adult life.

According to Duminy (1973:6) education, as found in the tribal life of the Bantu, was a very effective system which had in view the preparation of the child in order to make him fit to carry on the traditions of the community of which he was a member.

On the other hand Fafunwa (1967:14) stresses that the average African child lives within the cultural environment and is educated to become a conforming member of this enduring complex and highly organised village society. The child in turn is expected to perpetuate the culture by passing on the same tradition to his own offspring.

Tyrell and Jurgens (1983:111) feel that the primary emphasis in bringing up the African child is to impress upon him that his significance, his safety and his prestige rest with the group. Instead of being encouraged to express himself and use his individual abilities and talents to achieve and acquire for himself, he is made to conform.

From the above, one is tempted to conclude like Bryant (1949:184) that one great law that ruled in the parental kraal was the law of complete submission to paternal authority. Unquestioning, unanswering obedience to the supreme power was demanded without distinction of all alike; of mothers, of sons and of every child. Every failure to obey was immediately followed by drastic reprisals; persistent insubordination led infallibly to the disgrace of expulsion; while open revolt might easily have terminated in the death of the transgressor. Alongside, or out of this practice of complete submission there gradually evolved something more than mere respect, almost a holy awe for those in authority over one.

Indigenous education as a concern of the parents and the whole community of which the child was a member made this emphasis of submission very clear. This education embraced the traditions and the philosophy of life of the community.

Luthuli (1985:6) argues that while the traditional tribal education aimed at initiating the rising generation into the age-old unchanged ceremonial ways, the task of education with respect to the new image of adulthood in an open and Westernized society, is to bring the person to an awareness of his individual obligations, to make him conscious of the new demands of propriety, and finally to guide him towards the recognition of his responsibilities as a free, responsible and proud person. This

view, as can be noted, is already indicating a slight deviation from the known indigenous education. The implications of this deviation will be the focus of this study.

Thomas (1976:91) throws a challenge to authority of indigenous education in that the anti-authoritarians say that a child brought up under the parents' or teachers' authority becomes a willing subject of an authoritarian ruler who, in turn, stresses an inward-looking national tradition.

The individual needs to be emancipated from the shackles of groups closer to him and must become a cosmopolite.

On the strength of the arguments on the merits and demerits of indigenous African education, this study tries to compare the influence in attitudes towards authority before and after the contact with other cultures. When reference is made to the past, this will mean the pre-contact phase i.e. before the White man came to South Africa and the present will refer to the time after the influence of Western culture.

As the study has particular reference to the Zulus, the researcher will investigate the social organisation and traditional education of the Zulus in the past, the educational influence of Western culture in the attitudes of the Zulus towards authority in the past and present. The Zulus have been taken as a sample of the many African tribes for their cultures are more or less the same.

After examining the influence of African education in attitudes towards authority in the past and present, conclusions will be drawn and recommendations made.

1.2 DEFINITION OF TERMS

1.2.1 Influence

According to Gould et al (1964) 'influence' related to whatever causes, in any social and especially political context, individuals or groups, to deviate from a predicted path of behaviour. The term is specifically used to denote changes in behaviour of a person or groups due to anticipation of the responses of others. The term connotes the outwardly and possibly gradual exertion of power and persuasion rather than the more demanding legal or overt exercise of power connected with formal authority.

On the other hand, the Oxford English Dictionary (1979) describes 'influence' as power to affect character, beliefs or actions through example, fear and admiration.

The Dictionary further relates 'influence' to a person or fact that exercises such power; the exercise of such power; action of natural forces; power due to wealth and position.

If social scientists speak of the influence of A over B they note the difference between the way in which B actually behaves and the

way he would have behaved if A had not entered into relations with him or simply did not exist.

Sociologists tend to use the term 'influence' with respect to personal relationships which are intimate and not to changes in attitudes brought about by mass media.

Influence is noted where the change in behaviour of the influence is due to advice, manipulation, imitation and the like instead of coercion or exercise of formal authority.

Lasswell and Kaplan (1950) conclude that 'influence' will lead to a change or reversal of previous (or predicted) decisions, policies or behaviour, and the exercise of influence consists in affecting policies of others than self.

Educationally this meaning of 'influence' could be applied to mean the outwardly quiet or transcending or possibly gradual exertion of power over persons or groups.

Merton et al (1949) argue that there is a fairly wide, though not complete, agreement that 'influence' involves an interpersonal and asymmetrical relationship between people, either as individuals or members of a group. Influence is not an abstract attribute of a person, it is a process implicating two or more people.

This study tries to investigate the influence of indigenous African education in attitudes towards authority.

This influence of Westernization is believed to have changed the behaviour patterns of the Zulus. Their attitudes as a result of the Western influence have taken a new look with regard to aspects such as education, relationship to adults and peer group relationships.

There is no doubt that even the riots, school boycotts and various other abnormal behaviours actions are related to the influence of Westernization on young Black school-going boys and girls.

This research aims to ascertain the amount and extent of deviation and its effects on day to day education
and ultimately on the end product i.e. adulthood.

1.2.2 Indigenous

Websters Dictionary (1979) defines "indigenous" as born in a country, native, growing or produced naturally in a country or region; not exotic; innate; inherent; inborn.

In this work the term "indigenous" will be used synonymously with the term "traditional".

The Dictionary of Social Sciences (1964) defines "tradition" as a neutral term used to denote the transmission, usually oral, whereby modes of activity or taste or belief are handed down (given across) from one generation to the other and thus perpetuated.

Thus as applied to social institutions, tradition is the vehicle through which every child learns something of the mores and stock of accumulated knowledge and prejudice of his forefathers. This is in the form of artifacts, morality, behaviour attitude and the like that may be said to constitute culture.

The term "tradition" is also applied to some of the elements of culture so transmitted, but not to all elements. Those elements that are singled out and given the status of traditions are usually valued and it is strongly implied that they are worthy of acceptance. Thus a tradition is a mode of behaviour or standard produced by a group as distinct from an individual, and serves to **intensify** group consciousness and cohesion. The term emphasises the notions of continuity, stability and vulnerability and stresses the body of collective wisdom embodied in the tradition of the group. In this sense, the weight of tradition, its 'authority' derives from implied criticism of those who would rely upon their own individual stock of reason.

Talmon (1952:3) expresses the view that the term "tradition" has also been much used in contemporary writings by those who reject the view that the existing grievances can be remedied by radical institutional changes. This contrasts sharply with rationalism ideology.

Tradition is on this view, an accumulation of pragmatic experience. Thus the rationalist idea substituted social utility

for tradition as the main criterion of social institutions and values.

Oakeshott (1962:111) also claims that tradition is the source of authentic knowledge of political behaviour in contrast to behaviour inspired by an ideology which is at best an adequate abridgement of a tradition.

Oakeshott draws the conclusion that a proper political education consists of the assimilation of the nuances and intimations of the parent tradition.

This study will concentrate mainly on the effect indigenous African tradition had on education and how the influence of westernization has influenced such education.

According to Duminy (1973:23-24), indigenous Bantu education cannot be understood without an apprehension of the environment in which it takes place. A marked characteristic of this environment lies in its general conformity, in its conservatism and homogeneity of outlook of its members.

In a tribe of a few hundred or a few thousand members there are, to a large extent, a common heredity and a common tradition. The result is a very simple, stable and uniform environment, though of course not without problems which may not be very complex.

There is a desire on the part of all the kin, and parents in particular, to preserve the ethos or the folk-uniqueness of the group. The child has to be acquainted with the manners, customs, laws and habits and with the complicated system of taboos and permissions which have stood the test of time in preserving the tribe. Deviations from this were not to be tolerated; they could mean that the culture might perish.

Children had to obey elders without question. Conformity and subordination were dominating values and the only rules and standards of correct behaviour to be tolerated were those of the tribe into which the child was born.

It is a prevalent belief that the African community consists not only^{of} the individual who live visibly in the flesh but also 'the dead'. In the minds of the Bantu the dead also lived. It was held that they displayed a constant interest in what happened to their own family and tribe and unless there were favourable relations between the living and the dead, disaster for the tribe was not far off.

This study will focuss also its attention on indigenous Zulu education before and after the influence of western culture in order to compare what was with what is today with the view to making recommendations towards what ought to be.

1.2.3 African

According to the Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa (1975) the term "African" is primarily applicable to all indigenous inhabitants of the continent of Africa. In recent cases this term is also applied to African communities of European origin who look upon themselves as 'White Africans'. The term has of late come into common use especially among the politically conscious to denote the Bantu speaking peoples of Africa. This secondary connotation is a very much restricted one and it has been adopted in order to supersede the term 'native' and the earlier 'Kaffir' both of which successively tended to assume a pre-judicial implication.

In the titles of articles preference has however, been given to the more precise term "Bantu".

Shepherd et al (1947) confirm that the term "Bantu" is now the generally accepted name for the natives of Southern Africa who are neither Bushmen nor Hottentots.

In a more concise form, Seligman (1961) classifies the African racial groups into six great divisions. This he does although accepting that there are some difficulties and limitations to his classification. He distinguishes the following people inhabiting the continent of Africa:

- Hamites
- Semites

- Negroes
- Bushmen
- Hottentots
- Negrillos

The World Book Encyclopaedia (1982) gives the explanation that African people belong to several racial groups and have many cultural backgrounds. In the north, most of the people are Arabs. On the south of the Sahara, where most Africans live, blacks make up the great majority of the population.

For purpose of this study, the term "African" will be used to refer to the Bantu speaking peoples of Africa. Particular reference will be made to the Southern Bantu. These people are found mainly in the Republic of South Africa, South West Africa, Bophuthatswana, Transkei, Ciskei, Venda, Lebowa, Gazankulu, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana. They are mainly the Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi and Sotho speaking peoples. Their cultures are more or less the same but they have been influenced to a great extent by Western culture. They have, to a great extent, adopted Western ways of living.

1.2.4 Education

The New World Encyclopaedia (1965) defines the concept "education" in the widest sense which may include the whole process of development through which a human being passes from infancy to maturity, gradually adapting himself to his physical and social

environment. In a more definite sense the term is ordinarily employed and is restricted to those influences which are designedly brought to bear upon the younger by the adult portion of the community, for the purpose of maintaining and, if possible, of raising the level of culture attained.

Redden and Ryan (1955) define education as the deliberate and systematic influence exerted by the adult person upon the not-yet adult, through instruction and discipline for the harmonious becoming of all the potentialities of the human being, namely: physical, social, intellectual, moral, aesthetic and spiritual.

Luthuli (1981) elaborates on this and states that education involves the training of young persons and the moulding of the youth of the nation with the aim of making them responsible adult members of their respective societies.

A society wishes to perpetuate itself, to preserve its values and to entrench its convictions and beliefs by means of education. Through education the young individuals are led to a specific area of adulthood acceptable to society. The help and guidance the young members receive on the way towards adulthood in any given society naturally takes place on the basis of the inherent philosophy of life and is determined by the general circumstances and conditions of life in that society.

Education as an activity of society takes many forms and the individual person in his progress towards the desired end, from infancy to adulthood necessarily encounters influences in a multiplicity of ways. The eldest of these forms is informal education which has recently been supplemented by institutionalised formal education in many societies of the world.

From the above definitions it becomes clear that education is a purposeful, goal-directed intervention by an adult into the life of a non-adult with a view to making him an adult. It is the positive influencing of a not-yet-adult by an adult person for the specific purpose of bringing about changes which are regarded as valuable and ensuring that the child's development takes a particular course.

The ultimate aim of all education is humanism as expressed in adulthood. To initiate and sustain an act of education at least two people are needed: one (the educator) imparts education and the other (the educand) receives it. The child or pupil is the educand and the adult or teacher is the educator.

Education involves organised instruction which is known as formal education and the less-organised one known as informal education. Most of the writers on education combine the two forms in their definitions.

The Pocket Oxford Dictionary (1966) defines the term "education" as 'being susceptible to being brought up or open to being trained or led out'.

Good (1959) and Price (1962) agree that education is a social enterprise by which people may attain 'social competence' and optimum individual development.

Kneller (1966) argues that in its widest sense education includes every process, except solely genetic, that helps to form a person's mind, character or physical capacity. It is life-long, for we must learn new way of thought and action with every major change in our lives. More narrowly education is the inculcation in each generation of certain knowledge, skills and attitudes by means of institutions such as schools, deliberately created for this end.

Ottaway (1960) expresses that one of the tasks of education is to hand on the cultural values and behaviour patterns of the society to its young and potential members. By this means society achieves a basic social conformity and ensures that its traditional modes of life are preserved. This has been called the conservative function of education.

Ottaway also notes that a modern society needs critical and creative individuals, able to make new inventions and discoveries and willing to initiate social change. To provide for change is the creative function of education.

Stenhouse (1967) portrays that education is a kind of planning of other people's experiences so that they shall learn what is felt to be best for themselves and their society. Education is a form of social control, a criticism of society in action. It reflects a dissatisfaction with the unplanned shaping of the individual which takes place in free and indiscriminate social contract.

Ross (1966) concludes that education is the influence of an adult person who holds a vital belief brought to bear on a not-yet-adult person, with the object of making him also hold the same belief.

This study deals mainly with indigenous African education which falls under informal education. Some of the writers on 'indigenous education' will be cited.

Moletsane (1977) commenting about education in Lesotho defines 'indigenous education' as: "that education in which skills and knowledge were developed by the society through centuries".

In Lesotho, according to Moletsane, education covered a wide variety of activities and learning experiences which included: initiation schools for male and female; apprenticeships; direct instruction by mothers, fathers, peers and other knowledgeable members of the society; self-instruction through trial and error methods as well as imitation and observation. Much education was carried out orally and was passed from generation to generation.

Faure et al (1972) have made it clear that all societies, whether primitive or civilised, have always had some form of education. Adults were particular as to what kind of future, men and women, their children would become.

All societies had their philosophy of life and image of adulthood. Hence, the influence they exerted during the preliminary young stages of a boy or a girl was considerable. They made sure that they had taught their children either directly or indirectly some skills which could help them throughout their future lives. Later on, the child would widen his or her scope of learning and experience through contact with the outside members of society other than his nuclear family - brothers, sisters, mother, father and grannies. The environment of the child had in store a wide spectrum of learning experiences.

Mwanakatwe (1968) writing on 'traditional education' in Zambia shows how throughout the ages, different tribes had different approaches to the education of their citizens, beginning with the youth. He goes further to delineate the education of the boys with that of the girls and then adults.

In his introduction he, too, states the view that education existed long before Europeans came to South Africa. He synonymously uses traditional education with indigenous education. He mentions that skills of reading, writing, mathematical computation and scientific knowledge are the result of formal education, nonetheless, the role of traditional education was

vital and, in fact, indispensable for the smooth integration of growing children into society.

Wilson (1966) argues that in its social aspects, indigenous education was perhaps more organised and led to disciplined people which is the question of this study. Puberty rites generally involved a period of specific tuition conducted by seniors whose specific function by virtue of their status, was to teach the candidates. In puberty rites, not only was physiological education involved, but there was much social education dealing with the responsibilities of adulthood in relationship to the preservation of the society through control of family system. Moral training was also a strong theme and trials of courage. Respect for elders and all forms of recognised authority were taught.

Van der Ross (1951) concludes that education is the passing over of the stored-up culture of the race from generation to generation and the unfolding and development of the child's inner abilities so that these may best be directed to the goals of goodness and happiness.

Besides being formal and informal education can be general or vocational. General education can also be elementary, primary or secondary depending on the level where it is offered in a school situation. All in all, education is a highly complex system of

interrelationships of pupils, teachers and the content of education including procedures, structures and management.

From the definitions of education, the adult, because of wisdom, knowledge and experience becomes the educator and a representative of society in guiding the child on his way to adulthood.

The subject matter is knowledge, information, values based on certain convictions. It follows that the child must accept the authority of the adult so that effective learning takes place.

In this study emphasis will be laid on indigenous or traditional education of the African that caused the child to accept authority without question. This led to less chaotic situations than is the case today.

1.2.5 Attitudes

Milton (1976) has this to say about attitudes. An attitude is a relatively enduring organisation of interrelated beliefs that describe, evaluate and advocate action with respect to an object or situation, with each belief having cognitive, affective and behavioural components. Each of these beliefs is a predisposition that, when suitably activated, results in some preferential response toward an object or situation or towards others who take a position with respect to the attitude object or situation or toward the maintenance or preservation of the attitude itself. Since an attitude object must always be encountered within some

situation about which we also have an attitude, a minimum condition for social behaviour is the activation of at least two interacting attitudes, one concerning the attitude object and the other concerning the situation.

Allport (1954) does not disagree with Milton. He however, defines an attitude in the following way:

"An attitude is a mental and neutral state of readiness organised through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related."

For a clearer picture Newcomb (1965) is also brought into the discussion as he sees an attitude as the individual's organisation of psychological processes, as inferred from his behaviour, with respect to some aspect of the world which he distinguishes from other aspects.

It represents the residue of his previous experience with which he approaches any subsequent situation attitudes are enduring in the sense that such residues are carried over to new situations, but they change in so far as new residues are acquired through experience in new situations.

Asch (1952) has a more elaborate definition of an attitude. He defines an attitude as an organisation of experiences and data with reference to an object. It is a structure of a hierarchical order, the parts of which function in accordance with their

position on the whole. At the same time a given attitude is a quasi-open structure functioning as part of a wider context. An attitude has the character of a commitment to a policy. In this respect it represents a dynamic assessment of a given situation with reference to an end.

One fundamental consequence of such an assessment is that certain facts become relevant, others less relevant and that certain data become crucial, others less important.

From the above definitions, it is evident that an attitude is an organisation of beliefs with respect to an object or situation. In this study the object implied is authority as based on fundamentally accepted convictions. Indigenous African education influences attitudes towards authority.

1.2.6 Authority

Thomas (1976) defines 'authority' as the condition within which human groups exist, the condition of membership in a complex group in which the smaller component groups are individual parts. Authority is the expression of social reason and is supposed not only to preserve this rationality, this organisation and articulation of the group in view of the latter's objectives, but also its task is to keep on reminding the members of the group for what purposes they are members.

Parsons (1960) describes authority as an institutionalised complex of norms which do not involve the prescription, permission or prohibition of particular acts, but which on a general level define the conditions under which in the given social structure and in given statuses and situations within it, acts of others within the same collectivity, may be prescribed, permitted or prohibited.

Authority is the logical sequel to power. Authority, specifically as an institution of the political field of a social system, defines the situation for, and regulates the collective life within the bounds of authority of the particular system and, in accordance with the same mutually shared system of values, prohibits, prescribes and permits the various types of actions for the particular part of the functionally differentiated social system.

Harris (1976) gives the following exposition on 'authority'. He says that authority is either a relation or a relational quality attributable to a person's or office or document or set of rules. In all cases there is the bearer of authority related to those persons (or functions or things) for whom (or over which) he is the authority. Authority is always and necessarily related to some field or area of competence or applicability over which the authority is exercised. All authority is thus essentially a relation among a bearer, a subject and a field, in virtue of a particular quality, attribute or context. Authority formulates, and when there is need for it, modifies the objectives,

articulates and keeps alive tradition that reminds the members of the loyalty they owe to the social group.

Authority is power to influence other people and is an accepted norm in society. Authority can be political or pedagogical.

1.3 MOTIVATION

1.3.1 This is more or less a comparative study of the attitudes of the African towards authority in the pre-contact phase i.e. before the white man came to South Africa and after the influence of Western culture.

1.3.2 No study has ever been done on the attitudes of the African towards authority and that is the reason why I have decided to make this investigation.

1.3.3 It is essential to establish why there was unquestionable respect for authority in the pre-contact phase and why it diminished after the influence of Western culture.

1.3.4 It is necessary to establish why there is some degree of stability in the rural areas whereas there is unrest in the urban areas.

1.3.5 This study on the attitudes of the African towards authority seeks to provide relevant information.

1.4 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

1.4.1 The attitude of the African towards authority has changed in many respects. This has affected the school situation which is my area of concern.

1.4.2 In the pre-contact phase, the attitude of the African was that of complete submission to authority whereas this respect dwindled after the influence of Western culture.

1.4.3 When schools were established in the contact phase, the teacher began to be regarded as an authority figure, a mobile dictionary, as sort of panacea with regard to curricular activities.

Later on, after the influence of Western culture, he was only regarded as the facilitator of the learning process i.e. helping pupils to learn and discover things for themselves. At present, the authority of the teacher in the classroom is challenged, threatened and defied educationally and politically.

1.4.4 The authority of the man in the family is challenged. Largely because of industrialisation and the escalating cost of living, both the man and wife are forced to work in order to make ends meet. The home becomes only the place for sleeping after work. Children spend most of their time with their peer groups and they tend to obey their authority better than that of their parents.

- 1.4.5 Indigenous African education has sometimes a deleterious effect in that it curbs the initiative and resourcefulness. People expect to be told what to do even when well-qualified for the job, coupled with an attractive remuneration. They will not work efficiently and effectively if there is no authority that casts a supervising eye on their daily tasks. The educator and educand are no exception.

Western education opens the mind and all the potentialities of the child are developed. However, when Western education is followed very closely it will cause the mind to make demands which may be difficult to meet. When lofty educational ideas of Western countries are transferred to developing African countries, problems crop up.

1.5 AIM OF THE STUDY

- 1.5.1 To compare the influence of indigenous African education in attitudes towards authority before and after the influence of Western culture.
- 1.5.2 To analyse certain aspects of indigenous African culture that led to respect for authority.
- 1.5.3 To analyse certain aspects of Western culture that caused authority to be challenged.

1.5.4 To draw a comparison between indigenous African education and Western education.

1.5.5 To draw conclusions and make recommendations.

1.6 HYPOTHESES

1.6.1 The process of socialisation (enculturation) and social control operative in traditional African society, causes the individual to respect authority. This was quite evident in the African community before the influence of Western culture.

1.6.2 The coming of Western culture with urbanisation and christianity in South Africa had a profound influence on the African way of life. The attitudes of the Africans changed completely from submission without questioning to critical thinking.

1.6.3 Authority is now seen as a form of oppression and it is defied and rejected by the youth. There is confrontation for authority between the youth groups and adults.

1.6.4 The image of the teacher in the classroom and the idea of adulthood (humanisation) as the aim of education have changed completely. It follows that the teacher must keep abreast with the times and mind the till whilst tilling the mind.

1.7 METHODOLOGY

- 1.7.1 Relevant literature will be surveyed.
- 1.7.2 Interviews with some authorities in African studies.
- 1.7.3 Interviews with some officials of the Department of Education and Culture.
- 1.7.4 Visits to remote areas of KwaZulu to conduct interviews.
- 1.7.5 The Blacks living in metropolitan areas will be interviewed.

1.8 SUMMARY

This study is an attempt to investigate the influence of indigenous African education in attitudes towards authority.

Indigenous African education was an enculturation process with an emphasis on respect for authority.

Many problems are witnessed today where authority structures in formal organisations are not accepted by the masses. People have adopted negative attitudes towards authority. The school situation has been jeopardised and the teacher's authority is at stake. *Part of the problem can be attributed to the influence of Western culture and the rest to the field of politics.*

The problem in our hands is how to rectify the situation as circumstances seem to move from bad to worse.

Interviews will be held and relevant literature will be cited.

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CHAPTER 2

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE ZULUS AND TRADITIONAL EDUCATION IN THE PAST

2.1 INTRODUCTION

By "social organisation of the Zulus" is meant the way in which the Zulus were grouped together into communities for the maximum satisfaction of their human needs. "Traditional education of the Zulus in the past" refers to the process of socialisation or upbringing of the child (Vilakazi, 1962) and existing practices customs and mannerisms "before the White man came". (Bryant, 1967).

The Zulus led a very simple life before the whites came to South Africa. Their entire life was based on the kraal.

The men practised pastoral farming and the women cultivated the fields. Vilakazi calls this "kraal economy". (Vilakazi, 1962). What was peculiar with the Zulus was that the kraal consisted of many inmates i.e. the man, his wife or wives and their children. There were also other inmates who were neither blood relatives of the kraalhead nor his wives.

The authority of the kraalhead reigned supreme in the kraal. There was division of labour even among the young. Boys looked after the cattle whilst girls helped their mothers at home. From that very early age children were taught to respect authority by deed, by example or word.

The concept "social organisation" has a long history. Man throughout the world, for ages now has lived in relationship with other men. This meant that man could not act anyhow. He had to consider the likes and dislikes of other fellowmen. This living together necessitated the creation of acceptable standards of living and rules of conduct. Certain norms have developed along certain philosophical basis.

After reproducing himself, man was faced with the problem of his offspring. Children born were to be enculturated and taught ways and means of facing the world as adults. It was mainly the norms that influenced man to educate. Traditionally then education has carried these societal norms from generation to generation.

According to Jones (1970) the basic unit in the social organisation of traditional culture is the tribe having the nucleus made up of a group of families descended from common ancestors. From this central group of families come the men of authority. For the tribe the most important authority is the chief. He is the symbol of solidarity and cohesion and holds this position by virtue of primogeniture and heredity.

Within the social structure as a whole each individual has his specific position rights, duties and responsibilities. As the father is the head of his own family, responsible for exercising control and authority over its members, so the chief is the

"father" of the entire tribe with reciprocal rights and duties in the economic political and religious spheres, knitting chief and tribesmen together.

Goldenweiser (1946) summarises the situation by mentioning that man is a social animal. No matter how far down we go into culture, there is society and also some form of organization. In a sense indeed, society antedates the individual though this argument lends itself to debate. The existentialities believe that man first existed and later on men joined to form a society.

Some trace the history of man back to the state of agamy and the absence of family life. From there man progressed to group marriages, then to polygamy and finally to monogamy. These arguments could not stand the test in the southern tip of Africa as the Bushmen who were primitive were monogamous and the less primitive Nguni tribes were polygamous.

What is important is that people do organise themselves for purposes of authority and discipline. Society has developed various techniques to ensure conformity to accepted standards. Among these is education and the suppression of selfish and antisocial behaviour in the becoming child and the internalising of tribal mores.

Bryant (1949) and Krige (1974) are in agreement that the following groupings are found in the social system of the Zulus:

- the family
- the kin
- the clan/sib
- the lineage
- the tribe

There are secondary social groupings that are found in other African societies including the Zulus:

- age groups
- sex groups
- occupational groups
- associations or societies.

Dreyer (1980) points out that the traditional Zulu was a social and community-orientated person.

In the traditional community of the Zulus a feeling of solidarity existed, so that most of the duties in the community were performed by the community as a whole. Also the upbringing and socialisation of the child was the responsibility of every adult in that community.

Uncles and aunts were also called "fathers" and "mothers" while the old people in the community were greatly respected because they formed a link with the ancestors.

They worshipped for the community. If a child misbehaved, any adult had the right to reprimand or punish the said child.

The child was presented with a single set of beliefs, values and behaviour codes the acceptance of which ensured recognition and status in the adult community. There were thus few problems of choice or rebellion as the individual generally conformed without question. (Van der Vliet, 1974). The child learned about his culture inside and outside the home by methods of observation, imitation and play.

In traditional Zulu society the father was a disciplinarian and authoritarian. Vilakazi (1962) goes as far as to claim that general happiness prevailed among the whole family when the father was away.

Bryant (1967:185) agrees with this view when he declares that the one great law that ruled in traditional Zulu society was the law of complete submission to paternal authority.

"Unquestioning, unanswering obedience to the supreme power was demanded without distinction of all alike; of mothers, of sons, of every child. Every failure to obey was immediately followed by drastic reprisals, while open revolt might easily have terminated in the death of the transgressor". Relationship with the mother was rather more intimate and cordial. If the children had a

problem the best person to approach was the mother who would then pass the message to the father by way of mitigating after talking to the children involved.

In traditional Zulu society the sexes were clearly differentiated in every way. (Krige, 1964). From early childhood boys and girls were separated. This differentiation was carried to daily life so that men and women were bound by custom even to sit differently and wash at different places. There was segregation in every sphere.

This role played by sex is still prevalent today even in church where even sitting is according to sex. This is how deep seated the beliefs in sex differences are in the Zulu people. This belief is clearly associated with the authority of man over women from childhood to adulthood.

Pregnancy before marriage was contrary to the norms of traditional society and the obscene songs often sung at initiation ceremonies were intended to be used later to ridicule any girl who found herself in such a predicament. It was further considered a disgrace for a girl to fall pregnant at her father's kraal. If she was found to have fallen pregnant she was hurried off to marry someone. (Krige, 1965; Van der Vliet, 1974).

Education in the traditional Zulu society was strictly enculturation of the traditional set of habits, attitudes and

behavioural codes, resulting in the conforming of the individual to the unquestioned ways of the clan.

There was little or no encouragement of individuality as this would be in conflict with cultural stability and group solidarity. Children are often not encouraged to ask penetrating questions and this made the adult word law; conformity became the order of the day and subsequently a way of life.

The education of the Zulu in traditional society centred around the idea of what the child ought to become. It also envisaged a definite aim, the ideal of a mature Zulu adult who had to take up his rightful position in society. Responsible adulthood was the ultimate aim.

Adults helped in the development of the child to bring about changes and these efforts were guided by a definite scale of values and norms. This responsibility did not fall only on the hands of the parents but to all the members of the community who considered it their duty to help the growing child. The child was forced by customs and tradition to take an active part in his own development.

The peer groups played an active role in aiding the child to acquire the ways and customs of society. As Ritter (1976) puts it, the practice of "ukwesaba" or having fear for those above one (which was almost a holy awe) enabled all the child's seniors to exert tremendous influence on his actions and behaviour.

Motshabi (1973) agrees that traditional authority exists by virtue of traditional expectations and dictates.

The grounds of legitimation for this type of authority are the traditional norms which have been unctioed with sacrosanctity because of their long standing and the survival they guarantee society.

Hammond-Tooke (1974) asserts that the individual members of society, differing as they do in temperamental and intellectual endowment, are conditioned as well as coerced to conform *to* the socially accepted norms with minimum amount of friction.

The child was compelled to go about with his peers only, boys under "ingwele" when herding cattle and girls under "iqhikiza".

He was led into many ways of good behaviour: into habits of respectfulness, obedience, generosity and decency; as well as the acquisition of general knowledge, a sense of duty, responsibility, trust, self-reliance, self control and the ability to defend himself (Ritter, 1976). The child had to participate actively and be submissive to those above him. This led to great respect in the whole community.

Because of indigenous education there was peace and stability in society. There was no struggle for power among the masses resulting in senseless killing of one another, for there was one

supreme ruler, the chief who was in turn under the Zulu King. Community relationships were healthy and sound.

There were few, if ever, cases of broken homes and "loose" children who ultimately became juvenile delinquents. The situation was stable even after the coming of the whites in South Africa. Zulu men left their families to go and work for very long periods at the mines. Sometimes they were away from home for a period of six months but there were no cases of divorce.

Boys grew up to be strong and courageous men as a result of indigenous Zulu education. They liked to copy their fathers both in actions and in speech as the father was the embodiment of manliness and strength, according to Dreyer (1980).

The Zulu norm was that the boy should not be spared the pain and trouble and that he had to be hardened into a man who could face difficulties with fortitude (Vilakazi, 1962).

This purposely hard life that was enforced on the son, often accompanied with corporal punishment, caused the child to become reserved in his father's presence and to be careful about what he said and did (Dreyer, 1980).

The whole practice caused the boys to have great respect for authority.

Girls were regarded as an economic asset because of the "ilobolo" that was paid for them. They helped their mothers with domestic duties and also working in the fields. They followed the example of their mothers in becoming diligent, faithful and submissive to authority.

The Zulus had great respect for authority in all spheres of life as a result of the influence of indigenous education. The position has somewhat changed nowadays after the influence of Western culture but still there is conclusive evidence that the Zulus are law-abiding.

There is a lot of controversy in the educational field about how children should be educated. Some scholars believe that the child should be educated to become what he is and some believe he should be educated to become what he is not. They are advocating freedom in education, critical thinking and emancipation. All these ideas are good but have, in one way or another disturbed the relationship of authority and discipline between the educator and the educand.

2.2 CULTURE AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION IN GENERAL

2.2.1 Culture

Culture is a product of man. It is a set of all techniques for satisfying human needs, for solving problems and for adjusting both to the external environment and to other men.

Tylor (1871) described "culture" as that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.

According to Kneller (1966) culture is all the ways of life that have been evolved by man in society. By a 'particular culture' is meant the total shared way of life of a given people comprising their modes of thinking, acting and feeling which are expressed, for instance, in religion, law, language, art and custom. This also includes the material products such as houses, clothes and tools. From another perspective culture may be regarded as the learned and shared behaviour (thoughts, acts and feelings) of a certain people together with their artifacts.

Culture is here said to be learned in the sense that this behaviour is transmitted socially rather than genetically. It is shared in that it is practised either by the whole population or by some part of it. Sharing also implies the homogeneity that is inherent in culture.

Culture is the way we eat and sleep, the way we wash and dress and the way we handle a work situation. It is living itself, for in our daily life practices, we live culture and we display cultural norms. It is also the actions we perform at home and at work that ultimately constitute culture. Culture is also the language we speak and the values and beliefs we hold argues Kneller (1966).

Stenhouse (1967) adds that culture consists of a complex of shared understandings which serve as a medium through which individual human minds interact in communication with one another. It enables us to recognise as familiar the way other people think and feel and thus to share their feelings. It enables us to predict and thus to anticipate the actions of others so that we can co-operate with them.

We learn the understandings of culture as individuals, yet they are not unique to us, but, on the contrary, are shared with others.

This learning and sharing takes place as we co-operate and communicate in groups and it depends heavily on language with which culture is intimately related. Culture, then, is a matter of ideas, thoughts and feelings.

Material culture comprises tangible things that have been shaped to some extent by man. Such things are often called "artifacts" or "culture objects" such as houses, house furnishings, tools and works of art. These are cultural in the sense that they are products of culture. Culture is learned and exists only in the minds of man.

Abercrombi, et al (1984) argue that sociologists and anthropologists use "culture" as a collective noun for the symbolic and learned aspects of human society, including language,

custom and convention by which human behaviour can be distinguished from that of other primates.

Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) in their debate about culture end up by concluding that culture consists of patterns, explicit or implicit of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups including their embodiments in artifacts. According to these anthropologists, the essential core of culture consists of traditional ideas and especially their attached values.

Mann (ed.) (1983) further points out that there are two basic senses in which the term "culture" is used in the social sciences: At the most abstract level, it connotes all human activity which is not the pure expression of biological characteristics of the species Homo.

It is applied as a totalising abstraction to embrace the ideas, practices and material and symbolic artifacts of specific human groups of all types.

At a social level, scientists use the term "culture" in a sense close to its common application, that is, the product of intellectual and especially artistic activity.

Herskovits (1960) gives a very simple definition by saying that "culture is the man-made part of the environment". This means that man first existed in the crude, natural environment. On and

above this natural environment he has imposed his own in order to make life easy for him. This means that from the gifts of God man develops further to satisfy his physical and spiritual needs.

Since people, by nature, feel insecure, they consequently find certain protection devices. These man-made devices could be socialistic, economical, political and even materialistic. As they form part of living and as they make secure, they ultimately become entrenched in his daily living. Over the years they become inherited by generations. These do tend to determine and control the daily lives of people.

Various cultural aspects are as follows:

- Material culture, e.g. technology and economics.
- Social institutions e.g. social organisation, education and political structures.
- Man and ^{the} universe e.g. belief systems and the control of power.
- aesthetics e.g. graphic and plastic arts, folklore, music, drama and dance.
- language.

Language plays a significant role in the assimilation of one's culture. For language is not only the window through which one can peep into who people are, but is also a vehicle through which generations and generations are reached in the process of imbuing them with culture.

Language, it is often argued, is responsible for cultural transmission from one generation to the other. Language does not only instruct people how to live, it also carries aspects that are cultural in nature.

Since language is such an important factor in culture, the works of some authors will be cited.

Shapiro (1956:197) exposes that:

"Language enables man to share the experiences and thoughts of his fellows and to recreate his personal experiences for their benefit".

While Lowie (1958:342) argues that:

"Language is primarily and essentially a matter of the spoken word. A given language is thus, above all, a system of sounds."

Mischa (1959:367-368) elaborates that language deals only with forms of behaviour that can be vocalised. All languages serve equally well as systems of communication among the members of society who have learned to associate the same meanings with the same sounds. All languages consist of sound whose production, orderly arrangement and combination serve to communicate definite meanings from a speaker to his listeners.

Gould and Kolb (1964) define a language as "a distinctively human system of communication based on oral symbols". Haviland (1974:283) concurs that: "Language is a systematic code for the

communication in symbols of any kind of information". Hoebel and Frost (1976) only define a language as "a distinct human system of behaviour based on oral symbols."

Swartz and Jordan (1980:352) mentions 'culture' in his definition:

"Language is a set of cultural conventions or shared understandings."

Miller and Weitz (1979:327) goes further to say:

"Language more than any other attribute, distinguishes human beings from other animals ...

All physical normal humans possess the innate capacities to learn to speak, and to communicate through language."

Mbiti (1975:7) summarises the argument on culture:

"The word "culture" covers many things such as the way people live, behave and act and their physical as well as their intellectual achievements."

Culture shows itself in art and literature, dance and music and drama, in the styles of building houses and of peoples clothing, in social organisation and political systems, in religion, ethics, morals and philosophy, in the customs and institutions of the people, in their values and laws and in their economic life.

Stories, proverbs, riddles, myths and legends are found in large numbers among all African people. They have been handed down orally. Some of them are a record of actual historical events but most of them are created by people's imaginations. Some entertain, others warn; some teach morals, other stimulate the imagination of the listener; some are told as commentary on people's lives in a given period.

Duminy (1973) concludes by stressing that there is always a desire on the part of the kin and parents in particular, to preserve the ethos or the folk uniqueness of the group. The child has to be acquainted with the manners, customs, laws and habits and with a complicated system of taboos and permissions which have stood the test of time in preserving the tribe.

Children had to obey their elders without question. Conformity and subordination were dominating values and the only rules and standards of correct behaviour to be tolerated were those of the tribe to which the child was born.

The growing child had little chance of going astray because as Dreyer (1980) puts it, he was a sort of 'community project'. *Everybody in the community was interested in the well being of the child.* Relatives from both parents offered advice and exercised control on the behaviour of the child.

One other factor that influenced the attitudes towards authority was the belief in ancestors. Most of the Africans, including the Zulus, believe that the African community consists not only of the individuals who live visibly in the flesh but also of the dead. When a person dies his soul goes to the spiritual world. In the spiritual world the ancestral spirits exercise vigilance over the living. As long as the moral code is strictly followed, they confer blessings and abundance, but if offended by any breach of custom, they cause personal disaster, sickness or even death.

The custom of slaughtering beasts and brewing beer on certain occasions is connected with ancestors. People are invited to come and feast without paying anything. The host believes that after that occasion - his problems will be solved and he will get blessings and abundance. Most of the Zulus have accepted Christianity but many of them still believe in ancestors. It is their culture and outside influences have failed to uproot it.

Fafunwa (1967:14) comments on traditional African education in the following matter:

"The average African child lives within the cultural environment and is educated to become a conforming member of this enduring, complex and highly organised village society".

The society in which the child was born was highly organised with its material and non-material culture.

From childhood till marriage a child was taught to respect the authority of elderly people. Even after marriage the sons joined their father's kraal and respected the authority of the kraalhead.

Bryant (1949:574) elaborates:

"Before the White man came, the family father held alone the power of control over the children's marriages.

Sons and daughters were well-aware of paternal powers and filial duties and quietly submitted."

2.2.2 Social Organisation

Rivers (1932) defined social organisation as a process by which individuals are associated in groups.

The members of human societies are grouped together in a large number of different ways, for example, the family grouping, the political grouping, the occupational grouping, the religious grouping, the educational grouping and the societies or clubs. All these different kinds of groupings are characterised by the feature of organisation. Membership of the groups and the process of joining and leaving the group are the subject of definite social regulations and involve certain duties and privileges in relation to other members of the group.

Gould and Kolb (1964) argue that in social science usage, social organisation denotes a relatively stable set of functioning interrelations among component parts (persons or groups) which

result in characteristics not present in the components and produces an entity sui generis. Social organisations evolve as structures of such relations in such a way as to fulfil functions in a manner more efficient and durable than could be achieved by unorganised persons. All society can be understood as a complex system of organisations.

Organisation, in general, is a magnifier of power, and also the basis of much of the order and predictability in society.

Malinowski (1944) used the term 'social organisation' to indicate the way in which members of society organise themselves and their material environment to satisfy their biological, psychological and social needs. He argues that the sex urge is the incentive to procreation, and is fulfilled within the family, where the dependent child is reared. This results into a network of relations within a given social group. The existence of such a group leads to the development of institutions and organised behaviour.

Malinowski (1944) agrees with Rivers (1932) that social organisation is an association of individuals in groups but he emphasises individual basic needs as the source of such organisation or association. However Maciver (1955) defines a social institution as the established forms or conditions of procedure characteristic of group activity. They are established patterns of behaviour through which human needs are satisfied.

These needs are embodied in the basic cultural values which are considered necessary for the continuance of the community and include:

- Physical needs e.g. food, clothing and housing.
- Social relations e.g. love and friendship.
- Spiritual aspirations e.g. salvation and forgiveness.

Early thinkers like Morgan (1877) attempted to trace the history of human society back to a period when marriage did not exist. They even examined the period of promiscuity and absence of family life. This in fact leads one to conclude that man developed from a situation that can be described as agamy. However, as a result of lack of discipline and authority inherent in agamy, man developed into a system of polygamy. Though polygamy has a very coherent measure of control, it is not as tight as monogamy which is presently predominantly practised by man.

With regard to the Blacks in South Africa who are the subject of this study, Schapera (1946) maintains that the Bantu were traditionally well organised. Each tribe was under a chief and each household was under the authority of the kraalhead.

The kraalhead directed the lives of all his subordinates in the kraal. He was responsible and answerable to the outside world for all the actions of the members of his household.

Referring to the Bushmen Schapera points out that they had no sib-organisation. Each tribe was grouped into several hunting bands. The Bushmen were monogamic whereas the Bantu adopted polygamy.

The African child grew up in that atmosphere of authority and discipline. *The respect for authority was inculcated at a very early age and the child grew up with it.*

In the study of social organisation, the name of Comte (1853) deserves mention as he is regarded as "the Father" of the science of Sociology. His work was elaborated by his disciple Durkheim in 1893. According to Comte (1853) social life could be studied scientifically and he called this science "social physics".

Comte, as cited above further explained that the human community displayed two particular characteristics which could be studied, namely:

- social statistics and
- social dynamics.

Comte was referring to the stable, unchanging patterns of society and also a process of evolution. However Durkheim (1893) introduced the idea of the social fact, a factor which, within a particular community, forces the individual to follow a particular pattern of behaviour. This factor exercises a controlling influence on the individual from above.

As a result of Durkheim's trend of thought there were two opposing views. The first consists of regarding human society as a social process, a collective community which makes an orderly life and a community which creates culture which must be accepted by individual members.

Zondag (1962) points out that in the sphere of social cultural Anthropology, the approach in Europe is sociological while in America it is cultural. Social Anthropology in Europe is concerned with the study of man from a sociological point of view.

The object of the study is the social process of evolution of codes and norms which will foster the survival of the entity, namely the social organism. On the contrary, American work on Anthropology deals with man as the centre, man as a physio-biological being, the creator and bearer of culture. Culture is treated under various headings. The most important of these are the economic life, art, religion and witchcraft, social organisation and political organisation.

Radcliffe-Brown (1952) is the exponent of the sociological trend of thought in Anthropology. He emphasises social facts and *considers the existence of a social organism*. According to him the individual is a cell in the organism. The social organism as a whole is important and not the individual. Social organism cannot be analysed unless its functions. It has a structure which includes law, religion, government, education and others. Radcliffe-Brown asserts that the key to the analysis of social

organisation is to be found in kinship and marriage. From the family, a network of kinship originates. These systems form the basis of social relations. As a result of death, birth and marriage the network of kinship is continually changing and the social structure is rearranged.

Herskovits (1960) is an exponent of the cultural approach to social organisation. He explains that culture is evolved only by the human community even though other forms of social existence are found in the animal world. Various aspects of culture constitute a functional whole.

Herskovits, as cited above, explains that culture is 'super organic' in that culture traits can spread independently of the community or of the members of the community in which they originated. Generations come and go but the community is preserved through the culture pattern which is perpetuated by the following generations.

Radcliffe-Brown (1952) and Herskovits (1960) agree that social organisation is present when people live together and there is regularity or order in their thought, behaviour and interaction. As a result of this collectivity a system of common values which serve as standards for human conduct is developed. Social norms and sanctions that lead to conformity in behaviour result.

Radcliffe-Brown emphasises kinship and marriage in social organisation whilst Herkovits depicts man as the centre of study, man as the creator and bearer of culture.

It was the social organisation of the Zulus that established a *healthy atmosphere for indigenous education*. What was conducive to good education was the fact that everyone in the Zulu community was interested in the education of the child. The child also, took an active part in his education. The product was a well-disciplined individual that had great respect for authority.

Gunter (1983) argues that authority is necessary in the education of the child. The child is a dependent being in need of help and assistance. The child is born with tendencies towards or potentialities for good or bad. The good must be nurtured, encouraged, developed and consolidated while the bad must be controlled, curbed, regulated and canalised.

He mentions degenerate authority in the form of force, domination and tyranny that must be discouraged as it degrades the child to a level of an object.

Ngcobo (1986) contends that authority constitutes an essential element in life, in education, from the cradle to the grave. In education, authority presents itself in a particular relationship between adults and non-adults. The adult as a leader with authority, leads, shows the way, gives help and supports, instructs and counsels, commands and prohibits, approves and

disapproves, encourages and discourages rewards and punishes while the non-adult is expected and required to accept, obey the control, guidance, instructions, teaching, advice, counselling of the adult. This is not authoritarianism which is always pernicious.

Nash (1966:105) points out:

"Authoritarianism demands unquestioning obedience and is designed to instill fear and to punish severely in order to produce obedience".

The relationship of authority should not be viewed as a relationship within which children are compelled, forced and suppressed in an unsympathetic way to do and behave as adults prescribe.

Authority in Zulu society was the understanding of what is right or wrong and was always related to the aim of education, about which the children were uncertain. The uncertainty of children about the nature of adulthood, even though they wanted to become someone, called for an authoritative guidance on the part of adults. Authoritative guidance does not mean the exertion of power. It means sympathetic guidance which is necessary for education to take place.

2.3 TRADITIONAL AFRICAN (ZULU) EDUCATION

Traditional African education refers to the socialisation of the young. Some writers use the term "indigenous" instead of "traditional" and the two are synonymous.

Duminy (1973) stresses that writing about indigenous African education is an ambitious task as the area is vast and has various tribes, traditions and languages. However, a certain amount of generalisation can be made. There is always a desire on the part of the kin and parents in particular to preserve the ethos or the folk uniqueness of the group. The child has to be acquainted with the manners, customs, laws and habits and with a complicated system of taboos and permissions which have stood the test of time in preserving the tribe. Children had to obey elders without question. Conformity and subordination were dominating values and the only rules and standards of correct behaviour to be tolerated were those of the tribe into which the child was born.

Dreyer (1980) agrees that the child in a traditional society found himself within a homogeneous framework whose aim was to produce the ideal community member. Since the whole community was interested in the child's progress, the child found his models of behaviour all around him. He was presented with a single set of beliefs, values and behaviour codes, the acceptance of which ensured the advantages of recognition and the status in the adult community. There were thus few problems of choice or rebellion, the individual generally conformed without question (cf van der

Vliet, 1974). Bryant (1967) concurs with this view when he declares that the one great law that ruled in traditional Zulu society was the law of 'complete submission to paternal authority'.

Looking from outside, one may be tempted to be very critical of what was obtaining in Zulu society, but the time fact is that there was order, stability and discipline in society. There was great respect for authority of the grown ups, the parents and persons in responsible positions. The position has somewhat changed today as a result of the influence of other cultures. The young are questioning the authority of the old.

The parents at home, the leaders in the community and the teachers at school are at a dilemma for their authority is at stake. Some of the young generation are against any form of traditional authority.

CHARACTERISTICS OF TRADITIONAL EDUCATION

According to Thompson (1981) all societies have at all times sought to develop appropriate behaviour patterns, to spread the possession of knowledge, understanding and skills among their members.

In simple, small-scale, isolated and self-sufficient societies the security and survival of the group depend upon the harmonious co-operation between all the members of the group. Educational

practice tended to stress the transfer to new members of the cultural symbols, values, beliefs and sanctions upon which personal relationships, patterns of conduct and customs were based. New members also had to learn the technical and vocational skills of the groups. In this way they were prepared to play their full part in maintaining the cohesion stability, survival and well being of the group.

The emphasis in this induction process was upon conformity and obedience. There was relatively little concern for developing the unique talents of the individual and encouraging qualities which would differentiate the individual from his peers. The individual was to be prepared to fit comfortably into the existing pattern of his society and to fulfil roles as a member of that society which were largely ascribed to him by custom.

Moumouni(1968) clarifies that traditional education in Africa is characterised by the following features:

- collective and social nature.
- intimate ties with social life, both in a material and spiritual sense.
- multivalent character, both in terms of its goals and means employed.
- gradual and progressive achievement in conformity with the successive stages of physical, emotional and mental development of the child.

The family of the child considers it a sacred task to perform its duties correctly regarding his education. On another level, the entire community considers itself, and is considered by others responsible for education. The child is educated and educates himself in the bosom of society itself, in the school of the family and in a social life with his age group and is constantly in contact with the various aspects of adult life.

Traditional African education embraces character-building as well as the development of physical aptitudes, the acquisition of those moral qualities felt to be an integral part of manhood and the acquisition of the knowledge and techniques needed by all men if they are to take an active part in social life in its various *forms*.

Luthuli (1981) elaborates on traditional education and stresses that all societies cherish a set of aims and values which they wish their not-yet-members to learn and observe. It is one main task of society to mould, guide and direct the potential member (child) to enable him to take his place in society. There is a very close relationship between man, society, education and adulthood.

Fafunwa and Aisiku (1982) agree and conclude that African education was generally for the immediate induction into society and a preparation for adulthood. In particular, African

education emphasised social responsibility, job orientation, political participation and spiritual and moral values.

According to the African conception, education strives to make the individual pass from his status of an absolute individual to that of an integrated member of society. In other words, education aims at making man an integral entity indivisible in himself, a distinct entity but not separated from others. It is finally a question of making man pass from the situation of the individual to the social situation aimed at, and finally to that of cosmic participation. This African education centred on communal life is an education acquired for life and through life.

SOCIALIZATION OF THE YOUNG

According to Bryant (1967) the father's word in the parental kraal was final. Nobody in any situation would question a decree by a father. Cases are often cited where a girl in a family was ordered by the father to marry a man she might not have known, loved and possibly who might have been very much older than her. Equally, cases are quoted where a man simply looked for another wife without negotiating with the present one. No one could challenge the father and everyone in the household had to comply.

Krige (1974) agrees with Bryant (1967) that in Zulu society the father called baba is respected, feared and his commands are obeyed.

Dreyer (1980) points out that the father's role in traditional Zulu society was that of a disciplinarian and authoritarian. He was the embodiment of manliness and strength. The boys liked to imitate their fathers in actions and speech. The father was admired at a distance. A situation where a son would sit in the presence of his father, *discussing and arguing on various matters* practically did not exist.

Within the entire Zulu society people of different ages did not mix (cf. Krige, 1965). Children would not sit at table with parents nor look at them directly on the face when speaking to them. They were taught to cup both hands when receiving from an elderly person. The behaviour pattern towards the father in Zulu society colours and is the basis of the pattern towards all the relatives of the father and likewise the mother. Uncles and aunts were called "fathers" and "mothers" while the elderly people were greatly respected.

Adults intervened in the life of the child to bring about changes and these efforts were guided by a definite scale of values and norms.

Dreyer (1980) argues that all the adults in the community were interested in the development of the child. By rules of conduct and by example the child was led or forced into ways of proper behaviour - how it should be sympathetic and generous towards its companions, treating the little ones with consideration and unselfishly sharing every good thing with all.

There were strict rules of etiquette of governing almost every phase of daily life - how to deport oneself before elders and superiors; how to behave at meals, how to respect the places and property of others. The womenfolk had to kneel when talking to elderly males.

PEDAGOGICAL METHODS

From an early age the child was taught to accept, to value and to reproduce the behaviour, customs and sentiments of the society into which he was born reports Dreyer (1980). Education was strictly enculturation of the traditional set of habits, attitudes and behavioural codes. Development towards adulthood proceeded strictly according to custom and social tradition. The education of the child also centred around the idea of what the child ought to become. What was expected was a mature adult who had to take his rightful position among the group.

The most common method that was employed in teaching the young traditional ways was imitation. Miller (1928) points out that there is little in the material equipment of primitive society which the child cannot acquire through imitation.

Dances and the songs that accompanied them were learned by observation and imitation. Together with the moments of 'pure' imitation went the deliberate educational measures taken by the adults in the community to make sure that the child was put well on his way to an adulthood worthy of the tribal tradition.

Parents and other adults in the group were ever ready to assist the natural imitative tendencies of the young folk. Oral instruction together with the showing of the example was extensively practised (Duminy, 1973).

A great variety of stories and legends was told. On the whole they praised virtues and condemned stubbornness and faults. Good deeds were rewarded, bad deeds were met with due punishment. The idea was to help the youngsters grasp the prevailing ethical standards of the tribe.

Proverbs and riddles were also very common, each playing its role in the forming of the youngster. Riddles served to sharpen the wits while in proverbs a great deal of traditional wisdom and folklore was expressed. The tribal wisdom accumulated in ages was stored up in riddles.

As there were no written records, the only means of communication to the child was through oral repetition. Tribal history, philosophy, language, technology all had to be preserved in these tales and passed orally to the next generation (Duminy, 1973).

Dreyer (1980) asserts that the child was actually forced by custom, tradition and societal ways to take an active part in his own development. In traditional society, the peer group played an important role in aiding the child to acquire the ways and customs of society. He was forced by custom to go about with his peers only. To a large extent the child was at the mercy of his

educators and his situatedness as such. In all this the child had to participate actively without forgetting complete submission to those above him.

Lowie (1950) mentions another method of teaching usually employed in pre-literate schools. This is rote learning and repetition. Songs and praises were to be learnt by heart and repeated time and again. Education measures also included ridicule, threats, promises and remuneration normally in the form of praise. Punishment varied and sometimes youths had to take severe beatings.

Vocational or technological training took place in the family. The child would start by helping in the performance of the task after being instructed by the parents. Boys helped in pottery or iron-work and girls in mat making. After sometime they became experts in the work.

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

Krige (1974) explains that the birth of a child means that the marriage of the parents is now fully contracted. Marriage is not finalised before a child is born alive. Should a wife be barren then the man can be free to marry another woman. Sometimes he was given the wife's younger sister in order to beget children. In this case he paid no additional "lobolo" for the second wife.

The child grows up in the care of the mother. If the grandmother is still alive, she also gives a hand in the care of the growing child. After weaning, the toddlers are looked after by their mothers and elder sisters who take great pride in teaching them the correct way of greeting their elders, of receiving gift, of dancing to the clapping of hands. When naughty, they are frightened by tales of monsters who in African folklore carry-off disobedient children.

As the Zulus follow both the classificatory and descriptive systems of kinship, the Zulu child is taught to follow certain rules of conduct. Apart from his biological parents there are many other persons on the father and mother's side who are regarded as "fathers" and "mothers". This means that many people take it as their responsibility to help the child to grow towards adulthood. The child is taught respect for adults.

Krige, as cited above, adds that children learn at an early age not to sit or eat with people older than themselves. They spend most of their time with those of their own age, play together or work together and are recognised by their elders as a group from which collective responsibility is expected. This group comes into contact with an ever increasing number of people which include first other children in the neighbourhood and finally, all the same age within the tribe. The educational value of these age groups is very great. Children teach one another correct ways of behaviour to adults and strangers.

The young children are strictly controlled by the group older than themselves for faults like selfishness and bad temper.

Bryant (1949) mentions one great law that ruled in parental kraals. It was the law of complete submission to paternal authority. This resulted in great respect for those in authority over one. The younger children respected the older ones and finally, all children respected their parents.

The child was led or forced by precept and example into innumerable ways of good and proper behaviour, for example, how the child should be sympathetic and generous towards its companions, treating the little ones with consideration and unselfishly sharing every good thing with all.

There were strict rules of etiquette governing almost every phase of daily life. The child was taught how to deport oneself before elders and superiors, how to behave at meals and how to respect the places and property of others.

The child grew up with good habits of order and orderliness, of civility and cleanliness, of unselfishness and self-respect, of industriousness and sexual propriety.

From birth till puberty, boys spent most of their time at the parental home. Girls were supervised by their mothers till marriage.

The child grew up at his home and received all his education in the home surroundings. His teachers were his parents, his peers and all the community members who were interested in his development towards adulthood. Adulthood was regarded as the ultimate aim of education.

Fafunwa and Aisiku(1982) argue that African education emphasised social responsibility, job orientation, political participation and spiritual and moral values. The child would fit well in adult society after undergoing training in social norms and values.

Kanga (1977) adds that the aim of traditional education is the preparation of the youths, their insertion and complete integration into the life of the community. Conformity and subordination were dominating values and the only rules and standards of correct behaviour to be tolerated were those of the tribe into which the child was born (Duminy, 1973). Rebellious against the authority of the father could entail severe punishment.

Zulu education aimed at developing brave and strong men with a sense of obedience and submission to authority. Women, also, had *to be diligent, submissive and faithful* .

The physical development of the Zulu child is the same as in other races. It is the spiritual and moral development that is quite interesting. Everybody in the Zulu community is interested in the well-being of the child. From childhood till adulthood the child

is taught and inducted into good and acceptable rules of conduct and behaviour. Girls remain at home with their mothers until marriage. They grow womanly. At the age of about twelve years, girls also come under the supervision of their peers (amaqhikiza).

Boys start by herding calves at about the age of five years and then cattle at twelve years of age. They also come under the influence of peers under their leaders (izingqwele). They are taught how to associate with the males of the family and grow manly.

STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

Krige (1974) points out that the development of the Zulu child from childhood to manhood or womanhood consists of a series of clearly marked steps. Each step brings with it increased status and greater responsibility. Motshabi (1973:94) elaborates:

"The weaning of the child, puberty, circumcision, marriage and child-birth become an occasion for the dissemination of the fundamental values and norms of society."

According to Krige (1974) the Zulu child passes through four stages of development. The first of these is the Qhumbuza or ear-piercing ceremony, followed by the puberty ceremony, and in the case of a boy, the ukubuthwa or enrolment into a regiment and the khehla'ing or putting on the head ring.

To pass successfully from one stage to the next, it is considered necessary to secure the aid of forces that can influence one's life for good or bad. It was common, therefore, at such times to have ceremonies by means of which a break with the faults and weaknesses of the previous stage is affected and the initiate is strengthened by magic and appeal to ancestors. He is also instructed in the duties and privileges he is about to assume.

West (1984) adds that the Zulus had four traditional stages in the transition from youth to adulthood. The first was the piercing of all the children's ears before puberty. This ceremony served to increase the status of the child. It was said that "opening the children's ears increased their ability to hear and understand". This operation takes place amidst feasting and merry-making in celebration of the increased status of the child. Sometimes it often happens that, instead of each father holding a separate feast for his child, the head of the district (induna) calls up all the children right age and a collective ceremony is held (cf Krige, 1974). The piercing of ears is still done today, but it is mainly to put earrings which serve as ornaments. This is mainly done at chemists or by some professional person who today charges a fee.

The next stage was reached at puberty. The ceremonies for both boys and girls involved separation from the homestead for a period to mark their changing status from youth to adulthood, followed by reincorporation. Usually the young boy or girl is secluded in a hut for a while. He is given strengthening medicines or committed

to the care of ancestors. This ceremony is accompanied by much singing and dancing by the age mates of the initiatee.

When his first nocturnal emission takes place, a boy rises very early when it is still dark and takes the cattle out of the kraal. These he drives to some far off spot in the veld near some stream and here he herds them as secretly as possible. He will bathe in the river before sunrise. In the morning the inmates of the kraal, on seeing the cattle and one of the boys missing will understand what has happened. A boy is fetched by boys who have reached puberty and is given an assegai from his father. He is also given strengthening medicines.

A girl's puberty ceremony is in many respects similar to a boy's thomba and like all transition ceremonies is characterised by separation rites and a period of seclusion followed by aggregation into the new group reports (Schapera, 1946).

The puberty ceremonies were meant to impress upon the individual that he or she was no longer a child. The individual should be very careful about sexual matters.

Young girls who have reached the puberty age were controlled by older girls who already had sweethearts. Six months to a year the young girls are allowed to have lovers. To accept or qoma a lover is a serious matter in Zulu society and is tantamount to an engagement. A ceremony is usually held in the fields at which the young man and his companions meet the girl and her age mates to

thank them for having accepted one of them. It was a common practice for Zulu mothers to examine their girl's pudenda by way of supervision against defloration. It was considered a disgrace for an unmarried girl to have a child at her father's kraal.

The first thing to be done on finding that a girl was pregnant was to hurry her off to marry someone. A group of females would accompany the girl to report the pregnancy at the lover's home. This was usually done very early in the morning. There was no problem as the girl's lover was known in the whole community.

Doings have changed nowadays. Although this practice is still carried on in some communities but most of the Zulus who have adopted Christianity have discarded it. *The love affair has become something secret and between two persons. Parents only come in when marriage negotiations are instituted.* One other factor that caused the withdrawal from the practice of reporting pregnancies to the boy's parents was that in our modern permissive society some girls have more than one lover. Boys are aware of this fact and they will not willingly accept the blame when the pregnancy is reported.

The present situation, where authority and discipline in the upbringing of children has deteriorated, has far reaching implication for discipline in school and work situations. Illegitimacy is on the increase and the 'unwanted children' become juvenile delinquents.

The third stage in the development of the Zulu child was circumcision. It was the custom for Zulu boys at the age of nine or ten to cut the string at the under part of the foreskin of the penis, together with the small vein contained in it, in order to allow the glands to project. It is generally believed that Shaka was responsible for the abolition of circumcision. (Krige, 1974).

All the ceremonies were performed with amazing dignity. What, however, was of great importance was that they all inculcated in the individual and his group, respect for authority and discipline. It is needless to say that with the advent of industrialisation and urbanisation most of these practices disappeared thereby leaving a vacuum and a laissez-faire and this is evident today.

The last stage in the transition to full adulthood was incorporation into an age regiment, a vital aspect in the creation and function of the Zulu war machine. Boys left their homes a year or two after puberty, to go and live at a military kraal. They learned about military life, tended to Kings cattle and waited until the induna (headman) of the kraal felt there were enough boys ready to report to the king. They were summoned to the king who formed them into a regiment. Again here discipline and authority was accepted and respected by all, to a point that disobedience could mean death without recourse to any court of law. Today such conscriptions are no longer done. Boys do not know the authority of any group leader in a regiment, hence the lax they have today towards authority and discipline.

For up to six months they remained at the royal kraal undergoing considerable hardships. They constructed their own huts and spent their days marching, dancing and singing. The regiment that had been named received a distinctive shield colour and its assegais at an impressive ceremony to recognise its formation. The salute to the king was followed by a great display of singing and dancing after which the regiment disbanded.

Members returned to their districts where their weapons were handed over to the district head who traditionally kept them until they were needed. Therefore, each man was entitled to be known by his regimental name as a mark of respect, particularly in later years. This stage in the transition to adulthood culminated in a feast and sacrifice for each man by his father to mark new responsibilities and to thank the ancestors for their assistance during this important stage in his life. However, Krige (1974) points out that the formation and function of the regiments together with the fixing of a headring (isicoco) is falling into disuse. Traditionally the king ordered members of a regiment to be given a headring after a number of years of service. At this stage, members were allowed to marry and thus become fully grown men.

In the case of girls the development was slightly different. The girl was under the guardianship of a senior male member of her family (umalume). During puberty she went into seclusion until the umsindo feast. Then the ukwomula followed, indicating that her father recognised her marriageable state. She now had to come

under a certain form of control by the older group of girls (amaqhikiza).

Throughout the various stages of development discipline and authority was expressed, demonstrated and even imprinted in the minds of the youth. This led to a disciplined society where every individual knew where he fitted into the societal hierarchy and he knew what role to play.

In short, children grew up under very strict and stringent rules. None could afford, attempt or even dare to be delinquent in this kind of very strict discipline. The elderly were respected and even feared. The word of the elderly was final, unquestionable and adhered to very strictly. Today the situation has so changed that the opposite is now true, where parents fear their own children. The children of today even go to the extent of beating their parents and their teachers at school. These incidents are so indicative of poverty in both discipline and authority.

2.4 SOME ASPECTS OF ZULU SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND SOCIETAL INVOLVEMENT IN TRADITIONAL EDUCATION

2.4.1 The Kinship System

Ayisi (1980:36) describes kinship as follows:

"Kinship refers to a particular category of relationships which exist between two individuals or a group of individuals. These are relationships which may have their roots

in common genealogy or may be effected through marriage or adoption."

Whereas Rivers (1932) gives a very simple definition of kinship as "the social recognition of biological ties, Mair Lucy (1965:62) explains that "kinship is the expression of social relationships in a biological idiom".

Ottenberg (1960:28-29) insists that the three basic kin relationships are those of descent, filiation and marriage. The first two, which are closely related, are commonly referred to by the term 'consanguinity' or 'blood' ties. As used in Anthropology, descent refers to the relationship of a group of persons to a common ancestor or ancestors through a number of generations, filiation denotes the relationship between parent and child.

The third type of relationship, by marriage, often referred to as affinity, is that between a husband and wife and between a husband and wife and between a person and his spouse's family - the so-called in-law relationships.

Krige (1974) points out that the bonds of kinship are very extensive among the Zulus because of the descriptive and classificatory systems of kinship.

As kinship refers to relatives either by birth or by marriage, the Zulus have a number of fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters who

play a great role in the upbringing of children. The children responded by showing respect to the elderly people. The relatives still exist even nowadays but the family life has been disrupted because of urbanisation and people are becoming individualistic.

Schapera (1946) is of the opinion that the outstanding social unit within a tribe is the household. The household consists of a man with his wife or wives and dependent children together with any other relatives or unrelated dependents who may be attached to him. Within this household individual family or rather a mother and her children stand out as a group apart, inhabiting its own house (indlu).

Vilakazi (1962) elucidates that Zulu kinship structure is marked by a grading into three categories of geneological groupings. These categories roughly comprise of:

- the lineage (umndeni, uzalo, usendo).
- the kraal or homestead (umuzi).
- the house (indlu).

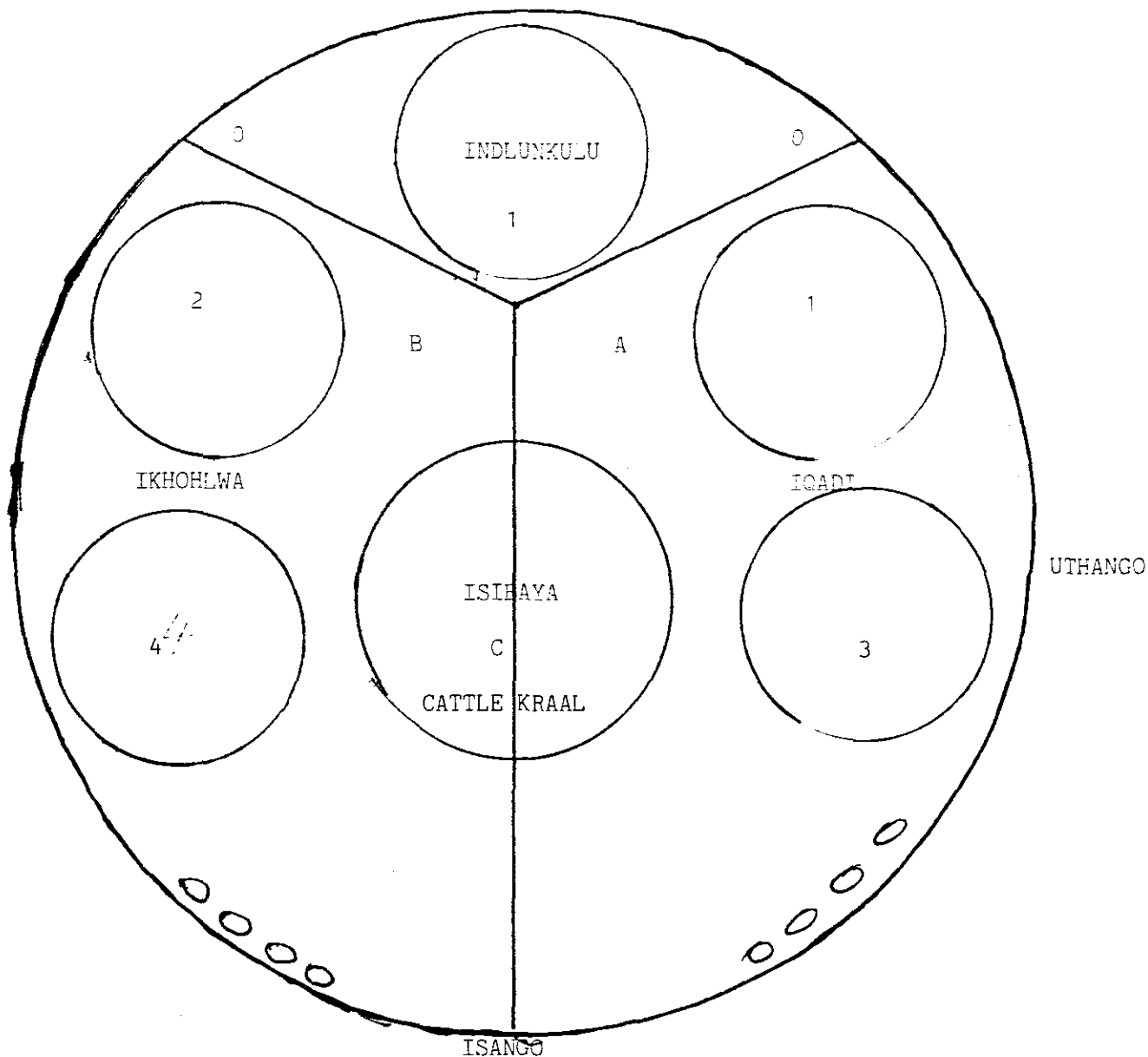
Vilakazi, as cited above, further explains that unndeni/uzalo/usendo refer to the whole group of agnates who trace descent to a common founding ancestor. The Zulu "house" (indlu) is the nuclear family created by a marriage according to Zulu customary law. It consists of a man, his wife and children in a monogamous setting and of a wife and her children in a polygamous setting with the husband as the 'floating' member of all such 'houses' or nuclear families.

The umuzi is a complete type of nuclear family in that it is a cluster of nuclear families which are built around the cattle kraal. The umuzi is a social unit under the authority of the kraalhead (umnumzane). Besides the Christian nuclear families there are also independent, nuclear, polygynous families. A polygynist usually separates his family so that each wife has her own kraal where she lives with her family (children). Such a kraal is independent of others.

Children born in the umuzi grew up with great respect for authority. They respected the father who controlled activities in the kraaland also the mothers and other elderly people within the kraal. As a result children became submissive to the authority of other grown-up persons outside the family kraal. With the influence of western culture, the umuzi has disappeared in many instances.

Married sons and daughters build their homes away from the parental homes. In some cases both parents go to work and the children are left with servants to look after them. As a result children grow up lacking discipline and authority of the parents and other grown up people.

House affiliation in the umuzi is shown diagrammatically by Krige (1974) and Vilakazi (1962).



The indlunkulu at the centre is the "great" house which is generally the kraalhead's mother's hut.

The first house on the right is the house founded by the senior wife. Seniority here is established by precedence in the order in which the wives are married. The second wife's house is the ikhohlwa which is the first house on the left hand side.

The iqadi is the third wife's house which is affiliated to the first or senior house. The explanation in Krige's sketch is not clear enough. It would seem that the iqadi house is the senior wife's house. The fourth house is an affiliate of the second house.

The umuzi was a social unit under the authority of the kraalhead. He was the head of the family according to the patriarchal system. All women and unmarried sons were treated as minors.

The umuzi was a religious unit. At a certain time when need arose the kraalhead took a lead when the spirits of the forefathers were approached. The umuzi was also an economic unit. All the different houses under the eye of the kraalhead worked for subsistence. Each wife had her own lands and usually certain cattle were set aside for purposes of helping a particular house. The umuzi was, above all, an educational unit. It exercised authority within which the individual had to submit and respect. Children grew up under good discipline from the inmates of the umuzi.

One other word that is often used in connection with kinship is 'clan' or 'sib'. A clan is a group of unilateral relatives, real or fictitious, who bear the same name which is handed over in the paternal or maternal line. A clan, therefore, may be either patrilineal or matrilineal.

The kinship system played an important role in the social organisation of the Zulus. The child had a large number of people who were interested in his upbringing. Chances of going astray were very limited. The whole community or society as a whole joined hands in the education of the young.

MARRIAGE

West (1984) describes the Zulu marriage as a contract between families, clans and individuals. Its traditional form involves elaborate protocol, exchange of gifts, lobola, ritual killings, dancing and feasts.

Marriage is concluded in the discussion on the 'kinship system' as some of the relatives come into being as a result of marriage. Marriage was accompanied by the "hlonipha" and "ukuzila" customs which played a significant part in stabilising marriages. There was no friction after the marriage between the bride and the bridegroom's mother. These marriages lasted long and there were no cases of divorce or broken homes.

Krige (1974) mentions three recognised forms of marriage negotiations. The commonest and most usual one is that known as ukucela or ukukhonga in which the boy's people open negotiations and formally ask for the handover of the girl. This is the method employed by the Christianised Zulus today where the boy takes the lead. It is possible, also, in the case of a high-ranking girl, for her family to select a suitable husband. This is known as

ukuganisela. Another form of negotiation is ukubaleka (elopement). In this case the girl runs away to her sweetheart, an action which forces his people to open marriage negotiations. Traditionally negotiations are carried out by an emissary chosen to approach the girl's parents. If the man's suit is accepted, the amount of ilobolo is decided upon and exchanged. Usually ilobolo is in the form of cattle. Then the first ritual killings take place and marriage preparations begin.

Vilakazi (1962) states that the cimela visits before a marriage are a method of informing as many of the lineage members as possible of the new affinal ties that are to be forged by the marriage. This affords those of the lineage who live afar the opportunity to learn about the boy's family and to adjust their behaviour to those of the boy's kin who live in the neighbourhood. Some Zulus prefer a bride from a different community (*induku enhle igawulwa ezizweni*).

Marriage is a day for public participation and the whole community therefore contributes to feed itself and strangers. The marriage takes place on a day fixed between the two parties. The final ceremony of declaring the couple legally married is performed by the chief's functionary, the loyal iphoyisa among the traditionalists. The whites have called this marriage "customary union" and according to them it is not a marriage in the true sense.

The bride, still a stranger in the new homestead, must be incorporated by ritual killings and purification. She is expected to behave respectfully to her husband's kin and be completely subservient to her mother-in-law. Vilakazi (1962) argues that it is the hlonipha custom which builds her up in the family, that shows her as a well-behaved and successfully socialised person. The hlonipha and zila observances which mark the young bride's behaviour before, during and after the wedding ceremonies have a special significance in the ritual of the marriage. To hlonipha is to show appropriate respect for authority and seniority.

Krige (1974) gives a brief description of a traditional Zulu marriage. She explains that marriage is primarily an affair between groups involving the two families concerned. Marriage negotiations may be opened either by the parents of the boy or parents of the girl. This takes place when the individual has passed through whatever schools and ceremonies that obtain in the tribe, from initiation to adulthood. Once negotiations have been started the all-important question of ilobolo rises. Ilobolo is a compensation to the group that has lost a member, to restore the disturbed equilibrium.

Some writers call 'ilobolo' bridewealth or bride-price. This is not true as no human being can be evaluated in terms of money. The family of the girl wanted to be sure that the boy who wanted their daughter as a wife, was fully-grown and could manage and work for his family independently. He had to enjoy the fruits of his labour. The husband loved his wife because he worked hard for

her. It was not just a free gift. Again all the gifts that were exchanged in marriages were meant to promote good relationship between the two families.

The father of the girl will neither accept nor reject a suitor without the consent and support of other members of the family or lineage.

When finally after negotiation the bride sets out for the new home, a beast will be slaughtered to secure for her the blessings of her ancestors.

The process of incorporation is a slow one marked by very humble and submissive behaviour on the part of the bride and the observation of a number of taboos.

No marriage is complete without children. Kinship is also important in connection with marriage where a barren wife can be replaced by a sister (sororate) or in cases where a younger brother takes over the wife of his late brother and raises seed on behalf of the deceased (levirate) (ukungena).

In spite of the rigorous training (Bryant, 1949) and the drudgeries (Krige, 1974) a Zulu bride had to undergo, there was a healthy atmosphere in the home quite conducive to good discipline and authority. Shorter (1978, p.152) grieves with the turn of events:

"Christianity and Western type of education robbed the woman of the traditional protection of the extended family system and society, which in the past was the cornerstone of stability in married life.

Further, it made her as a mother, unable to have full control of her grown-up children, both boys and girls which is the backbone of good citizenship and a proper preparation for future married life.

This is the main dilemma of the African woman today. She is gaining what she wants, but she is losing what she needs."

Respect for authority started in the kraal where the child was born and it spread outside to the community and society. Indigenous African education established attitudes of respect for authority. The parents experienced no problems in the education of their children in the pre-contact phase. The problem started after the influence of western culture with its money economy. It is interesting to note that the older people in Zulu society still have great respect for authority. This is evident in places of work where they become faithful and diligent workers. Because of acculturation the younger generation in Zulu society has changed. They sometimes question the authority of the parents, the authority of the teacher at school and even the authority of the employer or ruler.

2.4.2 The Political System

Fried (1967:20-21) explains that:

"Political organisation comprises those portions of social organisation that specifically relate to individuals or groups

that manage the affairs of public policy or seek to control the appointment or activities of those individuals or groups".

According to Morgan (1967, p.99) the political evolution of humanity is divided into two stages, each with a government. The first was founded upon persons and upon relations, purely personal; that means, of course, kinship. He called this "social organisation". He held that the idea of property arose only later, along with the idea of territory as the basis of a common government. He gave the name "political organisation" only to a government claiming authority

over a definite territory and this he called the state. However, Schapera (1956) rejects a definition which makes the command or use of force the sole criterion of a political system. He points out that the leaders of Bushmen and Bergdama bands do not command force for the punishment of offenders yet their authority is recognised.

Jones (1970) points out that the basic unit in the social organisation of traditional Bantu culture is the tribe having a nucleus made up of a group of families descended from common ancestors. According to the principle of inherited status from this control group of families come the men of authority for the tribe, the most important of which is the chief.

As the father is the head of his own family responsible for exercising control and authority over its members, so is the chief the 'father' of the entire tribe with the same rights and duties

in the economic, political and religious spheres binding chief and tribesmen together. Parrinder (1954:67) agrees with Jones that:

"Among the Bantu peoples of South Africa, the chief is not merely a head of the tribe but is the symbol of tribal unity. He is priest and magician, ruler and law-giver, war-leader and source of wealth.

Paver and Shepherd (1947:23) expose that:

"The Bantu had a definite tribal system organised to suit their life and needs. The head of the tribe was the chief, the father and protector of his people and the representative of the tribe."

Injury done to the chief was injury done to the whole tribe. In the defence of the chief's life, his men gladly laid down their own, his bodyguard was known as 'those who die for the chief'.

Daphne (1982) argues that chiefs and indunas (chief's deputies) in Natal were, prior to 1878, responsible to the king, with the king perceived as the ultimate guardian of the rights of the people. The system of hereditary chieftainship did not provide representation in the modern sense of people elected, but was representative in that there were present elements of democratic processes. Decision making was generally by consensus through meetings of the chief with his councillors, indunas with the members of their ward, and through large general meetings open to all. Paver and Shepherd (1947;25) add:

"The absence of any written law was not felt, for details of custom and precedent were carried with remarkable fidelity in the minds of the chiefs, councillors and people."

Political organisation has not yet been divorced from the principles of kinship among the Bantu. The true national unit appears to be the sib. A tribe consists of people belonging to many different sibs (Krige, 1974).

Each tribe is mainly a body of kinsmen all believing in their descent from a common far-off ancestor from whom the chief can claim most direct descent. Membership of a tribe is determined more by allegiance to a chief than by birth, and the unity of the tribe depends fundamentally on the common loyalty of the tribesmen to their chief (Hoernle, 1946).

THE REGION (ISIGODI)

The isigodi is a territorial unit which may consist of wards, each having its own isibonda. Luthuli (1977) calls these wards 'villages' under a headman (umnumzane).

In his region the headman exercises the same powers of authority as the kraalhead within his smaller unit. He also hears cases and administers justice and all kraalheads are responsible to him. He is responsible to the higher authorities and forms a link with the ancestral spirits of the region. He sees to it that instructions of higher powers are given out and obeyed.

THE DISTRICT (ISIFUNDA)

The region (isigodi) is often part of a larger area, isifunda. The district head exercises over the district in his charge, the same powers as the head of a village exercises over the village in his charge.

He is responsible for all law and order and he deals with the more important cases which the village heads have not been able to settle. Krige (1974) adds that the district head exercises a sort of fatherly care over the people under him and it is even thought that his ancestors do the same. Hence, he may offer a sacrifice on behalf of his whole district.

Usually the region is under the jurisdiction of an induna (chief's councillor) and the district under a hereditary chief. The king is the personification of the law and is the representative of the tribal ancestors, the centre of ritual in traditional Bantu culture. He represents the nation and an offence against him is more heinous than any other. The king had legislative and judicial powers in neither was he despotic and autocratic.

A very important factor in making the Zulus law-abiding was that responsibility was collective. The result was that every man in the tribe was a policeman and was bound to report to his senior any act or wrong which he may see being done, otherwise he would incur responsibility in regard to the act.

THE TRIBE

A tribe consists of people belonging to many different sibs (cf Schapera, 1946). The Zulus at first were a small section of people all of whom considered themselves as descendants from a single ancestor. As soon as their size increased, other sibs came to be incorporated, till the Zulu name had spread over a large part of the population of Natal.

The chief is the executive head of the tribe as a whole and is responsible for maintaining law and order. He is also the religious head of the tribe. He must arrange for the celebration of all great ceremonies, such as rain-making and other agricultural rites, tribal purifications, initiations and the charming of the army, upon which the welfare of his people is held to depend. In many of these rites the chief is the link between his people and the ancestral spirits governing their welfare.

Although the chief sometimes exercises the same duties as the king, the king is the supreme ruler of the tribe including the chief.

With the Zulus there was good discipline and great respect for authority from the household (umuzi) under the kraalhead right up to the tribe under the chief. The word of the kraalhead in the umuzi was final, so was the word of the chief in the tribe.

The authority of the chiefs has been greatly diminished today. The chief was the richest man in the tribe in terms of fields and cattle he possessed. This is no longer the case. Most of the tribesmen have left their rural homes to work in cities and towns. The chiefs have become poorer and today they receive salaries from the Government.

The Zulus were defeated by the whites and the power of the chiefs was decreased. The traditional judicial system is still operating in zulu society and as a result the Zulus, are subject to two systems of law. There is double-control and this may be one of the reasons why the Zulus are so law-abiding.

2.4.3 The Economic System

The Zulu traditional way of living changed after the contact with Europeans. A great number of the Zulus have been absorbed into the European-controlled economy and make a living in this way. They have become acquainted with money as a gauge of value. The Zulus in rural areas have also been influenced by Western culture. The plough drawn by oxen is in general use, products are grown not only for home consumption but some are marketed. Artificial fertilizers instead of kraal manure are used and are becoming popular.

Sansom (1974) holds the view that the Southern Bantu were hoe-cultivators and pastoralists who supplemented the products of herds and fields by hunting and by gathering wild foods. Their

subsistence activities were conducted within tribal units governed by independent rulers. The products were basic essentials and there were few luxury goods.

The Zulus were stock-breeders and agriculturists who were also engaged in hunting. They also collected fruit and other food from the veld. Simple industries such as pottery, woodwork, iron-forging and weaving were also done.

Vilakazi (1962) elaborates that the Zulus practised kraal economy. This was basic to the whole economic life of the people. All property whether in land or in cattle is within the umuzi which may be regarded as one body of individuals who share in the use and enjoyment of the products of the property so corporately held.

The powers of control of property are vested in the kraalhead who acts as a trustee for the whole group. The following features were characteristic of Zulu economy in the pre-contact phase:

- belief and ritual acts in connection with production and consumption.
- the umuzi as a production unit in which the members cooperate among themselves and are self-contained as far as natural needs are concerned.
- sex, age and status determines division of labour.
- tribal chief played an important role.

Bryant (1949) argues that in the Zulu social system, every kraal was self-contained and self-supporting and, by a tradition that bore the force of law. The work of the home was clearly apportioned between its male and female inmates. It was the peculiar province of the males to provide and preserve the fabric of the kraal and to tend the cattle. It was the duty of the females to provide the family with food and to cook it and to cultivate the fields. In other words, men were pastoralists and artisans whilst the women were housekeepers and agriculturists.

According to Vilakazi (1962) there were among the Zulus, three classes of things that were regarded as property. They were the land, livestock and other products of human activity like houses, hoes, articles of wear, ornaments and ploughs. Land was the only property that could be owned tribally. Social, ritual and economic values intertwine, for not only is land the home of the living, it is also the resting place of the ancestral spirits who are the gods of the living. Land is also a measure of the social standing of the whole umuzi.

Products like livestock, foodstuffs and houses belong to the umuzi and are administered by the kraalhead for the benefit of the whole family. Cattle supply milk, meat, hides, horns and bones. Cattle were also a medium of exchange and the wealth of a man was determined by the number of cattle he possessed.

Luthuli (1977) emphasises that cattle played an important part in the traditional life of the Zulus. They were used in ritual ceremonies of religion, marriage and death. Cattle played an important part when sacrifices were made to ancestors in cases of illness, famine and death. They served as ilobolo when marriages were conducted and would be slaughtered when death occurred to accompany the deceased to the ancestral world. Goats and sheep were slaughtered for ritual purposes also.

Social relationships also arose when cattle were loaned to poorer tribal members by wealthy people according to the ukusisa custom. The motive was to provide the poor with food in the form of milk and sourmilk. As the Zulus were very generous people a beast would be slaughtered for a stranger as a sign of respect and hospitality.

POSITION OF THE CHIEF

Schapera and Goodwin (1946) regard the chief as wealthy because he possesses by far the largest herds of cattle in the tribe. All cattle looted in war are brought to him. Stray cattle are also brought to him. He receives the gifts of cattle from every family on his installation as chief. The ilobolo paid for his great wife is frequently made up of contributions from the tribe, ilobolo he receives for his daughters forms a substantial addition to his wealth, since the amount paid for the chief's daughter is much higher than that for a commoner's daughter.

The chief is looked upon as the source of wealth, of reward and sustenance in times of trouble. He must perform certain special duties for the material welfare of his people. He controls the use and distribution of tribal land; he also organises big tribal hunts especially when beasts of prey have been destroying the cattle. He organises raids on neighbouring tribes to obtain more cattle. He is responsible almost everywhere for the rainmaking ceremonies upon which the growth of crops is held to depend. He also distributes charmed seed as no artificial fertilizers were used. When the first fruits of the new season are ripe, no one may eat them until the chief has given a go-ahead.

The coming of the Europeans in South Africa has brought the breakdown of tribal economy. The Europeans brought a system in which exchange is carried out and values adjusted by means of prices. Money plays an important part in European economy. At the same time the spread of European rule deprived the chiefs of many of their functions. The rights of dispensing justice were limited and so was the amount of land. The communal solidarity which is the key to the traditional Bantu methods of making and sharing wealth was lessened. Ties of relationship and respect for elders became less binding.

Bryant (1949:184) remarks quite pertinently:

"One of the greatest calamities that ever befell the Zulu people was the break-up of its home life by European industries and governments."

This has affected the upbringing of children and resulted in lack of authority and discipline in Zulu society. People started to act as they pleased and no one cared.

2.4.4 The Religious System

Junod (1938:125) defines religion as follows:

"Religion is the manifestation of the best in human thought in the sense that it tries to relate human life to God or to higher spirits."

Religion differs from magic in that religion exists only when there is a feeling of dependence or subordination, an act of prayer and propitiation to a force or forces being really conceived as also having a personal nature. As long as this force is mana a vague and impersonal force directing the world there is magic argues Junod (1938).

Whitehead (1927:6) gives a simple definition of religion:

"Religion is what the individual does with his own solitariness."

Idowu (1973:190) expounds on religion:

"Religion is essentially a matter of reciprocal relationship in which man depends upon Deity for the fulfilment of personal, basic needs ... with the belief that the transcendental Being on whom he depends, is capable of fulfilling those needs.

Religion implies trust, dependence and submission".

Magic is an attempt on the part of man to tap and control the supernatural resources of the universe for his own benefit. Magic serves man's egocentricity and is for him a short cut to spiritual bliss according to Idowu (1973).

Bantu religion presents two very different aspects. Firstly, the Bantu worship their ancestors and secondly they all have the idea of God. The Zulus, too, share the same ideas about religion. Mbiti (1975:10) describes the nature of African religion as follows:

"African religion can be seen in five parts:

- beliefs concerned with God, spirits, human life, magic and the hereafter.
- Practice, ceremonies and festivals.
- Religious objects and places.
- Values and morals.
- Religious officials or leaders."

Callaway (1970) divides the religious system of the AmaZulu into four aspects, namely:

- UNkulunkulu; or the tradition of Creation.
- *Amatonga (amathongo); or Ancestor worship.*
- Izinyanga Zokubhula; or Divination.
- Abatakato (abathakathi); or Medical magic and witchcraft.

Sundkler (1961) describes the religion of the Zulus as comprising the idea of the High God, the ancestors and magic.

Smith (1950:21-22) summarises the African ideas about God as follows:

He has personality and a personal name.

He has a life but is not human.

He is the Creator of all things.

He is the ultimate power and authority behind the world and all life.

He is worshipped i.e. men offer prayers and sacrifices to him.

He is regarded as a Judge.

Finally the High God may be regarded as tribal or national; and may not be alone, but have co-equals or subordinates; that is to say, he may not be the God of a strict monotheism.

The Zulus refer to their high God by different names: uNkulunkulu, a term which together with the Xhosa name Thixo has been taken over by the Christian churches as the name for God. UMvelinqangi (the one who emerged first) and uHlanga (bed of reeds) are terms used by traditional Zulus when referring to this high god. A lesser deity is Inkosazana or Nomkhubulwana, a personification of Spring, the Zulu Ceres.

ANCESTORS

Most writers on Zulu culture believe that the actual religion of the Zulus lies in their ancestor-worship. The spirits of the departed (amadlozi) become the guardian spirits of their

descendants. Vaguely localised at the grave or the kraal or in some subterranean abode (abaphansi) the spirit wields great influence over his people.

The spirit is believed to look after the well-being of the living in all respects. Illness, misfortune or death in the kraal are sure signs that he regards himself as being neglected. The spirit, therefore, must be appeased by various means, especially by sacrifices in order to restore health, happiness and harmony in the kraal and among his kinsmen.

Schapera and Eiselen (1946) regard ancestor worship as based upon the belief that man or rather part of him survives after death. A person consists of two separable entities: his mortal body and his immortal soul. When a man dies he continues to influence the lives of his relatives remaining on earth. The spirits of the dead are willing as ever to help those of their lineage who treat them with respect and obedience. As long as the moral code is strictly followed, they confer blessings and abundance, but if offended by any breach of custom, they can also send drought, cattle plague, tribal or personal disaster, sickness or death. The Bantu fear and honour only those spirits who, during their lifetime held positions of authority. The tribe as a whole acknowledges the chief's ancestors as a source of communal well-being and prosperity.

Communication between the worshippers and their ancestors is generally established through prayer accompanied by an offering or sacrifice. There are certain occasions when the ancestors of the family or tribe must be approached and propitiated. In the family life these include such important events as birth, initiation, marriage, death, the return of members after a long absence or reconciliation of close relatives who have been estranged. Ancestors are also propitiated when they have revealed their displeasure in dreams or when there is a family misfortune; and occasions when some new enterprise is about to be taken or when something great has been achieved or completed.

Hammond-Tooke (1974) mentions a belief of some Bantu tribes that ancestors sometimes appear in the form of animals. The Zulus associate snakes with a visiting spirit (Krige, 1974 and Luthuli, 1977). A chief or village head turns into a black or green mamba. Another characteristic of the spirit-snake is that it moves about the whole hut and fears nothing. Such snakes are not killed.

Mbiti (1975:16) criticises the view that African religion is ancestor worship, superstition, animism or paganism, magic or fetishism.

- Acts of respect for the departed do not amount to worshipping them.

- A superstition is a readiness to believe and fear something without proper grounds.

- Paganism or pagan is sometimes used as a derogatory word to describe Africans who are not followers of either Christianity or Islam whereas many people in Europe and America who are wholly irreligious are not regarded as pagans.
- Animism means the system of beliefs and practices based on the idea that objects and natural phenomena are inhabited by spirits or souls.
- Magic, witchcraft and sorcery feature much in the traditional life of the African people but their religion is not constructed around magic.
- Fetishism connotes something bad and primitive.

MAGIC

Medicine, magic and religion are closely related in Zulu pagan beliefs. Apart from death from old age and minor illnesses, all deaths and occasions of misfortune are believed to be caused by some external agent with the Bantu. The witch and the sorcerer are individuals who use their powers and forces to harm other people (Hammond-Tooke, 1974).

Parrinder (1954:103-107) gives a list of traditional healers in African society:

- A diviner or soothsayer is a specialist who seeks to diagnose a disease or discover the solution to problems by means of inspiration or manipulation of objects through various techniques.
- A herbalist or 'Medicine-man' has the widest knowledge of the curative properties of herbs, plants, bark and roots.
- A witch-doctor is a doctor of those who have been bewitched.

There is co-operation between the diviner and the herbalist to get treatment against lurking dangers and destruction brought about by ubuthakathi in all its forms of witchcraft and sorcery. Medicine of the inyanga (herbalist) strengthen the patient against malignant influences or are supposed to cure him if he has already fallen prey to them (Sundkler, 1961).

Religion played a very important part in the social organisation of the Zulus. The Zulus respected the authority of the kraalhead, the authority of the headman and the authority of the chief and king. Besides the living, the Zulus had great respect for God (UMvelinqangi) and also their ancestors whom they were unable to see. Their daily life was controlled by the living and the dead.

The elderly people in the village were greatly respected because they could worship for the tribe (Dreyer, 1980). When the white man's religion came it was said that everyone is equal before God.

A person could pray individually to God. The elderly males who were priests in the community lost their authority and respect. There was disruption of good traditional life.

2.5 CONCLUSION

The social, economic, religious and political organisations of the Zulus maintained authority and discipline. As a result, the education of the children was facilitated. The child was actually forced by customs, tradition and societal ways to conform and take an active part in his own development.

The basis of the social organisation of the Zulus was the family (umuzi) under the authority of the kraalhead. The family was part of a larger unit, the tribe, under the authority of the hereditary chief. This led to everyone being completely submissive to those in authority or higher in rank. The Zulus respected the living as well as the dead.

The Zulus had a classificatory system of kinship and as a result the Zulu child had many fathers and mothers who were respected and also had the right to reprimand or punish the child. Adults intervened in the life of the child to bring about changes and these efforts were guided by a definite scale of values and norms.

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CHAPTER 3

THE EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCE OF WESTERN CULTURE ON THE ZULUS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

When reference is made to 'Western Culture' in this study it shall mean the culture of the peoples in countries of Western Europe and America. These people are the Whites who came to settle in Africa and influenced the life of the peoples of Africa in many ways. They brought with them their material and non-material creations which were adopted by the original inhabitants of Africa. Western culture was superior in many ways and this led to the bearer of this culture (Western) to look down upon African culture. At the same time the Africans accepted everything that was Western as good and despised their own. This led to a conflict between the Africans themselves as their 'brothers' who had accepted the Western ways of living thought themselves better than their 'brothers' who were still in the shackles of indigenous African culture.

The Zulus, who are the subject of this study, are one of the main African speaking peoples of South Africa who are distributed throughout, yet concentrated mainly in Natal and Kwa-Zulu. Bryant (1949) contends that the Zulus emerged from a very small insignificant tribe after its founder "Zulu". From this small tribe, the Zulus became a fierce nation of warriors under King Shaka.

Bird (1965) maintains that before the 17th century the Zulu people were living in relative isolation and their culture was not yet influenced by other cultures. However, with the coming of the Portuguese Navigators, the Dutch East India crews, the shipwrecked mariners, all on the coast of Natal, the Zulus began to make contact with the various European cultures. According to Dreyer (1980:107).

"The education of the Zulus was strictly enculturation of the traditional set of habits, attitudes and behavioural codes resulting mainly in the conforming of the individual to the unquestioned ways of the clan."

Duminy (1973) adds that indigenous African education was a system of preparing the child in order to make him fit to carry on the traditions of the community of which he was a member.

The settlement of the Whites in Africa was the result of exploration and trading activities, argues Fafunwa (1982).

Lubbe (1969:1) reports that:

"Missionaries, representing a large number of churches and religious societies began to labour among the Bantu with the primary aim of conversion."

These missionaries were all whites. When they settled in Africa they had a problem of communication with the Africans. The missionaries experienced difficulty in converting the Africans to

Christianity as they could not understand each other and the Africans could not read the Bible.

It became necessary that the Africans should understand the language of the Whites. Schools were therefore established by the missionaries and their curriculum consisted mainly of reading, writing and arithmetic. English as well as religious education was included among the subjects in the school curriculum. English as a medium of instruction and as also a sign of an educated African, became a prominent feature in Black education.

Sooner or later the quality of a school educated Black became judged by his proficiency in English speaking. Consequently pertinent grammatical exercises, sentence construction, vocabulary and many intricate language components were stressed. English literature, with English or European background history and culture as well as way of life infiltrated schools. In this way certain new behaviour patterns infiltrated the life styles of Blacks their behaviours and even their philosophy of life. Various expressions and attitudes towards life became apparent. Even the discipline and respect shifted from the traditional Black to an English speaking Black with all the other attendant problems of discipline and authority. In short, the missionaries through their "new education" brought up a lot of confusion which is still prevalent to this day, as evidenced in schools.

Pauw (1973:27) points out that:

"Among the Bantu in general, a new social fabric started emerging which became more and more akin to the Western way of living of the Whites in South Africa than to the traditional Bantu culture".

Rose (1970:47) testifies that:

"The attitudes of the Bantu under European influence are becoming more materialistic."

Though this is also true of the Zulu people, this is not to deny the persistence and continuity of traditional cultural values. The Zulus still respect authority although some of them, especially the young, have different opinions about authority. Some believe respect for authority is a form of submission to oppression and are totally against the whole structure as it obtains in South Africa.

According to Luthuli (1981) the life of Black communities changed completely as a result of the coming together of the White culture and the traditional ways of life. Because of the white people who came to South Africa were representatives of Western culture bringing different languages, economy, religion, political systems and different patterns of living, this meant that an entirely new culture was introduced in South Africa. With the advanced technological skills which were manifest in weapons, in medicine, and above all, in education, the Zulus were to adopt many of the western ways. Adulthood, became something quite

different from what it was under traditional conditions (Luthuli, 1981).

The whites exchanged kraal economy for money economy and formal education instead of enculturation or socialisation. The money became 'the root of evil'. It divided the people according to class: the rich and the poor. Whereas it was the kraalhead that wielded authority in the family, it meant that other inmates in the kraal could work for money and become richer. People became tempted to do anything when the reward was money. This led to the decay of the morals of society. Money started to rule the whole society. A person would say; "Ngizokushaya ngikuhlawule" (I will hit you and pay the fine). Money had devastating effects on honesty, trust, discipline and authority.

Molema (1920) remarks that the spread of Western culture over South Africa has affected the Bantu in many ways. Among the most readily observable is the differentiation of the people into new social classes. Some of these are economic, others religious, others political.

Kallaway (1984:49) adds:

"Part of the effect of the emergence of this early schooling was, indeed, the emergence of a new 'elite' which was from the start, potentially at odds with the traditional tribal leadership. With their acquired knowledge they represented a threat to the traditional authorities and even a possible challenge to their leadership."

This resulted in individualism. Children of elites looked down upon other children, thus discipline was no more a group concept. When the child was wrong it could no more be punished by anybody else because of this eliticism which adopted individualism.

The formal education that came along with Western culture brought in many advantages to the Zulus but it disturbed their social system. Dreyer (1980:16) insists:

"The traditional Zulu was a social and community-oriented person.

A feeling of solidarity existed in the community so that most of the duties in the community were performed by the community as a whole.

Likewise the upbringing and socialisation of the child was the responsibility of every adult in that community."

The children who went to school, as a result of the introduction of formal education, started to disobey their parents and despise anything that was traditional. In fact, in some cases, they respected their teachers at school better than their parents at home. On the other hand, the pressure of formal education was so strong that some parents had to abdicate their responsibilities in the upbringing and socialisation of their children with the hope that the school was in a better position to execute these duties (Dreyer, 1980).

It was common to get a remark from a parent whose child had done wrong: "Ufundiswani esikoleni?" (What are you being taught at

school?). The school is there for teaching good to the children. If a teacher happens to visit a home after school, the scholars in that home would run away and hide themselves until the teacher has left.

The authority and discipline in the home deteriorated in favour of school discipline. There was a break in communication, for the child found himself between two 'worlds'. It was traditional education on one hand and formal education on the other. Formal education at school criticised and discouraged participation in anything that was traditional.

The traditional education which Vilakazi (1962:128) calls "inkuliso" aimed at bringing the child to accept and live by the values of its society; to accept its law, its religion, its tradition and all its cultural heritage.

Adulthood according to the Zulu philosophy of life, meant to be fully grown-up and respect all the aspects of humanity (ubuntu). Adulthood according to formal education became something quite different. It was what Good (1959) and Price (1962) called "social competence" and "optimum individual development". Redden and Ryan (1955) (adapted) have the idea that adulthood is the harmonious becoming of all the potentialities of the human being, viz., physical, social, intellectual, moral, aesthetic and

spiritual. These potentialities should be developed and directed towards the union of the educand with his Creator as the final end.

The child was bound up by cultural traditions on one hand and Western education on the other hand. When discussing "the Teaching Profession and the Political Process", Thembele (1985) mentions the fact that besides the Nationalistic Conservative ideology, there is also the "liberalistic ideology" and "emancipatory socialism". These are lofty ideas which encourage critical thinking as against unquestionable submission. Dreyer (1980:24) states:

"Among the young ones (Zulus) developed an attitude of being ashamed of their "uneducated" and "heathen" parents.

They tended to associate the home with the dull, the backward, the broken and dirty, in contrast with the school which mirrored for the child the community of the future".

There was an educational conflict - which conflict led to very many problems. One of the problems was breakage in authority and discipline with all the consequences.

Factors like industrialisation disturbed the family life of the Zulus. The discovery of gold and diamonds in South Africa worsened the situation as men had to leave their families in the rural areas under chiefs and headmen and go to work in the gold and diamond fields. It also became necessary to find accommodation near the places of work. Some families had to move

away from their birth place to some other place near the mines. Towns and cities grew up and the life of the people changed completely.

As the cost of living escalated, it became necessary for both parents to seek employment somewhere in order to make ends meet. The family was no longer entirely dependent on agricultural and pastoral farming. People were working for wages in the form of money. The education of the children suffered. All this caused a marked increase of the unruly, even delinquent behaviour in young people (Van der Vliet, 1974).

The authority of the father who was most of the time away from home, working somewhere, diminished. The position of the mother improved and sometimes overtook that of the father in respect of commanding authority. The mother was no longer working in the kitchen but employed somewhere at a salary sometimes higher than that of the husband.

The whites came with the idea of worshipping the Almighty individually, whereas with the Zulus it was the elders in the family that had the power of contact with the ancestors. They were respected because they worshipped for the family. After the influence of Western culture, the authority and respect for elders decreased. The females could also go to church and pray. The idea of God was not very strange to the Zulus as they knew of the presence of UMvelinqangi, the Creator of all things.

The belief that the Zulu community consists of the living and the dead had good and regulatory influences on the people's actions. If you did good, the ancestors become happy and give you abundantly. If you do bad they will be angry and punish you. People led a peaceful life and marriages lasted long, till death. Except for the fact that the Zulus believed that diseases, misfortune, death, etc. were caused by witchcraft, Zulu religion was just like any other religion. The Zulus believed in "personal supernaturalism". Loram (1927:74) confirms:

"Missionaries have branded as 'sins' such practices as smoking and snuff-taking and the Native is perplexed when he finds decent white men and sometimes even clergymen, indulging in these 'sins'. Their greatest mistake, however, was in breaking down all the organisations and customs of the Native people without waiting to discriminate between the good and the bad.

Had they studied Native life, they would have found some good qualities which would have served as a basis for the superstructure of Christianity and European Civilisation. As it was, they often destroyed what they were not able to rebuild and left many of the Natives in a worse state than they were before."

Western culture had a profound educative influence on the peoples of Africa who were primitive.

3.2 THE SPREAD OF WESTERN CULTURE TO AFRICA

3.2.1 The Voyages of Discovery and Trading

The English and the French had the lion's share in the "scramble for Africa" in the 1880's according to Fafunwa (1982). They

established colonies in Africa and 'Anglicised' and 'Frenchified' the Africans.

The Dutch East India Company started a permanent settlement at the Cape when Jan van Riebeeck arrived with a fleet of three ships and a hundred men to build and garrison a fort on the shore of Table Bay. Jan van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape on the 6th April 1652.

The Hottentots who had been friendly with the crews of passing ships, started to attack them. Loram (1927) records that from this so-called 'war of 1659' until the present day, the history of South Africa has largely been a matter of race conflict.

Brookes (1965) states that the ships of Vasco da Gama, sailing from Portugal to India, sighted land on Christmas Day 1497. They called the land, 'Natal' in honour of the birthday of Our Lord.

Hattersley, as stated in Brookes, points out that nearly 5000 immigrants entered into Natal between the 1st January 1849 and the 28th of June 1852. Selby records these migrations into Natal and refers, to foreign settlers as 'Shakas Heirs'. These were whites who had come to settle permanently in Natal. Their search for farming land made them explore the interior of Natal. They carried with them their cultural products, their language and behaviour patterns which were foreign to the Zulus. Some of their cultural products were bartered for cattle. Thus a contact with the Zulus was established and acculturation began to take place.

Some settled down and established towns of Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Richmond, Howick and Verulam. These settlements in Natal gave the Zulus the opportunity of meeting the whites and as a result radical changes were brought in the Zulu way of life. The Zulus realised that the guns which the whites carried were better instruments of warfare than knobkerries, assegais and shields.

The clothing that the whites wore was more hygienic. Even the food of the whites was more palatable and appetising. Some of the Zulus who were employed as servants, learned the language of their masters. They were given English names as most of the whites who settled in Natal were English. It became an honour to work in the white settlements as "garden-boys" or "kitchen-maids" because there was money and good food.

People had to abandon their homes and go to search for work in the white settlements. The chiefs lost many of their tribesmen and their authority and discipline was affected. The whites took more land for grazing purposes and the herds of the chiefs were decreased. There were sometimes wars as a result of land disputes but in the end the Zulus were defeated by the English. The traditional political system of the Zulus was allowed to function but the authority of the chiefs and headmen was greatly dwindled and limited. The relationship of 'Master-servant' between the conqueror and the conquered obtained.

3.2.2 The Missionaries

Formal education of the Africans was started by foreign missions who wanted to propagate the gospel of Christ. It was believed that Africa was 'dark' and had no religion.

Behr and Macmillan (1966) describe the position in Natal where the Zulus came into contact with the whites. Captain Allen Gardiner came to South Africa as a freelance missionary in 1835. He started his first school for Bantu on the Berea Hills overlooking the bay of Durban. He was soon followed by other missionaries like Bishop Colenso who made an indelible imprint upon the educational system of the Bantu.

A policy that aimed at preserving the racial and tribal characteristics of the Native races, was followed in Natal. In order to give expression to this policy mission reserves were lands granted to various missionary societies to be kept in trust for Bantu and with the object of promoting missionary activities among the Bantu.

Omer-Cooper notes that in 1836, three American Missionaries and an English missionary began to work among the Zulus. Earlier on, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions commissioned six missionaries and their wives for service in Africa. Of these six, Adams, Champion and Grout were to work among the Zulus (Brookes, 1965:27-28). Grout finally settled at UMvoti Mission Reserve, Adams became the founder of Adams Mission

Station. Lindley became famous with the Voortrekkers though later he took up work with the Zulu people and lived and laboured among them at Inanda until his retirement in 1873. (Brookes, 1965: 17-28).

The Zulus who happened to be in these Mission Stations and those who attended schools established, became educated and christianised. As a result, the gospel of Christ and education spread to many parts of Natal. Indigenous African education was gradually replaced by formal education.

The settling of missionaries in Natal divided the land and the people into two classes: There were mission reserves, where the missionaries had the exclusive right of carrying on mission work thereon. The bulk of the land still belonged to the tribe under chiefs and headmen. The missionaries started formal education in the reserves whereas the whole tribe still practised indigenous African education. The missionaries started to propagate while the entire Zulu tribe still adopted the traditional religion. The division in the social organisation of the Zulus was so serious that it affected loyalty to kraalheads, headmen and chiefs. The authority of these traditional rulers was at stake. Some of the Zulus became 'exempted' from Native law and the whites encouraged this. In the field of religion the position was even worse. The Zulus who practised traditional religion were taken to be heathens by Christianised Zulus and Missionaries.

The education of the children which was, in the past, a community undertaking, became specialised in schools.

3.3 THE SCHOOL SYSTEM AND FORMAL EDUCATION

3.3.1 The School System

Cemane (1987) in his doctoral thesis remarks that the word 'school' has today become a household word among the illiterate and among the most literate societies. This word has become symbolic of the new way of life among the Blacks in South Africa. It raises hopes for the better future among both old and young. Krige (1974) does mention 'initiation schools' in the social system of the Zulus but these schools were quite different from the schools that were established in South Africa during the spread of Western culture.

Before coming to definitions of the concept "school" we shall cite a few philosophies of schooling. Thompson (1981) gives the three basic philosophies of schooling. The first is essentially conservative in that it regards the main function of the school as being to reflect the society it serves and to convey to rising generations the accumulated values and wisdom of that society - a socialising function not dissimilar to that of traditional patterns of informal education. The second is innovative in that it sees the school as an instrument for purposively initiating, controlling and directing change in society. And the third may be

regarded as liberative, concerned with freeing individuals from their cultural and intellectual blinkers, enabling them to think logically and independently.

Bock and Papagiannis (1973) describe schooling as one instance of the institutionalised arrangements that characterise the educational process. Schools are formal organisations with very specific features. This form of education is characterised by and limited to those processes of teaching and learning carried on at specific times in places outside the home, for definite periods and by persons specifically prepared or trained for the task.

It is education that organises its consumers by age-grading, grants certificates and degrees and frequently requires compulsory attendance by pupils. This definition does not state exactly what is being taught and what is learned at school. It only describes schooling.

Carter (1959:512) in his Dictionary of Education defines the 'school' as "An organised group of pupils pursuing defined studies at defined levels and receiving instruction from one or more teachers frequently with the addition of other employees and offices houses in a single building or group of buildings.

Stone (1981:31) maintains that schools:

- are social structures for the accelerated, planned and organised development (unfolding) of the pupil by means of tuition.
- are guided by professionally trained educators who, like the pupils, form part of the school structure.
- function on the basis of relevant culture.
- are linked to other spheres of life such as families, churches, the state, etc.
- are guided by certain distinguishable basic religious motives.

Schwartz, James Audrey (1975) describes schools as deliberately planned social systems created primarily to attain the collectively held goal of socialising the young. Van der Stoep and Van der Stoep (1973) describe a school as a place where the adult can provide answers in a purposeful and systematic way to the questions about the meaning of everything in the living world which is revealed to the child. The school is created by the adult with the direct aim of helping the non-adult to accomplish his journey to adulthood.

Van Vuuren, J.C.S. (ed.) (1976) describe the school as an institution for providing the immature child with the necessary

education to become a fully matured member of the civilisation to which he belongs.

Fowler and Fowler (1966:734) conclude that a school is an institution for educating boys and girls. Its buildings, any of its teaching rooms, its pupils, its staff, the subjects and the curriculum are all included in the term "school".

In all the above definitions of the concept 'school' the following conclusion is reached: Schools are deliberately planned formal organisations with the following features:

- educating human beings to adulthood.
- transmission of culture.
- socialising the young.
- teachers, pupils and subject matter.
- teaching and learning institution.
- division of labour.
- hierarchical structure of authority.
- a set of explicit rules.
- a system of evaluation (certificates and degrees).
- time structure (compulsory attendance).
- age grading.

Van Schalwyk (1982:186) gives an examples of the following educational institutions or schools:

- The Creche for pupils less than 3 years old.
- The Pre-Primary School (3-6 year olds).

- The Primary School (6-12 year olds).
- The Secondary School with the following courses.
- Technical Course - Mathematics, Technical Drawing.
- Commercial Course - Economics, Commerce and Typing.
- Agricultural Course - Agricultural Science.
- Natural Science Course - Mathematics, Physics and Biology.
- Humanities Course - Languages, History and Biblical Studies.
- Arts Course - Music, Ballet, Fine Arts.
- Home Economics - Housecraft, Needlework and Dressmaking.
- Practical Course - Specific Vocation.
- Special Schools for highly gifted and handicapped.
- Tertiary Institutions with the following division:
 - Colleges of Education, Nursing, etc.
 - Private (correspondence) colleges.
 - Professional Institutes.
 - In-Service Training Colleges.
 - Technikons, technical colleges.
 - Universities.

The above branches of schools are found mainly in white education in South Africa. The Blacks who struggle to make the grade are still a drop in the ocean. They have many handicaps to contend with. Black education is planned by whites and the per capita expenditure on black education is still lower than in other racial groups. There are a few qualified teachers to offer courses to prospective students. Mr J.E. Ndlovu, the former Secretary of Education and Culture in KwaZulu use to comment as follows:

"Black education in South Africa is short of everything, except pupils".

The introduction of the school system has been responsible for changes in the lives of many blacks in South Africa. The task of educating children shifted from the parents and the community to the teacher at school.

3.3.2 Formal Education

According to Duminy and Steyn (1983:16):

"Formal education is a planned and systematic way of leading the child in the acquisition of skills, knowledge and attitudes which he himself, his parents, his society and God want him to acquire. This organised form of education occurs in:

- pre-primary, primary and secondary schools.
- art, ballet, music, technical, commercial and special schools.
- colleges.
- technikons.
- universities.

The aims, methods, content and aids used by each course at formal educational institutions are carefully designed to supplement the informal education the child has received and so to prepare him for the adult reality which lies ahead of him."

Luthuli (1981) elaborates on formal education and points out that an artificial situation is organised in which children are deliberately brought together with the aim of teaching them

certain knowledge and skills by suitably qualified persons. Formal education aims at the attainment of certain pre-established objectives as milestones on the child's way to adulthood, an adulthood defined in terms of the philosophy of life of the people.

Thembele (1986) argues that when we talk about education (formal) we are actually talking about a highly complex system of interrelationships of the following elements:

- the pupils.
- the teachers.
- the content of education.
- the procedures, structures and management of education including the provision of finances and facilities.
- but above all, it is the creation of a macro socio-political climate to provide the context within which the right micro atmosphere can be established in schools and communities that will enable education to take place.

It stands to reason that the above elements of formal or school education must meet somewhere so that effective education takes place. The formal structure where the elements meet is a school and the school involves people and buildings. Above all, the content of education must be taught to the pupils.

In all the above definitions of formal education or schooling, the following factors come out clearly:

- that formal education is intended to provide theoretical and abstract knowledge and skills a pupil will need for negotiating in this world.
- that formal education relies heavily on experience derived from the teacher or the book.
- that formal education requires full-time attendance over long periods of time, at a particular place.
- that formal education motivates the pupils to achieve something.
- that formal education is normally available to the young.

Formal education takes place at schools which were started by missionaries. There were no schools in the pre-contact phase and education was part of the daily life of the Africans. Children learnt about their culture and work from older members of society. Some of the tasks were learnt by doing. People learned about their history through the songs, poems and stories that were passed on orally. Formal education changed the philosophy of life of the Zulus as adulthood now became something totally different from what it originally used to be.

Missionaries did a lot of good work in South Africa. Hirji (1980: 195) remarks:

"The initial years were mostly spent in building a church, a school and residential houses for the European priests. The African Christians and their families lived in areas not very far from the mission and regularly came to participate in the various activities.

They did the construction work and cleared the surrounding areas for farming. Gradually a complex emerged in which activities like construction, agriculture evangelical work, literacy training and nursing sick patients were carried on. Besides the missionaries also visited nearby villages to extend invitations to chiefs to come to the mission."

However, some of the activities of the missionaries were similar to those of the merchants and magistrates. Cook (1949:348) exposes:

"The missionary came to South Africa to preach the gospel and to dispel the darkness of the heathen. But he taught elements of the same culture to which the trader, the magistrate and the farmer belong."

Trapido (1980:250) adds:

"There are close connections between the magistrate, missionary, school master and teacher in furthering the aims of the colonial government: to establish and maintain peace, to diffuse civilisation and christianity, and to establish society on the basis of individual property and personal industry."

Missionaries had certain ideas about the way of life that 'civilised' people should lead. They had the whole set of Western

attitudes and values and the African was taught away from his culture. They decided what was best for the African to learn.

3.3.3 The History of Black Education in South Africa

Luthuli (1977) divides Black education in South Africa into four phases. The first is the missionary phase, the second is the provisional phase, while the third is the Central Government phase. The last phase is the phase of decentralisation during which the national and independent states took over the control of their education.

During the missionary phase Blacks were christianised and educated in church schools. In the provisional phase the Department of Native Affairs took over the control and supplied the funds. Education was controlled by various provincial administrations. The councillors in all the education departments were white. Lubbe (1969) records that in 1910 the Union of South Africa came into being. Bantu schools were entrusted to the various provincial administrations for administrative purposes. In the Transvaal a State school was established in 1908 and the Natal Provincial Administration began to provide schools eleven years later. In 1920 free primary education for the Bantu was introduced in the Cape Province together with a 50% subsidy for books and equipment.

Until 1946 the financing of Bantu Education was the responsibility of the Minister of Bantu Affairs, but in that year it was

transferred to the Minister of Education. During this period most schools were primary schools which followed syllabuses that did not fully accord with the cultural background of the Bantu. As a result, the education of the Bantu pupils was often out of harmony with their particular needs.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF BLACK EDUCATION

Behr (1966) reports that in 1948 the Nationalist Government was elected in South Africa and began at once to implement its policy of separate development. In January 1949, the newly elected Government appointed a commission on Native Education under the Chairmanship of Dr W.W. Eiselen. This commission brought out its report in 1951 (U.G. 53 - 1951). It was one of the most important and controversial documents on education ever to be produced in South Africa. The report was discussed at length in Parliament and gave rise to the Bantu Education Act, Act No.47 of 1953.

In 1954 the Control of Bantu Education was transferred from the provincial administration to the Department of Native Affairs of the Central Government. Missionaries were given the option of transferring the control of their schools to the State or of retaining such control but without any financial help from the state. However, all private schools were to be registered with the Department of Bantu Education and subject to inspection by its officials.

The Department of Education was under the control of one Minister and one deputy minister. The principal figure was the Secretary. These were all white officials.

To involve Blacks in their education, the Government established school boards, committee boards and school committees. The function of these bodies was to establish, maintain and control community schools. They were also to liaise between the parents and the school. The most powerful figure was the Secretary of the School Board, a permanent, salaried official who made recommendations to the Department of Education with regard to employment, administration and control of teachers in his area.

HOMELANDS/NATIONAL STATES CONTROL OF EDUCATION

Luthuli (1977) states that after 1972 many homelands or National States took over partial management of their education. A Department of Education and Culture was established in each of these national states. This Department is headed by a black Minister of Education. Curricular, syllabi, funding, examinations of higher classes e.g. Standard 10 is controlled by Pretoria.

Kallaway (1984) reports that the first school specifically for Africans in South Africa was established near what later became known as King William's Town. The first school in the Orange Free State was founded in 1823 and the first ones in Natal and what became the Transvaal in 1835 and 1842 respectively.

It is interesting to note that from the time of missionary schools up to the present day the philosophy of the Blacks and their idea of adulthood has been neglected.

3.4 THE INFLUENCE OF WESTERN CULTURE ON THE ZULUS IN RESPECT OF:

3.4.1 The Kinship System

The solidarity of the kinship group was greatly influenced by industrial development and the impact of school education.

Dreyer (1980, p.23) points out:

"Employment in the western industrial sector took a large percentage of fathers away from their rural homes for long periods of time. The young ones, all of a sudden, found themselves without the strong, authoritative father-figure".

The long absences from home caused many fathers to accept less and less responsibility for their families and thus to lose control over the young ones. The young began openly to flout the authority of the women and the elderly who remained the main source of discipline in the rural areas.

In the traditional Zulu society there was one kraalhead with his family which was either monogamous or polygamous. As a result of industrialisation, a number of families have come into being e.g.:

- the family which still lives in rural areas with husband, wife and children undisturbed by distant employment.

- the family where the husband is housed by the employer on the employer's premises with the wife and children living in rural areas.
- the family which lives in a township house provided by the local municipal authorities.

The husband and wife live together according to Longmore (1959: 15)

Longmore gives an example of another family which, he argues, represents the result of inadequate and precarious wages which make matrimony increasingly unfeasible. What follows is a loose or casual relationship between man and woman which keeps adding to the ever-increasing flood of illegitimate children.

The Zulu families housed in townships or locations are in close contact with the white man. Usually the father and the mother are employed and the children are sent to school. The parents leave the home very early for work and come back home very late for supper. The control of children is left in the hands of the servants. Usually there is a break in discipline and authority between the parents at home and the children. Children who loiter in the streets after school easily become victim to deviant behaviour.

As a result of acculturation the standard of living of the Zulu family has gone up. Factors such as food, clothes and furniture

in a modern Zulu family compare favourably with any other family be it white or yellow.

According to Fowler and Smit (undated) the development of gold and coal mining industry demanded skilled Bantu labour. The changed economic conditions compelled the Bantu to work. Fowler and Smit conclude that the direct periodic contacts with Western civilisation by the Bantu labourers and indirectly by their families are gradually changing the attitudes of the Bantu towards tribal customs.

Sundkler (1964) reports that the Zulus are forced to practice monogamy and marry according to Christian rites as a result of the influence of western culture. Christianity is against polygamy and the cost of living is such that it is uneconomical to support more than one family. If one is a businessman or when the wives can support themselves, the husband could be a 'floating' member of the polygamous family.

There are very few Zulus who still practice polygamy in the rural areas and who are married by customary union. What is noted is that although ilobolo is still practised, negotiations and festivities in marriage, the divorce rate is increasing. That solidarity in marriage is fast diminishing. The days when the husbands would go away for six months to work in the mines and come back home and find their families 'unshaken' by the absence are past. Broken homes and illegitimate children who become

delinquents are on the increase. The relative independence of the family led to individualism.

3.4.2 The Political System

The Zulu king was seen as the supreme guardian of the rights of the people. The chiefs and indunas (headman) controlled the people. The chieftainship structure was allowed to function even during the British rule in Natal.

The distortion of the chief's position began with the 1878 code of Native Law administered in Natal, reports (Daphne, 1982). The Queen's representative at the head of the Natal Government was declared the Supreme chief of the natives and had absolute legislative authority over them. The power to appoint and to remove chiefs was taken out of the hands of the people although in fact the system of hereditary succession was allowed to operate provided it did not challenge the colonial government. Under the 1967 Natal code of Bantu Law the State President is designated as Supreme chief with Bantu Affairs Commissioners and other appointed officials in immediate authority over chiefs. The chiefs were then salaried by the government and also subject to dismissal by the same government. Legislation governing the functions of chiefs does not require them to consult their people when taking important decisions - at best the chief is supposed to consult his councillors who are all his own appointees.

The authority of chiefs was greatly reduced during white rule in Natal. The position is still the same even today.

The chief was the 'father' of the entire tribe with economic, political and religious rights and duties in traditional Zulu society. The allegiance and loyalty to a chief was greatly influenced by the spread of Western culture. The tribesmen became educated and Christianised. They then challenged the authority of the chief and in many instances the chief was found wanting. He was sticking to the old traditions which were criticised by the missionaries.

The size of the tribe of the chief was greatly reduced as a result of the fact that some of the tribesmen left their rural areas and went to work in urban areas.

The traditional political system of the Zulus still operates in the rural areas although the powers of the chiefs have been greatly reduced. They can try minor cases of theft, misconduct etc. but serious cases are sent to the magistrate of the district.

The KwaZulu Government has been established with the headquarters at Ulundi and there is the Chief Minister with his Cabinet. The Zulu King is stationed at Nongoma. However, KwaZulu is not a fully independent State like the Transkei and Bophuthatswana. It is still part of the Republic of South Africa.

3.4.3 The Economic System

Vilakazi (1962:111) explains that "the Zulus practised kraal economy". All property, whether in land or in cattle is within the umuzi which may be regarded as one body of individuals who share in the use and enjoyment of the products of the property so corporately held. The powers of control of property are vested in the kraalhead who acts as a trustee for the whole group.

The economic system of the Zulus was greatly changed as a result of the influence of Western culture. Radel (1956:18) remarks:

"Western economy which is characterised by such features as the motive for acquisition, progressive dynamics, individualism, considerable differentiation and individual control brought about enormous changes in the economic life of the Zulus."

Luthuli (1977) elaborates that money economy has completely replaced the traditional subsistence or kraal economy. The change has been so great that today the Zulus are involved in all areas of the South African industrial, commercial and banking economy. The western profit motive in economy has led the Zulus into skilled, semi-skilled and professional positions throughout the Republic of South Africa. These westerners who came to settle in South Africa looked for more land and the inherent profit motive in their economy led to the exploration and mining of gold and the exploitation of many other mineral resources in the country.

The role of the Zulu adult in society is a vastly different one from that of the indigenous African man whose personal life was dissolved in collective activity. The adult member of society today has a definite role to play in industry and his aim is profit as he is individually responsible for his family.

The socialisation and enculturation of the young was no longer done in the home effectively as the parents were out working in towns. The school took over the duties of the home and the education at school was quite different from that at home. It subjected students to critical thinking.

The influence of western culture has brought the breakdown of tribal economy in many ways. Bryant (1949) regrets the breakdown of the traditional Zulu way of life. Today, money is used as an exchange commodity in Western trading centres. Clothing, food, housing and other basic needs are dependent on the person's ability to earn money. The money economy has divided the people into the rich and poor. The rich have plenty and surplus of amenities. This is not to deny the fact that there were also rich and poor Zulus prior to the influence of Western culture. The poor were always covered by the 'ukusisa' custom whereby cattle were given on loan to the poor.

Another disadvantage brought about by Western culture and the money economy was that the rich became more and more individualistic. Money made them independent. It was now only the rich and the educated that became authority figures and were

respected. It was the car, the house, the attire and the money saved that determined the status of the person.

3.4.4 The Religious System

West (1975) remarks that the new religion brought about by Western culture became characterised by the lack of ritual ceremonies and the absence of the belief in ancestral power. It was the Zulus that were educated that adopted the new Christian religion and some have faith in both (traditional and christian).

The church as an institution grew out of the early efforts of the missionaries to Christianise the Zulus. It was the concrete and visible expression of the identity and solidarity of the new group which soon took upon itself most of the functions which had traditionally belonged to the family, the kinship group and the tribe (Vilakazi, 1962).

The Zulus who had been united in religious activities became divided as a result of the influence of western culture. The missionaries who brought Christianity represented different denominational groups in Christendom e.g. Catholics, Methodists, Congregationalists, etc. and also different national groups e.g. English, Americans, Italians and Germany etc. There was also a sharp and irreconcilable split between Catholics and Protestants. This split and its accompanying prejudices were passed to the African Christians (Vilakazi, 1962).

Sundkler (1964) reports that during the years between 1952 and 1957 certain Separist church groups, particularly the Ethiopian churches, have gained tremendously in stature. This was due to the fact that their leaders were in the forefront of the African struggle against the Government apartheid laws.

Western culture brought about changes in Zulu marriage. A person who accepts Christianity has to observe certain patterns of behaviour both in speech and in action. The 'Hlonipha' custom was greatly modified. Sundkler (1964) also explains that a man marries only one wife as according to Western Christian faith it is a sin to marry more than one wife. Monogamy resulted in the status of the woman being enhanced. The church also prescribed the behaviour patterns of living between the spouses who can only be married by Christian rites. In sickness or death the church prescribed that no Christian should consult a diviner (isangoma) or an African medicine man (inyanga).

3.5 CONCLUSION

The settlement of whites in Africa has affected the culture of the Bantu in many ways. The Zulus in particular were greatly affected by the settling of the whites in Natal. It is said that when two cultures come into contact with one another they influence each other reciprocally. Generally, the culture of less developed people is influenced to a greater extent than the culture of the well-developed people.

The whites from Western Europe were superior in material culture as compared to the Blacks of Africa. This is the reason why the Blacks and in our study, the Zulus, had to adopt many of the Western ways. Today the Zulus, especially those who live in urban areas compare favourably with other racial groups. They have adopted the money economy and compete in industry with other racial groups.

One of the greatest disadvantages of Western culture was the disruption of traditional family life of the Zulus (Bryant, 1949). The Zulus led a simple life of subsistence economy before the influence of Western culture. There was stability in society with the kraalhead and the chief of the tribe vested with authority over the kraal inmates and the tribe respectively. Western culture brought factors like industrialisation and urbanisation which seriously disrupted family life. Husbands had to leave their rural homes in order to work at the towns and cities. Sometimes they had to find accommodation near their places of work. Because of the escalating cost of living both parents had to find employment. The position of the father as the only person vested with authority in the kraal was affected.

The position of the woman improved. She remained at home and commanded respect in the absence of the father or was also employed and salaried. Instead of subordination there was co-operation between the father and the mother.

The education of the children which had been the responsibility of the whole community fell into the school. Van der Vliet (1974) records that the cases of children who gradually became delinquents increased.

Adulthood according to Western culture was something quite different from adulthood in the Zulu philosophy of life. The greatest mistake that was made by the missionaries as Loram (1927) notes, was to associate everything that was traditional as bad. There were many aspects of indigenous African education that were intended to cultivate respect for authority.

When the educational influence on Western culture spread, some problems cropped up. Divorce and broken homes went on the increase. There was unrest such as we have nowadays as a result of unemployment. This has resulted in faction fights in rural areas and 'Black on Black' violence in the townships.

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CHAPTER 4

ATTITUDES OF THE ZULUS TOWARDS AUTHORITY AS A RESULT OF INDIGENOUS AND
WESTERN EDUCATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the old Zulu society there was unquestionable respect for the authority of the kraalhead, the parents, the chief of the tribe and all the elders in the community. The kraalhead exercised authority over all the inmates of his kraal and was even responsible for their misdeeds. The parents looked after the children and the whole community exercised vigilance in the socialisation of the children. The older members of the community took it upon themselves to educate the younger members. As a result there was conformity to the social values and norms.

Bryant (1965:76) exposes:

"A Zulu home in the good old times of so-called savagedom lacked indeed our comforts and conveniences, yet, on the other hand, it was to many so-called civilised homes a very model of discipline and manners. Amidst the crudest of surroundings, the very highest of social virtues flourished, and by their practice, they taught.

Great and salutary and lasting were the lessons there taught and there learned by the developing child."

Discipline and manners were encouraged at a very early stage. Severe punishment was inflicted on those who tried to rebel against the authority of the parents and elders in the community.

The word of the chief was law in the whole tribe. Even amongst the peer groups, there was a code of discipline. The younger girls respected the older ones (amaqhikiza) and the younger boys respected the older ones (izingqwele). In fact in the old Zulu society i.e. in the pre-contact phase, the sexes and people of different ages did not mix. There were no cases as found today where the whole family sits at table and discuss certain issues, face to face.

Attitudes towards authority changed greatly after the influence of Western culture. When the Europeans settled permanently in South Africa, they brought with them their religion, education, administrative *System* and their money economy. The Zulus who had great belief in the existence of the ancestors who were guardian spirits of their whole lives, the wisdom of the old and their dependency on the soil and cattle farming, were greatly shaken.

Some of the Zulus adopted Western culture and *nowadays are* leading a life similar to any other racial group in South Africa. Some *have* become divorced from tribal rule and live permanently in urban locations and their standards of life and outlook are quite different from those of their traditional counterparts. The traditional Zulus are found mostly in the rural areas, the so-called Native Reserves where the authority of the Chief is still exercised.

Schapera (1934:61) remarks pertinently:

"Admittedly European civilisation ... has improved their (Natives of S.A.) material standards of life, it has also given them the benefits of Christianity and education but there is on the other hand a gradual growing disregard for the person and authority of the chief, an increasing revolt against parental control, a threatened breakdown of the family system consequent upon this and upon the greater freedom of sexual relations and a general state of unrest and disturbance."

After the political conquest of South Africa by the Europeans the Zulus seem to have lost faith in everything that was traditional. Instead of the process of transculturation taking place it was more of enculturation as if traditional culture was null and void. This practice was encouraged in the religious institutions and also at the educational centres. The shield and spear were too inferior to the gun.

Indigenous African education suffered a great blow as in many instances it was forcibly uprooted from the minds of the children.

The children who went to school started to look down upon their uneducated parents. The parents too, accepted this state of affairs and delegated some socialisation and disciplinary measures to the school. They expected the school to take a leading part in the education of their children. The children revolved against the authority of their parents and it was the peers that had more say in their lives.

Western culture advocated freedom of movement and action. As a result there was a breakdown in the stringent socialisation of the child. Pre-marital pregnancies, illegitimate births, divorces and broken homes were on the increase.

The parents and teachers ceased to be authoritarian figures and the educand was allowed freedom in education. The function of a teacher as a pedagogue was to lead the child towards adulthood not just to 'pour' information from above.

The moulding of the individual to social conformity was the main quality of indigenous African education. From very early onwards the child was brought up under good discipline and authority of the parents and other elders and community leaders. Describing the indigenous school of the Venda, Stayt (1931) explains that the main content of schooling was the physical hardening, mental discipline and unconditional obedience necessary in the future life as warriors. The children were also taught tribal etiquette and rules of politeness.

Many factors have militated against indigenous African education but in the long run and after centuries of school education it has become evident that there is a vacuum in the present system of education. Akinpelu (1981:115) believes that:

"... education must inculcate and reinforce the traditional African socialist values of equality, co-operativeness and self-reliance. It has to foster the social goals of living together. It must involve the young in the development of their society in which all will share fairly in the good and bad fortune of the group."

4.2 POWER AND AUTHORITY

Power and authority are related concepts. Authority is always associated with power. Power is the ability of forcing other people to submit to one's will even against their wishes. However, authority is accepted and recognised by other members of society.

Parsons (1960) distinguishes between the concepts 'power' and 'authority'. He sees power as the generalised capacity of a social system to get things done in the interest of collected goals. Authority is seen as an institutionalised complex of norms which on a general level define the conditions under which, in the given social structure, acts of others may be prescribed, permitted or prohibited.

The exercise of power lies mainly on influencing the actions of other people. As a result, force and coercion are essential means for exercising power. The Government of the territory uses 'the power of the sword' to keep order and discipline. Authority is regulated by norms of society. Authority and power are inherently connected with the position occupied by a person. Authority and power are inherently connected with the position occupied by a person. Authority and power are gained on the ground of abilities or qualities displayed by or ascribed to the person concerned.

In the traditional Zulu society it was difficult to distinguish between the concepts of power and authority as anyone having

authority also wielded power. However, after the influence of Western culture it became apparent that one can be an authority but have no power to force people to submit to one's will or have the power but not to be an authority.

Jenkins in Harris (1976:37) stresses that:

"It is possible to install certain individuals or groups in power and to supply them with sufficient force to suppress opposition. But this is very certainly not to constitute them as authorities.

To fill this latter role, they must be accepted by the people who are to be subject to them, and they must be committed to purposes that are shared with this people."

Authority vested in the rulers is accepted by the subjects and is directed toward certain goals or values.

To throw more light on the concepts of 'power' and 'authority' they shall be discussed separately.

4.2.1 Power

Mechanic (1962) defines 'power' as a force that results in behaviour that would not have occurred if the forces had not been present. Mechanic implies that power is a force that is applied from above. The individual has no alternative but to conform to the force exerted.

Parsons (1963:308) explains that power is generalised capacity to secure the performance of binding obligations by units in a system of collective organisation when the obligations are legitimised with reference to their bearing on collective goals and where in case of recalcitrance there is a presumption of enforcement by negative situational sanctions - whatsoever the actual agency of that enforcement. Parsons brings in the idea of binding obligations which when neglected punishment follows.

Blau (1964) concurs with Parsons but mentions 'rewards' in his definition of 'power'. Blau sees power as the ability of persons or groups to impose their wills on others despite resistance through deterrence either in the form of withholding regularly supplied rewards or in the form of punishment in as much as the former, as well as the latter, constitutes in effect, negative sanction.

Kaplan (1964) concludes that 'power' is the ability of one person or group of persons to influence the behaviour of others, that is, to change the probabilities that others will respond in certain ways to specified stimuli.

Winter (1973) agrees with Kaplan and refers to social power as the ability or capacity of O (one person) to produce (consciously or unconsciously) intended effects on the behaviour or emotions of another person (P).

Rich (1982:40-41) concludes that power is the ability to get someone to carry out one's will, despite resistance. Power may also take the form of participating in the decision-making of others so that the person exercising power influences or controls the other party's decisions. Power may be exercised by the use of force followed by punishment in case of non-conformity. It is related to influence in a way although influence does not impose sanctions.

SOURCES OF POWER

Bell (1973) mentions three routes to power: the historic one of inherited property; the acquisition of political office through the political machine; and through advanced education to gain professional skill.

The last route was the dominant one to power in technotronic society. However Bacharach and Lawler (1981) identify office or structural position, personal characteristics, expertise and opportunity as sources of power.

4.2.2 Authority

Bierstedt (1950) maintains that authority implies involuntary submission. An individual has authority when he or she can obtain unquestioning obedience from subordinates according to Bierstedt. Authority is seen as a form of force or compulsion that causes the individual to comply. In other words 'power' and 'authority' are synonymous.

Katz and Kahn (1966) agree with Farden (1973) that authority is legitimate power that is vested in a particular person or position. The person who wields power is both upheld and constrained by the social norms. Simon (1953) sees authority as the right to ^{make} decisions that affect the activities of others in the organisation. The superior frames and transmits decisions with the expectation that, because they are normatively supported by organisational rules, the decisions will be accepted by subordinates.

Wild (1974) adds that authority conveys a value that calls forth the respect of others. Authority must have access to the values it is conveying in order to be authorised and grounded.

Watt (1982:7) elaborates:

"An authority is always a superior of some kind, to be obeyed in some cases to be followed, consulted, attended to, deferred to or conformed to.

It imposes restraints which are not always to the advantage of the person subject to it, and even when they are to his advantage, that will not save him from finding them irksome."

Authority in all its forms is associated with and is a constant reminder of some human limitation, weakness or dependency according to Watt.

The freedom of an individual is limited in a social context. The likes and dislikes of other people should be taken into consideration before action is taken.

De George in Harris (1976:77) gives a relevant summary on the concept 'authority':

"Authority is either a relation or a relational quality attributable to a person or office or document or set of rules. In all cases we have a bearer of authority related to those persons (or functions or things) for whom (or over which) he is the authority. Authority is always and necessarily related to some field or area of competence or applicability over which the authority is exercised."

All authority is thus essentially a relation among a bearer, a subject and a field in virtue of a particular quality attribute or context adds De George.

KINDS OF AUTHORITY

EPISTEMIC AUTHORITY

According to Adams in Harris (1976:4-6) epistemic authority pertains to beliefs or knowledge. One is an authority on some subject. To be an authority on a subject is to be in a position to know about it or in a somewhat stronger sense, to be one whose business it is to know about such things and to have credentials such that others less privileges in relevant ways, are justified in accepting ones views, even if they are contrary to their own. De George in Harris (1976) concurs and notes that 'Epistemic Authority' corresponds to what may be referred to as someone being 'an authority'.

MORAL OR DEONTIC AUTHORITY

Adams in Harris (1976:4-6) explains that moral authority is authority in the area of decision and action. Such authority concerns know-how or what to do rather than knowledge of facts or what to believe.

An authority may have the responsibility or the right not only to decide what another is to do or not to do but actually, in some cases act for him as well e.g. the case of a parent for the child, an officer of an organisation for the organisation etc. To have moral authority then, is to have an office or position constituted by certain responsibilities and rights.

In the very nature of the case, the voice of authority is at least, *prima facie* overriding for those subject to or obligated by the authority. Furthermore, the authority has the right and the responsibility to enforce compliance.

Deontic authority corresponds with what De George in Harris (1976) refers to someone as being 'in authority'.

De George adds that imperial or political authority is exercised by a state through its government and various organs. Paternalistic authority is exercised by a parent over his minor children and by extension, the authority of anyone standing in *loco parentis* over either minors or over those who are in some way not considered to be completely competent to care for themselves.

Operative authority is vested in any designated leader or office by a group freely formed for the purpose of achieving some common end.

DE FACTO AND DE JURE AUTHORITY

Bayles in Harris (1976:105) mentions 'de jure' and 'de facto' authority. De Jure authority is constituted by rules believed to be justifiable. De facto authority is constituted by rules which are actually operative. This authority is accepted by the people and conformity is gained without coercion or persuasion. It is sometimes said to be strictly descriptive, having to do with the fact of compliance or any right to command or obligation to obey.

4.3 THE PEDAGOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF AUTHORITY TO EDUCATION

The child is born not yet mature, a dependent being with many potentialities that must be developed on his way to adulthood. Without socialisation the child cannot actualise his humanness and needs the help and support of the parent at home and the teacher at school.

Expounding on "The Education of the Black Adolescent", Mohanoe (1983:87) remarks:

"The function of the teacher is to draw out the adolescent pupil and when he has set his sights on the target of autonomous adulthood, accompany him on his last lap towards it.

Admittedly, the adolescent will stumble and fall occasionally because of his relative lack of familiarity with the potholes of life on his way to adulthood.

It is under such conditions that the teacher should step in to lend a helping hand of reassurance; speak a word of encouragement and put back the derailed adolescent on his pedagogical track."

The child wants to become someone and needs an adult for guidance and direction towards the adult world. At home, it is the parents and the community at large ^{that} take the responsibility in educating the child. At school, the teacher occupies the position of authority as loco parentis. Johnson (1970:196) notes:

"It is important that students recognise the legitimacy of the teachers' authority. Consequently, a major part of the students socialisation into the school deals with the acceptance of the legitimacy of the schools, goals and authority structure."

The positions of the teacher and students are complementary, interrelated, interdependent and reinforce each other. In a classroom the student learns what is expected of him by the teacher, accepts the expectations as legitimate and fulfills them to the best of his ability.

There is always a need for authority in a school situation so that law and order can prevail for educative teaching to occur. Gunter (1974:66) comments:

"The exercise of authority by the teacher on the one hand and the recognition and acceptance of, and obedience to his authority by the pupil on the other hand, constitutes every genuine teaching situation in the school, and is, according to the self-disclosure of the phenomenon in its original givenness, always and everywhere

characteristic of the teaching of a non-adult as pupil by an adult as teacher."

According to Ngcobo (1986) authority is the understanding of what is right or wrong and should always be related to the aim of education about which children are uncertain. This uncertainty of children about the nature of adulthood even though they want to become someone, calls for an authoritative guidance on the part of adults.

Authoritative guidance which is pedagogical authority does not mean the exertion of power. It implies sympathetic authoritative guidance which is a condition for education to take place. Education occurs because the human child is free to choose and is open to answer any authoritative appeal.

For education to take place unhindered the educator must assume the position of authority. This authority must be accepted by the educand and must not in any way disturb his freedom. Ndaba (1969) points out that freedom should be accompanied by authority, otherwise a pedagogic-didactic situation may be chaotic. In other words, the authority of the teacher is a necessity in a teaching-learning situation. The exercise of pedagogic authority is never a form of revenge or retaliation.

Authoritarian teaching methods where the teacher is the narrating subject and the students the listening objects are unacceptable in the modern system of education. Teachers act as guides to the children and matters of discipline are voluntary and democratic.

Indigenous African education did not cater for individual freedom. Children were bound to accept the traditional set of habits, attitudes and behavioural codes and this resulted in conformity. Some researchers criticise indigenous African education as being authoritarian and advocate freedom in education. Rogers (1969: 104) sees 'the facilitation of change and learning' as the goal of education and rejects the image of the teacher as a transmitter of static knowledge. Acceptance, trust and empathetic understanding are suggested by Rogers as the necessary bases for self-initiated learning at all levels.

Gattegno (1970:56) identifies specific tasks for the teacher in the modern world, a primary one being the recognition that both teachers and pupils are persons with wills and that in an individual the will is the source of change. Gattegno adds that educators need to concentrate on how knowledge becomes subjectively meaningful rather than expecting a conforming response among learners. However Warnock (1975:159-171) contends that the teacher will fail if he attempts to be neutral, for in respect of rationality and experience, his essential role is to be his pupils superior and this is the role he must try to fill necessarily. It is the role which creates the teaching situation with all its intrinsic authority.

Motshabi (1973) concludes by exposing that the authority of the teacher which the pupil recognises is, in actual fact, a projection of the authority of the written word of which he is a

master. It is the text-book content which the teacher has mastered which commands the respect of the pupils. It is also the mastery of knowledge about the physical and social environment which elicits deferential responses from the educands to the Bantu elders.

Cemane (1984:43-44) adds:

"The teacher carries into the classroom authority from various sources, namely:

- As a representative of the school in the classroom he has vested in him the authority of the school;
- being an adult also gives him authority over the educands on the basis of the prerogative which primogeniture confers;
- as a representative of the child's society he has legitimate authority over the child. He has to pass on to his pupils the values and norms, the beliefs and patterns of behaviour of (Blacks)".

The authority of a teacher is significant in a teaching-learning situation. The teacher must be above the level of his students and must be sure of his subject otherwise his leadership will fail.

4.4 ATTITUDES TOWARDS AUTHORITY AS A RESULT OF INDIGENOUS AFRICAN EDUCATION

Wanjohi (1971:15) contends:

"In traditional society the educative action is shared by all. When children are very young they learn mainly from their mother; from around the time they get their permanent teeth, they start to

learn from older children who learn from still older children who have been taught by adults. A person in a higher age-grade is expected to instruct, admonish or counsel those in the lower age grade and the latter are supposed to listen."

Persons in a higher age-grade were taken to be authorities in traditional Zulu society and they were respected by those in the lower age-grade.

The young had to undergo a compulsory training by adults and they had no option in the matter. They accepted what was being suggested by the adults. Ocitti in Hinzen (1973:348-350) remarks:

"Indigenous education was a life-long process with the ultimate purpose to train individuals to do a useful job in the family, lineage, clan or community. A consequence of this principle was that at the end of the learning experience the individual should be able to do something, not just to know something."

One of the greatest values of indigenous education lay in being able to bring individuals face to face with the realities of the social and physical necessities of life. Such an education was achieved through a variety of realistic pedagogical situations such as tilling the land, heading cattle and home management. The curriculum of indigenous education was the whole life of society. Life was education and education was life. Childs (1949:121) supports this view in traditional society:

"The school is society and society is the school".

As a result of their social system the Zulus developed great respect for authority. Patriarchal and patrimonial authority prevailed. The kraalhead exercised authority in his kraal while the chief of the tribe was the centre of all authority in the tribe. He delegated some of his duties to his headmen (indunas) who were in turn responsible for discipline and authority in the isigodi (ward).

Duminy (1973 :12) elaborates:

"The father was the undisputed head of the family. He occupied a position of great authority and dignity and was the embodiment of law and order. He was respected and sometimes even feared. He was looked upon as the final authority and anything but absolute obedience to him by his children would mean scolding and sometimes severe punishment."

The brothers of the father were held in great respect and also all the grown-up males of the father's age were called 'fathers'. They could enforce discipline and punishment on any child without even consulting their parents. The children would not dare and report to their parents lest they get double punishment.

The wife had to show respect to her husband and her in-laws by adopting the hlonipha (respect) language and ukuzila (awe) custom.

According to Schapera (1934:16):

"A Zulu woman, not only had to fight shy of her husband's father, but might not even use his name nor any other words in which a syllable of his name occurred".

The newly-married wife was put on a rigorous exercise so as to submit to the authority of the mother-in-law. Cases of friction between the bride and her mother-in-law were seldom. There was peace at home and few instances where a man had to intervene between his mother and his wife and find the guilty party.

Although women were held in a subordinate position in Zulu society, they exercised authority in family matters. When the father was away, they assumed authority and also mediated between children and their father. The children could not approach the father directly and the mother was a go-between. The mother had great influence in all matters connected with the marriage of her daughter. Duminy (1973:13) exposes:

"Strong opposition from the mother could make it impossible for a suitor to carry through his marriage plans, even though the father might approve of him (and the bride-price)."

The father and mother played a minor role in child education. They were authority figures but the real education of the child was in the hands of the community. The peer-groups took the leading part and the grown-up boys (izingqwele) and the grown-up girls (amaqhikiza) demanded respect, submission and subservience from their younger members.

The child had little chance of going astray. Most of the time the child was in the company of peer groups. Boys learnt to be strong and brave and all the aspects of manhood while herding cattle and hunting. The education of girls started with the mothers and grandmothers at home. Girls were taught home management, cooking and tilling the land. Matters of sex and preparation for married life was the domain of the peer groups.

One other factor that made the Zulus law-abiding was their philosophy of life and belief in the existence of ancestors. Schapera (1934:30) confirms that the Bantu believed that every family was under the constant and direct guidance of its ancestors and that when a man died his influence on the lives of those left behind still continued. For either good or bad luck the ancestors are propitiated and this practice has stood the test of time and influence. This leads to conformity and subordination for fear of powers visible and invisible. The stories and legends that the grandmothers told at night praised virtues and condemned stubbornness and faults.

The initiation ceremonies played an important part in indigenous African education. They marked the transition from youth to adulthood. The Africans were aware that the child on his way to adulthood needed help. Therefore certain rituals or rites were performed to mark the transition. Read (1959:107) gives the following description:

"The majority of these initiation rites take the form of a 'school', involving a period of seclusion in some remote locality away from normal social life, varying degrees of physical endurance tests, instruction in traditional hygiene and sex life and in correct behaviour to senior people, with an intense emphasis on submission to authority.

At the end of the seclusion period, which varies in different societies from a few weeks to three or four months, there is generally feasting and other forms of rejoicing when the initiates return to their villages to resume normal life but with a new status."

The ideals of submissiveness, obedience and conformity were stressed in indigenous African education. There was a desire on the part of all, his kin and the parents in particular to preserve the ethos or the folk-uniqueness of the group. (Duminy, 1973: 24). The purpose of initiation ceremonies was to acquaint the not-yet adults with the world of adulthood. Ashton (1952:52) reports that among the Basuto of Southern Africa, the initiation of boys was preceded by the piercing of the ear - meant to make the individual concerned adopt a more serious and worthy attitude towards life.

Ocitti in Hinzen (1973:352) adds:

"The rationale for subjecting those to be initiated to all sorts of ordeals was generally to sensitise them to what was to come. It was to remind those about to be 'born again' that the world of adults they were about to enter was full of ups and downs - a difficult world full of calamities and mysteries and that only those properly prepared were likely to succeed and survive."

It was compulsory that every individual should go through these initiation ceremonies stage by stage. For fear of social ostracism and ridicule individuals had to conform to the accepted values and standards.

The stage of puberty and marriage were important occasions in the life of an individual. For the boys it meant that one could join the chief's regiment. The girls who were valued as an asset in terms of ilobolo (bride-price) could start a new home as adults. The changed status did not give them licence to rebel against authority. The boy had to respect the authority of his father and the authority of the headman and chief of the tribe. The girl had to obey the authority of her husband and her in-laws. Authority was respected from birth till death. Still after death, the ancestors exercised authority over the living.

To add substance to the argument about 'the influence of indigenous African education in attitudes towards authority' two well-known authors on 'Zulu Literature' will be cited. The first is Professor C.L.S. Nyembezi a former Professor of African Languages at the Universities of Fort Hare and Witwatersrand. In his book 'INKINSELA YASEMGUNGUNDLOVU' (A RICHMAN FROM PIETERMARITZBURG) Nyembezi describes the traditional life of the Blacks (Zulus) in the rural village of Nyanyadu in South Africa.

There is **stability** in the community under the authority of the chief. Mkhwanazi commands great respect in his family.

The second author is J.A.W. Nxumalo, the first Minister of KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture. In his book 'UZwelonke' (Cosmopolitan) he describes the traditional life of the Zulus and Swazis.

Indigenous African education was good in many ways but had its weaker points. Duminy (1973 :43) agrees that the child was brought under discipline in traditional society but in this environment they were quickly transformed into submissive children who lacked the spirit of enterprise, initiative and creativity. The opportunities for the development of individuality and change, found in modern society, were not there. There was no scope for intellectual excellence and learning with insight. In the traditional school it is the teacher who thinks for the children while they follow him very closely and passively.

Another unenviable influence of indigenous African education is that children refuse to learn on their own until the teacher exerts pressure. They are eager to get certificates but they will not work hard for them unless there is some authority that is supervising the learning process. It is the parents and the teacher in the classroom that must cause the pupils to learn. When they grow up and become adults they will also need the authority of a supervisor or some head to do their work efficiently although they know very well that they will be remunerated for the job.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS AUTHORITY AS A RESULT OF WESTERN EDUCATION

Christian Missionaries from Western Europe were the first educators of the Bantu in South Africa. The curriculum of the first African schools was based on imported ideas from Western Europe and neglected aspects of indigenous African education. It became bookish and pedantic.

Commenting on the Natives of Southern Africa, Schapera (1934: 61) pertinently notes:

"Admittedly European civilisation ... has improved their material standards of life, it has also given them the benefits of Christianity and education ... but there is on the other hand, a gradually growing disregard for the person and authority of the chief, an increasing revolt against parental control, a threatened breakdown of the family system consequent upon this and upon the greater freedom of state of unrest and disturbance."

Attitudes towards the authority of the parents and the authority of the chief changed after the influence of western culture. The young enjoyed more freedom and the respect and obedience suffered. Dutiful submission to the authority of the old men which was highly valued and constantly praised in the pre-contact phase became neglected. Remarking on the effects of school education in Nigeria, Ezewu (1986:138) notes:

"The new education placed heavy emphasis upon the function of education to create discontinuities between parents and their children."

In consequence, the education given at home and the new one ran in parallel line, the latter determined to relegate the former to the background."

Ezewu tells the story of a certain chief who prayed to die in order not to have anything to do with the white man and his government and education.

Western education caused a decay in the morals established by indigenous African education. School-going children started to despise what was their own and preferred to behave like Europeans. The teachers at school criticised indigenous culture and this caused the pupils to adopt a negative attitude towards their culture. Even parents who did not experience European schooling swore never to allow their own children to do farming work which they then regarded as being of low prestige (Ezewu, 1986).

Some parents abdicated their positions of authority in the hope that the school was there to cause their children to be law-abiding and obedient. Herskovits (1963:222-223) explains:

"What the European brought to the African was schooling which, however important it may be, constitutes but a portion of the total process of social and cultural learning. The schooling brought to the African, moreover was European schooling, with curricula and objectives, that drawn from the background of the Metropole, incorporated curricula and aimed at objectives which were oriented towards the experiences of children there. When transplanted to Africa they set up far-reaching discontinuities between the school and the rest of the African child's social and cultural environment."

Whereas indigenous education was solely the province of the old, Western education came with lofty ideas of rationalism, liberalism, socialism etc. The young started to question the authority of their parents and the old in their communities and finally their teachers in the classroom.

Rationalism which started in Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries was transported to South Africa with Western culture. Rationalism puts unlimited confidence in the power of human reason. This meant that man can determine and decide on his future by his reason. Duminy (1973:45) adds:

"Man became convinced that he would eventually be able to master and control the whole world through his scientific endeavour.

An unprecedented, nearly naive optimism broke through everywhere and there seemed to be almost no bounds to the optimism about a rosy future. Knowledge leads to power, to strength and is the key, not only to the intellectual life but also to the will and the emotions."

On the concept of 'liberalism' Ashley (1980) elaborates that the word 'liberal' is associated with freedom and a liberal education is one which prepares a man to be free, to live as a free man in an open society. In the ancient world the education of a free man was distinguished from the education of a slave or bondsman. The latter would receive a training in relevant and socially useful skills and techniques so that he could perform the tasks necessary to keep society going. The free man, on the other hand, was taught to think so that he could play a full role in the political

and intellectual life of his society and engage in contemplative activity.

Liberalism was a mind-opener to the Africans. After all the merits of Western education as against the demerits of indigenous African education it became evident that the type of education given to the Africans was tantamount to slave education. Africans were dissatisfied with their system of education and seeds of unrest were generated especially after the introduction of Bantu Education in 1954 as a sequel to Act No.47 of 1953.

The education of the African in South Africa is based on the idea of 'apartheid' or 'Separate Development'. Thembela (1985) and Leatt James (ed.) (1986) describe the three belief systems or ideologies operating in South Africa, namely:

- the Conservative Nationalistic ideology.
- the Liberalistic ideology.
- the Socialistic - Emancipatory ideology.

The conservative nature of the belief system is reflected in the emphasis placed upon order and discipline, leading to the development of pupils into respecters of tradition and traditional definitions of authority. The role of adults generally and teachers in particular, is one in which authority over the young is vested with the aim of them imparting a strong base of values. Nationalism places priority on the schools nationalism places priority on the school educating pupils to become patriotic

Afrikaners, loyal to the Afrikaner people and nation. Pupils from other groups should, ideally also develop strong allegiance to their own particular national groups as national identity is an essential human characteristic.

Tradition does not enjoy a particularly privileged status in liberalism, there being a high value placed upon the development of a critical intellect. Thus the role of teachers is not defined in terms of them being authority figures. They are facilitators of learning, helping pupils to learn and discover things for themselves.

Emancipatory socialism, according to Thembela (1985) is a broad set of beliefs held by the majority of people (mainly black) who see South Africa as a society characterised by inequality, domination and oppression. There is the dominant group (primarily the white and middle class) who cruelly exclude the others. They also own the means of production and military power with which they organise society so as to suit their interests. The result is a massive inequality in the distribution of wealth, privileges and life chances including differences in educational provision. From this perception of reality this state of affairs can only be rectified by a far-reaching and transformation of society in South Africa into a socialist society. This ideology has not entered formal education structures for two main reasons:

- the education for Blacks has always been rigidly planned, controlled and administered by non-Blacks.

- these groups or organisations that expressed this ideological position were banned.

Western education encouraged the fact that all authority needs to be open to national scrutiny and justification. Although adult authority may be accepted (but) it was felt that it should not infringe on the children's freedom. Children should be able to debate and negotiate certain issues like their future. All authority should be justifiable on rational grounds and the right of individual conscience should where possible be respected.

All forms of authority were subject to challenge after the influence of Western culture and during times of unrest and school boycotts teachers were placed in an invidious position. They were to identify themselves whether they were part of the problem or part of the solution. Working within the system of education designed by non-Blacks, to some, meant supporting oppression and the authority was therefore undermined.

4.6 CONCLUSION

Indigenous African education aimed at the immediate induction into society and preparation for adulthood. On the other hand, Western education encouraged freedom, individuality and privatism to the detriment of social relationships.

Luthuli (1985:6) asserts:

"While the traditional tribal education aimed at initiating the rising generation into the age-old unchanged ceremonial ways, the task of education with respect to the new image of adulthood in an open and Westernised society, is to bring the person to an awareness of his individual obligations, to make him conscious of the new demands of propriety, and finally to guide him towards the recognition of his responsibilities as a free, responsible and proud person."

The socialisation of the individual in a traditional African society was undertaken by the adult members of the community and the individual had no say in his education. The adults were authority figures. Authority and power were synonymous in traditional African society. A person in authority had also power to inflict punishment. This was the case with the kraal head, the headman and the chief in Zulu society.

After the influence of Western culture it became clear that a person can be an authority but have no coercive power or have power but be not an authority. Authority is recognised as legitimate by all the members of society. The teacher must be an authority in order to be able to lead the child to adulthood. Pedagogical authority is essential for educative teaching to take place. Thembela (1981:13) adds:

"The effort to effect a transition from control by authority to a control by reasoning is the essence and goal of good discipline and education."

As a result of conformity, obedience and submission to authority in the traditional African society there was stability and peace. Nkabinde (1981:17) pertinently remarks:

"Our traditional system may be regarded as undemocratic by some. But child government we witness these days is not any better. It is characterised by inexperience, impatience, intolerance of contrary viewpoints, bullying tactics and brazen terrorism of the older generation."

The Zulus are still brave and submissive to authority but many things have cropped into their lives and defiled their virtues. They cannot make decisions on matters concerning their survival and future. Some people have to decide for them. After the battles of Blood River and uLundi they must have lost morale and became subservient to the white man.

Vilakazi (1962:144) notes:

"One is forced to the conclusion that having lost the war of the spear and the kierie, the traditional Zulu was stripped bare of all means of waging war for his dignity and human rights.

He did not know that another way of fighting the social and political evils in his life existed, and his only alternative was conformity and acceptance of what the government said was good for him. However, there is the new elite to take up the fight and to show the traditionalists that there are other alternatives."

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CHAPTER 5

THE INFLUENCE OF INDIGENOUS AFRICAN EDUCATION IN ATTITUDES TOWARDS AUTHORITY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This study set out to establish the influence of indigenous African education in attitudes towards authority, with special reference to the Zulus.

Throughout the study an attempt has been made to highlight the fact that indigenous African education caused the individual to respect authority. The influence of Western education is believed to have changed the behaviour patterns of the Zulus, in particular. Their attitudes have taken a new look with regard to aspects such as education, relationship to adults and peer group relationships. In short, the youth have become politicised, largely because of the apartheid system of South Africa. Authority is now seen as a form of oppression and it is defied and rejected by the youth to a point of chaos. There is no doubt that even the riots, school boycotts and various other abnormal behaviour actions, are related to the influence of westernization on young school going Black boys and girls.

The writer will first make a summary of the exposition, then attempt to arrive at conclusions with the view to making recommendations towards what ought to be done to alleviate this chaotic situation.

5.2 SUMMARY

The influence of indigenous African education in attitudes towards authority has been treated in various chapters. Chapter 1 was based mainly on definition of terms, motivation of the study, statement of the problem, aim, hypothesis and methodology.

Chapter 2 deals with the social organisation of the Zulus and their traditional education in the past. The Zulus were organised under the authority of the chief of the tribe in the past i.e. before the white man came to South Africa. The kraalhead controlled all the inmates of his kraal and was responsible for all their actions and misdeeds. The women and children occupied an inferior position and were expected to accept and obey those in authority. The education of children was the responsibility of the whole community and the peer groups took an active part in the socialisation of their members. Children were developed into respecters of indigenous culture and indigenous authority heads.

There was a change in the traditional way of life of the African after the influence of Western culture. This change is explained in chapter 3.

In some cases the indigenous African culture was displaced by Western education. James (1981) notes:

"As modernisation came to Africa, the pace of social change increased rapidly, resulting in the erosion of traditional life styles and systems of social welfare".

The change affected those Africans who went to school. These 'civilised' or 'enlightened' Africans started to despise indigenous culture and look down upon their fellow citizens who had not gone to school. The parents and elders in the community lost control over the children who attended school.

One other factor that caused confusion was that the education that was brought to South Africa by the Missionaries from Europe was based on European standards and did not take cognisance of indigenous culture.

Malinowski (1936) remarks:

"The difficulties and dangers increase immediately when education is given by a highly differentiated, industrially advanced culture such as that of Europe, to the people living in the simple tribal conditions of Africa. Here schooling is mechanically thrust into culture where education has gone on for ages without the institution of professional schooling. Here also the rift between school and home between training and the influence of tribal life must remain even more profound."

Whereas Western education brought in many advantages, the problems also increased. Western education became stronger than indigenous African education and the latter had to give way as the two ran parallel to one another. Some parents abdicated their duties of enculturation and socialisation in the hope that the school was going to perform the duties. The school concentrated mainly on book knowledge but in many cases neglected the practical application of the knowledge.

What the Africans and Missionaries did not understand was that both tradition and innovation are necessary for effective functioning of society. School education must be supplemented with indigenous African education.

Garforth (1962:23) states:

"One of the fundamental facts of human existence is the tension between the pull of the past and the forward urge into the future, between stability and change, tradition and innovation.

For the effective functioning of society ... there must be an underlying continuity of tradition and outlook which preserves its identity as a society and safeguards it against the disruptive effects of change. Change there must be, for life will not stand still; but change must be controlled by the basic traditions of society."

The position as it obtained with the Africans was that of enculturation instead of transculturation.

African culture was taken to be non-existent. Mohanoe (1983) elucidates:

"Rapid social changes also bring in their trail the problem of cultural disjunction which in turn gives rise to the cultural ambivalence.

This leads to a cultural hiatus between the technological school norms and expectations and those of the traditional home."

Chapter 4 deals with 'power' and 'authority' and exposes the concept of 'pedagogical authority'. The attitudes of the Zulus

towards authority in the past and after the influence of Western culture are examined. It became clear that authority was respected in the past. All forms of authority ^{were} respected in the past. All forms of authority came under scrutiny after the influence of Western culture.

Chapter 5 gives the summary, conclusions and recommendations.

5.3 CONCLUSIONS

5.3.1 Respect for Authority

Indigenous African education stressed respect for authority in all walks of life. A man's ability to observe rules, laws and sanctions of the tribe earned him respect (Nxumalo, 1980). Good behaviour and respect was encouraged as this pleased God and the ancestors.

5.3.2 Order and Discipline

Greater emphasis was placed on order and discipline in indigenous African education. People of different ages and sexes did not mix. It was the duty of all the grown-ups in the tribe to discipline the younger ones.

5.3.3 Solid Family Ties

The fact that both families of the bride and bridegroom, their relatives and ancestors were involved in marriage celebrations

caused the marriages to be everlasting. There were no cases of broken homes or divorces even in cases of infidelity. The widow was taken care of by the levirate custom.

5.3.4 Peer Group Education

Peer groups helped to socialise the child by telling him or her what the community expectations were. Children were expected to conform to the codes and norms of society. Boys and girls were told something about sex - the disgrace of illegitimacy. Boys were taught the value of manhood (fighting, valour and toughness). Girls were taught the value of womanhood. There was a code of discipline amongst the peers; the younger members respected the older ones.

5.3.5 Humanism and Communism

The philosophy of life of the Africans was based on the idea of working together and helping one another. Individualism and competition had no ground.

5.3.6 The Educative value of Folktales

The tales that the grandmothers told at night contained moral and social lessons. Stories were told of the past wars where the warriors exhibited heroic deeds. Some of the Africans were given praisenames which made their descendants aware of their past victories.

5.3.7 Resourcefulness Curbed

One of the disadvantages of indigenous African education was that it curbed the initiative or resourcefulness. This phenomenon is evidenced in the school situation where pupils expect the teacher to spoonfeed them and remain passive listeners. Also in a work situation where people will fail to do a job effectively if they are not supervised or told what to do.

It is sad to note that sometimes you find people relaxing instead of doing productive work for which they are paid.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

5.4.1 Change of Attitude Regarding African Culture

The fact that the early Missionaries who settled in South Africa criticised traditional culture and made the Africans believe that everything that is good and worthwhile will come from the whites, caused a moral decay. Indigenous African education was forcibly uprooted by school education and sadly abandoned by parents.

There are some aspects of African culture that were good and need to be revived. One of them was the philosophy of life of the Africans (Zulus) based on the idea of humanism and respect for authority. It is true that it is unwise and dangerous to over-idolise the past at the expense of future development.

The economic realities and advantages of Western culture are greater than those of indigenous culture but even then, Western culture has its serious disadvantages. Schoeman (1982) notes:

"Yet, despite the stupendous achievements of modern man in the fields of science, technology and organisation, one cannot escape being startled by certain glaring incongruencies that seem to have become part and parcel of Western culture and society ... growing corruption among and manipulation of human beings; the ever-increasing impersonality and aloofness in human relations; the emptiness and meaninglessness of the lives of many; the increasing anxiety and loneliness of the individual; increasing alienation and dehumanisation of the labour force; the jeopardising of human existence by the seemingly reckless and often unpremeditated fashion in which nuclear energy is applied; the computerisation of man's existence; the growing craving for oblivion produced by the abuse of drugs; the almost 'automatic' escalation of the armament race, etc."

Schoeman remarks pertinently that Science, technology and the scientific organisation of human life seem to have snatched away man's liberty. Man has fallen prey to the very forces by which it was hoped he would gain control over nature and culture in his quest to create his paradise on earth (Dewey, 1931). Schoeman quotes from Schuurman (1980:22-23) that:

"While power is constantly increased and concentrated in our world, love, tolerance, integrity, honesty, compassion, justice and the like are fast becoming obsolete factors in human relations."

Schoeman adds:

"Humans are being exploited and dehumanised as apparently never before in history; poverty, malnutrition and even starvation still constitutes part of alienated mankind's terrible plight; for despite much vaunted prosperity and civilisation, greed still remains a powerful personal motive in the lives of many."

Respect for elders, obedience to those in authority, generosity, responsibility, willingness to share and the ability to live in peace with others should be emphasised in childhood.

The matter of religion is superhuman as it deals with the supernatural. It would be unfair and improper to pass judgement as to which is the best religion. A person is at liberty to become Christian, Moslem, sun or ancestor worshipper etc. What is important is the spiritual satisfaction that a person gets in a particular religion.

It is strange to note that most of the religious sects, be it ancestor-worshippers or not, have an idea of God or the supreme Being that rules the universe. The difference lies in the way this Being is propitiated.

Nearly all the Africans believed in the existence of ancestors and many researchers have labelled African religion as 'Ancestor-worship' which might not be true. The Zulu had an idea of God (UMvelinqqangi) and a lesser Deity (UNomkhubulwane) long before Christianity came into the white man.

The authority of the ancestors influenced and consolidated the entire life of the Africans (Zulus). The man acted on behalf of his forefathers and his authority was fortified in his kraal and so was the chief in his tribe. Marriage was not just an affair between two persons but involved a number of people. Ancestors were propitiated during the marriage ceremony and also when death occurred. Africans should change their attitude with regard to their culture.

5.4.2 Authoritative Guidance

The parents, the adults in the community and the teacher at school, must give authoritative guidance to the child who is on his way to adulthood. This may require some form of introspection and then dedication on the task of educative teaching.

Vocational guidance should be given to scholars. Ripinga cites Peters and Aubrey (1975) that within a concern for personal development, guidance should provide educative experiences that help every individual become the person he can and ought to be - more specifically in terms of moral, emotional, social and vocational development. This guidance must not only be restricted to vocational guidance but the total guidance of the whole child. Indigenous African education must supplement school education. Perhaps, some of the problems experienced today with regard to attitudes towards authority are caused by the fact that adults do not assume the position of true authority wholly over the

children. There are some areas where they fall short and children lose respect.

5.4.3 Authority in the Family

5.4.3.1 Father-Mother Relationship

There has been so many changes in the traditional way of life of the Africans after the influence of Western culture in South Africa. The Africans approximate other racial groups in all spheres of life and it is no longer possible to pinpoint traditional Africans except the very few in the rural areas still under the traditional rule of the chiefs. Even there, Western influence is still felt. It would be folly to suggest that the clock should be turned back wholesale as this would be a futile exercise. What is needed is education, motivation, co-operation and consideration.

The time is long past when the man wielded unquestionable authority over all the inmates in his house or kraal. With the introduction of western culture, the position of the woman improved greatly and in some cases overtook that of the man with regard to commanding respect and home management.

Simons (1968:30-31) points out that in the African legal tradition women are perpetual minors, but that as a result of modernisation they are being accorded more or less the same legal status with men, especially in urban areas.

Phillips (1953:31) found out that as a result of marriage contracted under civil law the traditional superordinate - subordinate relationship between husband and wife is changing in favour of a 'partner-equal' pattern.

Under the present conditions the man cannot claim supreme authority in the home. What is needed is co-operation between husband and wife. It will be advisable for the man not to shun the kitchen. When husband and wife come back home in the evening after a strenuous day's job, it would be unfair for one party to engage in active domestic duties while the other relaxes in the sitting room or bedroom.

There must be co-operation and consultation between husband and wife in all matters pertaining to home management and bringing up of children. However, the women are well advised that the authority of the man in the home is always necessary for disciplinary purposes. When boys grow older they tend to rebel against the authority of the mother. Research has further shown that most of the juvenile delinquents come from broken homes and upbringing and have a grudge against society.

5.4.3.2 Parent-Child Relationship

The children of working parents grow up in the care of surrogates who do not possess all the qualities of a good mother. Children come into contact with peer groups whose authority and influence is very profound in their lives. When they play during the day

and after school hours, they learn to obey the instructions of their leaders in the peer group. Sometimes they develop great confidence in the peer groups and the authority of the parents is flouted.

Surrogates should undergo some form of training and motivation before they are given the responsibility of caring for children. Children should be sent to kindergarten or nursery schools and recreational facilities for the children should be improved. All sorts of problems crop up with the children who loiter in the streets. The devil will always find work for idle hands.

In the traditional African society the relationship between parent and child was cold except with the mother. The father was feared and there was no instance where the whole family could sit at table and hold a discussion whilst enjoying a meal. Children learnt the codes and norms of society from their peer groups and other grown-up members of society. The old order has changed. The peer groups of today have quite different ideas with regard to social and political activities.

5.4.4 Authority in Society

The authority structures that are operating in society, e.g. school, church, business enterprise, government, etc. are necessary and indispensable for the smooth-running of all the affairs of society. Morrow (1988) supports:

"Bureaucracy is an uneliminable and inevitable feature of all large-scale organisations."

All forms of authority must be respected. Once authority is removed anarchy reigns. No one succeeds in the chaos that results. Capitalism or communism cannot be panacea for all the social ills. Perhaps the best solution can be found in the word of God.

Schoeman (1982) has this to say on radical changes:

- Radical changes for the better are not to be expected overnight.
- Radical solutions are not utopian but extremely unrealistic, inadequate, futile and clearly incapable of alleviating the predicament.

5.4.5 Authority in School

5.4.5.1 Teacher-Pupil Relationship

~~Commenting~~ on the Soweto riots of 16th June 1976 Morrow (1988) explains:

"Young black people, many already armed with the fugacity and street wisdom bred in conditions in which survival is hardly an academic issue became irreversibly politically conscientized in a way which makes most young whites look like naive and helpless infants in the real world of political conflict."

This is the type of pupil that is found in African schools today. Teachers should be aware of this situation and take note of the following remarks by Morrow (1988):

"Our settled routines and deeply entrenched assumptions are being robustly challenged by a new form of discourse which forces us to face up to uncomfortable questions about where we stand and what we are doing."

Van Zyl Slabbert (1986) remarks pertinently on black education:

"What is a far more serious symptom of the disintegrating effect of black education in the South African society is that some of the most able who have come through it are turning to others who have not and saying, 'it is not worth it'."

There is population explosion and black education is lacking facilities and amenities. It is equally true that the root cause of these discrepancies in the educational facilities of the different racial groups in South Africa is the policy of separate development (apartheid). Teachers are placed in a difficult and dangerous position of having to identify themselves whether they are part of the problem or part of the solution. If they are part of the problem, then it follows that they should be eliminated. There is a group of radicals who have gatecrashed the educational arena and their influence is felt in a devastating manner (Thembeła, 1975).

These are the conditions under which teachers work today under the political upheavals. The political factors have influenced the

attitudes of the pupils towards the authority of the school and its teachers. However, the children are well advised to always try to distinguish between fact and fiction.

To contend that 'half a loaf of rotten bread is tantamount to no bread at all' is emotionally and sentimentally true but practically misleading.

To destroy the little one has and rest in the hope that one day everything will be alright and then start schooling is far-fetched. It is true that the masses of the people who are still struggling for food and shelter cannot take education as a priority but usurped power must be supplemented with knowledge and understanding lest one crumbles and falls.

Political and pedagogical authority will always be necessary. Political liberation alone will not solve all the problems. One can be politically liberated but still remain a slave. There is a lot of unrest and violence in some countries that have attained only political freedom and find that they cannot organise and feed themselves quite efficiently. What is needed is more enlightenment.

The relationship between the teacher and the pupil will always be a relationship between unequals. The teacher must know something which the pupils do not know on the path from childhood to adulthood. The pupil must accept the authority that the teacher has. The teacher's authority does not constitute coercion but

allow the pupil some degree of freedom for effective learning to take place. However, the researcher agrees with Mohanoe (1983) that the following should be adhered to in the education of the Black adolescent:

- need to improve the quality of discipline in black education.
- need to maintain a healthy social distance between teacher and pupil.
- need to curb lapses in professional and moral conduct of teachers.

5.4.5.2 Teacher-Parent Associations

A school cannot succeed in the education of children without the co-operation of the parents. The parents also need the support of the school in the socialisation of their children. It is a fact that school-going children spend most of their time at school and come home to sleep. The principal of a school must do everything in his power to obtain the goodwill of the parents.

Teacher-parent associations must be established to facilitate the educational process. School visits by parents and home visits by teachers are recommended. The teacher-parent associations will assist the school by maintaining strict but reasonable discipline. Black parents should be involved in planning, decision-making and administration of the school. Raymont (1927) confirms that the wise parent and teacher will seek each other's efforts so that the

child's education will form an organic whole. Strang (1946) supports Raymont by saying that the school and the home know the conditions in each that affect the child. They can work together to create the total environment the child needs, thus, they will pull together rather than pull apart. The proper role of the school is to supplement, not to supplant that of the home.

5.4.5.3 Curriculum

The curriculum of African school must reflect the philosophy of life of the Africans (Zulus) which is based on humanism (ubuntu-botho).

According to Cilliers (1975:91) he states:

"Education has a specific purpose, the aim of which is to develop and to mould an individual to the acceptable of a certain philosophy of life which will be similar to that of the educator or of the educational authorities who determine the educational policy."

De Witt (1981) asserts:

"Studies of the child development should not ignore the influence of the community, the child's cultural inheritance and his closer link with his society's particular historical background since he is naturally being prepared through is education for membership of and integration into his society. Together with the unfolding of the child's potentialities on his way to adulthood, pupils should learn to know their responsibilities to other fellow citizens. They should be aware of their obligation to contribute towards the common welfare. Students who attended school must improve on the existing African culture and come up with new ideas.

5.4.5.4 Learning Material

Ripinga (1979) suggests that there is a need for new instructional material with the fundamental predications of Africanisation totality, existentiality and metablecity. The present researcher concurs. Blacks should be encouraged to write text-books for various subjects including African culture.

5.4.6 Research on Indigenous African Education

Research should be conducted on a curricular for Black pupils based on the mode of humanism and African view of adulthood. D'aeth maintains that without applied research there is a very imperfect basis for educational planning and little prospect for improving the quality of education.

5.5 GENERAL CONCLUSION

This investigation has been more or less a comparative study of the influence of indigenous African education in attitudes towards authority, with special reference to the Zulus. It became evident that Western education had a profound influence on the attitudes of the Zulus towards authority. The respect for authority that obtained in the pre-contact phase i.e. before the white man came to South Africa, has diminished. There are problems in the homes, in the community and in the schools as a result of the change of attitudes towards authority.

It is hoped this investigation will throw some light as to the causes of the problems experienced today and probably give advice how the situation can be handled.

It is now humbly submitted that this task has been accomplished.

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