AN ANALYSIS OF THE EXTENT

AND EFFECTS OF POLITICS

ON KWAZULU-NATAL

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

by

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An Analysis of the Extent and Effects of Politics on KwzZulu-Natal Secondary Schools

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DECLARATION

I, Victor Sibusiso Xulu, do hereby declare that this dissertation on:

"The Analysis of the Extent and Effects of Politics on

KwaZulu-Natal Secondary Schools"

is my work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have

been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete reference.

_____   30/03/2001

VS XULU   Date

KwaDlangezwa

February 2001

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my beloved wife - Sinegugulethu Constance Nkosingiphile; my daughter - Nozibusiso Charmaine; and my son - Brian Olwethu, for their sterling support, encouragement and prayers.

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"Praise by Soul the King of Heaven!!!"

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SUMMARY OF DISSERTATION

This study sought to determine; "the extent and effects of politics on KwaZulu-Natal Secondary Schools". The study was influenced by the fact that politics is inescapable so are the consequences of politics.

As an introduction the History of Politics and Education in South Africa was reviewed. It was determined how politics affected South African education in general.

Literature also revealed that KwaZulu-Natal was affected by party politics. The study then explored the political effects on Culture of Learning and Teaching Services (COLTS); Provisioning; School Governance and Morale (discipline and confidence) of educators and learners.

The study found that there is a considerable extent and a number of political effects that had a negative impact on a number of KZN-Secondary Schools. The most significant effects were: low morale among educators and learners; poor provisioning and distribution of resources; poor staffing; below average school governance; absence of the culture of learning and teaching.

The study showed that the educators had been exposed to terrible political violence, intimidation and interference in their schools.

The study found out that there is considerable dissatisfaction in that stakeholders fail to resolve political problem of the secondary schools.

The findings of the study suggest that politics especially party politics affected KZN-Secondary School environments. Secondary Schools for Africans had been the target for political influence. They need the most conducive, disciplined learning and teaching environments; free of political interference in order to produce envisaged excellent academic results.

The most aspects of the recommendations were aimed at addressing the effects of politics in KZN-Secondary Schools' Education - the underlying purpose of this study. Relevant stakeholders need to attend to these political effects in an unbiased attitude, for enjoyment in and culture of learning and teaching to be fully resuscitated.

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Politics, to many black communities where secondary schools are, connotes many perceptions. It revokes great agony and tragedy of what political violence did to them. It means a great struggle fought against apartheid education and all its structures and the struggle still continues. It means power and being able to rule. Unterhalter et al. (1991:213) attest to this statement in that communities have witnessed and have been involved in experience of extreme horror.

Politics, in broad sense, means the process of exercising power. Power means the wielding of influence over peoples' opinions and or behaviour. White (1983:83) concurs with the above Oxford Dictionary definition. He argues that politics is about power, in that the decisions made necessarily affect peoples' lives and interests, crucially and trivially. In this sense decisions made may be said to exercise power over others. Therefore this study deals with politics as defined above and has been practiced by political parties in South Africa, and in particular KwaZulu-Natal.

Politics during the last three decades of the twentieth century, that is, 1970's; 1980's and 1990's, had a great impact on the education of secondary schools in South Africa, and in particular KwaZulu-Natal. Research work done by Christe (1985); Behr (1988); Unterhalter et al. (1991:221); Heese and Badenhorst (1992:54) dealt much with prevalent extent and effects of politics over this period. Behr (1986) deals much on

earlier political influence that took place prior the period of the last three decades. During this period these authors studied, *inter alia*: clamour for peoples' education (Unterhalter *et al.* 1991:117); Van der Heever (1987:13) writes about rewriting peoples history; Heese and Badenhorst (1992:54) addressed the redesigning of the curriculum and high failure rate. Unterhalter *et al.* (1991:218) concurs with Heese and Badenhorst (1992:54) in that failure is characterised by political activities secondary school learners are involved in. The learner involvement resulted in poor attendance, non-acceptance of authority, destruction of facilities, intimidation of those who wish ordinary education to proceed. Unterhalter *et al.* (1991:225) reported that learners associated with political violence was marked by loss of interest in schooling, loss of school culture, loss of school disciplines and low educator morale. This therefore suggests that teaching and learning standards have dropped drastically.

KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education, as part of the South African Education System, is faced with a mammoth task. The task of transforming the education system. The task of adequately providing a unified system of education. All this to be achieved in the midst of abundant limitations, for an example; different political affiliations and persuasions; the diverse society that is multilingual, multicultural and multiracial. This task is an area of great concern to future studies. Can the Education System redeem itself from what Heese and Badenhorst (1992:55) term "lost trust and faith" in education of South Africa by the South African community. Consequently any charges to be made in education need be meticulously calculated for the best improvement of education *per se* and in particular the education of the secondary schools.

On the basis of the above argument, this study is significantly directed at providing an in depth resource for enabling KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education in making secondary schools productive learning centres.

1.2 MOTIVATION

The crux of the researcher's motivation to conduct this study is best summed up by Dahl (1970:1) as quoted by Scribner (1977:31) who says:

> "If politics is inescapable, so are the consequences of politics ... The best reason for improving one's skill in political analysis is that political analysis helps one to understand the world one lives in, to make more intelligent choices among the alternatives he faces, and to influence the changes, great and small that are inherent aspect of all political analysis."

The researcher is of the opinion that such political analysis creates good understanding of the education system. However, results of the analysis are needed to assist in management, in governance, and for the support given to secondary schools. Results are also needed for ownership of secondary schools, that are cared for, valued by their communities. Consequently one feels that through this study provision for essential recommendations for KZN-Department of Education and Culture (DEC) be made in order for her to sufficiently address the secondary school problem.

Moreover, one is motivated to study the hindrances of conflicting political ideologies, that of Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and African National Congress (ANC), in the province that brought turmoil in the secondary school environment. Nzimande and Thusi (1991:67) attest that hindrances impacted negatively on this level of education. At the extreme it renders learners unable to cope with secondary education. Consequently such hindrances affect both educators and school management.

It is for this reason that this study attempts to derive intelligent solutions and at offering

of guidance on how to tackle the issues of politics in secondary schools. In support of what Dahl (1970:1) says Wilson and Corcoran (1988:7) state that secondary schools' effectiveness is more powerfully influenced by a historically defined set of circumstances that are often beyond the control of local school authorities. This means that, the task or the problem of achieving success at secondary school level remain more complex and illusive. The set of circumstances will be discussed in the literature review section of this study.

This study will therefore deal with the subject of politics in relation to education of secondary schools. The notion of whether political effects may either be good or bad, will be analysed in relation to the education of secondary schools for blacks in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). From such address it is envisaged to grapple with the need, first, for how to develop a better and a fuller understanding of the part played by politics and how positively politicians can help support this level of schooling; second, to grapple with the need to create opportunities for political socialization based on free access to information as stipulated in Chapter 2, Section 32 of South African Constitution, Act 104 of 1996.

One is curious about offering evidence about the changing nature of society. It is assumed that change cannot happen without education being transformed. The study wants to gain evidence on how political change affected KZN education. The study also want to draw evidence on how politics affected learning process in KZN secondary schools. Evidence is essential to make findings about the effects of such change caused by general party politics. Above all, one wishes to make findings in what way has politicking contributed to low teacher morale, poorly managed schools, ill-disciplined learners, wanting parental and community support.

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It is hoped the study will benefit the KwaZulu-Natal nation, to provide firm and good ground for influencing, transforming present secondary education to favouring rapid progress or reform and the education that is best for all learners in the province of KZN.

1.2.1 Assumptions

The rationale of this study is based upon these assumptions:

— there are elements of party politics affecting secondary schools
— there is failure in addressing crucial political issues that destroy the culture of teaching and learning at this level of schooling
— there is huge backlog in provisioning of this level of schooling
— there is no co-operation from the community with regard to solving secondary school problems
— there is fear for learners in secondary schools among parents
— there is a link between politics and education.

1.2.2 Limitations

The study has envisaged limitations. Among others:

— Educators belonging to conflicting political parties may be unwilling to give information.

1.3   AREA OF CONCERN

1.3.1 Politics and education

This study will primarily focus on the extent and effects of politics in secondary school education in KwaZulu-Natal. The analysis of the effects will be determinant of the extent of intervention required in order to improve and support this level of education. The scope of relationship between politics and education is too wide. Therefore, the researcher will attempt to narrow the extent of the relationship and be selective of effects on secondary school effectiveness. It is essential to study how each influences or affects each other.

1.3.2 Effects of politics

Politics is a broad concept. It is the heart of this study. The study will delve on the effects of politics. More focus is on the impact on secondary schools. Part of the study will also deal with the effects of general politics.

1.3.3 Black secondary schools

The study will concentrate on secondary schools for blacks only. These are government public schools as stipulated in Chapter 3 of South African Schools Act, No. 84 of 1996. The focus will also be based on the researchers familiarity and experience as the educator in secondary schools. It is also because politics appear to have more direct effect and more bearing at the secondary school level. It appears secondary schools for blacks clearly depict effects of politics.

1.3.4 KwaZulu-Natal

The study will deal with sample schools in the province. Schools targeted are located in Empangeni Region. The study will be conducted in Mthunzini district which is under Empangeni Region. The area's locality is very convenient to the researcher. Secondary schools in the district are within reach. The administration of questionnaires and collection data will be done at very low costs.

1.3.5 Qualitative delimitation

Secondary schools for blacks in semi-urban and rural areas are targeted by the study. The targeted respondents in these schools are mainly principals and senior educators. The researcher is familiar with most targeted respondents. This relation probably will make administering of questionnaires easier. The respondents are relevant people because they will provide relevant information on the problem under study, as they witness and handle different issues in their respective schools.

1.4   STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

1.4.1 Background

White (1983:82) describes education as a primary good. The primary good is the constitutional right to anyone and must occur in a conducive climate. However, the secondary schools as learning environment to practice the primary good has been politicized. Heese and Badenhorst (1992:ix); Unterhalter et al. (1991:221); De Lange et al. (1989:318) all agree that schools have been politicized. Nzimande and Thusi (1991:4) concur with the above authors that conflicting political ideologies have greatly

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impacted on secondary schools in KwaZulu-Natal.

The above argument makes it clear there is evidence of political impact on education. This is also evident in the backlog secondary education has. Heese and Badenhorst (1992:viii) describes education in KwaZulu-Natal as in disarray. This means schools in general are not operating efficiently and effectively as they should. Consequently it is clear as Unterhalter et al. (1991:218) state, agreeing with Nzimande and Thusi (1991:3) that learning was disrupted by political activities in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal. One concludes that the matric pass rate might indicate the extent to which secondary schooling has been disrupted.

Cogan in Thomas (1983:171) describes the education system as an agent of change of the social order which at once permits and denies social mobility. According to Cogan in Thomas (1983) nowhere is the phenomenon more clearly illustrated than at the level of secondary school. This happens because the schools, according to Scribner (1977:90), are the most assessable segment of the establishment in education. Moreover, learners have been used especially secondary school learners, since as Kallaway (1984:19) state that learners have been involved in the struggle. De Lange et al. (1984:74) state that the school riots and the school boycotts of 1980 focused attention on the youth and demonstrated the extent to which educational institutions, the secondary schools, had become the site of the struggle in South Africa.

Scribner (1977:30) argues that educational decision making is becoming more involved with the political process. Such decision making has made the school manager's administration to be very complicated. Beare and Slaughter (1993:74) say it is complicated more than other local business, largely because of its purposes are more complex, more public and more politically sensitive. This is more so because there is

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more interference in the form of political activities either by learners, the community or educators that indirectly affect the school in its envisaged mission. This is one other reason why this study was made. This study is therefore an extension of issues previously researched and noted.

In this study one is specifically concerned about how these political activities affected secondary schools' management.

The Editor of the Teacher (1997:5) argues that education in KZN is in distinct need of a major facelift. According to the editor equity, redress of past imbalances and the provisions of even the most basic of facilities to many of the provinces' schools can no longer be "a hot potato" passed between provincial and central government authorities. At stake is the academic well being of close to 2.7 million learners. One realizes learning and teaching take place under traumatic and distressful situations. Resultant of this situation, Heese and Badenhorst (1992:55) conclude that schools end up producing helpless, futureless school leavers and a lost generation. One feels the situation urgently need correction. Gutman (1987:18) notes that the present situation quoted above has awakened a call to return to basics hence the call to revive the culture of learning, teaching and services, known as COLTS.

Schooling, as Freire (1987:46) remarks, has been employed as a key weapon in the politics of domination in South Africa over centuries. Drachler in Scribner (1977:190) states that schools became involved in political issues from which politicians fled in the 1960's. Schooling is also intimately related to the political power relations within a society. The challenge that this relation poses, is of great significance in this study. Scribner (1977) states that researchers are challenged in the politics of education to examine several specific issues in future studies in order to determine the effects of

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government activities. Thomas (1983:7-8) shares the same view on influencing of schooling. He says there are functions of political influence on education that influence support, access to education; content and procedure of education and the latitude of social and political action.

On the other hand political scientists have noted a series of conditions and practices that limit the school effectiveness in gaining public support. Bailey (1962:ix-x) in Scribner (1977:188) gives one condition that there are schoolmen who pretend they are not engaged in politics and often deny their involvement. Bailey (1962) is against the practice of these schoolmen that "invisible politics is rarely good politics". The second condition is given by Salisbury (1967:409-10) in Scribner (1977:188). Salisbury says some of the schools' political and financial difficulties are attributed to the isolation of urban school leaders from the world of politics. Drachler in Scribner (1977:188-9) says the two already mentioned conditions result in two crucial conditions to limiting effectiveness. Firstly he says that result in a communication gab between political scientist and school practitioners. Secondly, the failure or reluctance of school practitioners reflects publicly upon their political involvement. One feels that schoolmen cannot work in isolation. They cannot stand aloof or pretend as if they are not engaged in politics. School problems are community problems. Harmonious working between schoolmen and politicians is crucial in overcoming problems and amassing great public support for schools to be effective in their mission.

Looking at political socialization will also throw light in the discussion of background to the problem of study. Political socialization takes place in our school system. Ballantine (1997:32) concurs with this argument. He is of the view that schools practice political socialization by teaching political roles for example, expressing views, voting, to participate in school activities and school politics. That enable learners'

participation later in political activities. In spite of this kind of politicization, in some communities, expressing a view is regarded as despising authorities. On the other hand voting as a constitutional right cannot be freely exercised since allegiance to the local leadership need be paid to.

Another point that need be mentioned here is that of a disruptive influence. De Lange *et al.* (1989:84) cites Thembela (1988) who states that it is the school education that has a disruptive influence on the traditional way of life. Blacks are faced with three basic issues between politics and education, namely:

- the problem of transition from the traditional indigenous cultures to the modern industrial and technological culture;
- the problem of political issues which have created a tradition of discrimination which makes it difficult for them to surmount the normal problem of adjusting to the process of change and development;
- the problem of inadequate provision of everything ranging from land to school books.

In essence KwaZulu-Natal schools are no exception to this kind of political problems and influence. One therefore concludes that educationists being aware of the occurrence of influence, they need to research and report on the influence freely without any fear of intimidation. Research like this one is excellent but must remain a resource to the Department of Education and Culture and to show where political influence is detrimental.

Moreover, the governments are fully involved in this problem of political influence. Literature, as will be discussed in both Chapter Two and Three, reveals that

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governments both nationally and provincially have direct involvement in education, whether through influencing context and value taught; through funding for special programmes or setting polity. Ballantine (1997:237) concurs with the fact that many education systems are controlled by a Minister of Education who is also the political head of the department of education. KwaZulu-Natal boast for being the country's largest provincial education. However, Bridgray (1999:11) says it is one of the most beleaguered government departments. Bridgray (1999:5) states that the state of education ranks extremely poorly and compares unfavourably with other provinces in many fronts. The editor (1999:13) of City Press reported that a vast gab between the classrooms of "Yizo Yizo" and those of former Model C schools remains. The editor of the Teacher (1997:5) cited the head of the department expressing hope in that the central government will have to realize that solutions to KZN's education ills lies in greater funding. The study of politics and education reaffirms the arguments in regard to control of education. De Lange et al. (1989:6) state that: "die onderwys opereer as substelsel binne die breë politieke sisteem en hierdie politieke sisteem sluit oor die regering van die dag in." Therefore, as Wringle (1984:3) in De Lange (1989:6) warns that an educator in the midst of the status quo cannot simply get on with his job and leave social and political considerations to others because such considerations determine in part what his job is.

There is also great concern that partnership in schools is wanting. Potgieter et al. (1997:8) is concerned too, about how the culture of co-operation for better partnership roles between the stakeholders can be solicited. Potgieter (1997) is also concerned about how harmonious interpretation of the culture of co-operation for better education for all rural secondary schools can be implemented within the department of education. Thlagale in De Lange et al. (1984:78) categorically states that historically the partnership was destroyed by the apartheid system. He says the system successfully

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denied the meaningful participation of the many in the various spheres of society. Apartheid finally guaranteed the socio-political disintegration of the South African society. One concludes that KZN was no exception to such denial and disintegration. His Majesty, the King of the Zulus, King Goodwill Zwelithini, addressed this issue of partnership. De Lange (1997) cites the King addressing the educators and community leaders on 22 October 1988. The King clearly stated that Black Education cannot grow from strength to strength unless co-operation between Traditional Leaders and Education Officers exists. From the address one concludes that strengthening of ties in partnership among educators, educationists and the political leadership is more than essential. Ways and means need be determined in creating a tied bond of partnership.

The preponderance of studies like Heese and Badenhorst (1992); Van der Heever (1987); Unterhalter *et al.* (1991); Ballantine (1997); De Lange *et al.* (1989); Thomas (1983) in particular and many others, show the influence of the independent variable, that is politics, on education in a broader context. This study has therefore the task to uncover the extent and the effects of politics on the dependent variables, that is, secondary schools in KZN. This study is of great significance because it will provide an in-depth resource for enabling KZN Department of Education in rendering secondary schools as productive learning centres.

1.4.2 Formulation of the problem

The main question of the study is:

"Is there any extent and effects of politics on secondary schools in KwaZulu-Natal?"

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Other secondary questions are:

  (1)   Can politics, as a subject, be taught in secondary schools?
  (2)   Are the conflicting black political party ideologies impacting on secondary education?
  (3)   Were learners benefitting from being actively involved in party politics?
  (4)   Can educators teach effectively without political interference in secondary schools?
  (5)   What are parents' attitude about politicized secondary schools in their areas?

1.4.3 Hypothesis

The primary hypothesis drawn state that:

"Politics as a phenomenon can influence education negatively or positively. A good understanding of this relation between politics and education will contribute towards better secondary schools, education results and policy transformation of KZN-DEC education system."

1.5 . DEFINITION OF TERMS/CONCEPTS

The concepts and or terms defined here are key concepts used in the study. The definition given show their intended use.

1.5.1 **Politics**

In a broad sense, the first definition refers to politics meaning the process of exercising power. Power means the wielding of influence over people's opinions and behaviour. White (1983:97) describes politics as power in that the decisions made necessarily affect peoples' lives and interests crucially and trivially. Scribner (1977:28) says one other basic definition of politics of education is the surrounding of the authoritative allocation of values in education especially insofar as the concepts of government, power, conflict and policy are concerned.

1.5.2 **Education**

Thomas (1983:2) defines education as what goes on in a society's institution of systematic and planned learning. Systematic and planned learning has developed into a culture. Education here refers to the culture of learning and teaching and how this educational culture is influenced by politics in a secondary school.

1.5.3 **Secondary school**

Van Wyk's (1983:33) definition will suffice here. He defines the secondary school as the educational institution classification in South Africa. This is a level of schooling from grade 8 to grade 12. Reference in this study is only made to a secondary school for blacks in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal.

1.5.4 **Secondary schools for Blacks**

This study is aimed at secondary schools for blacks only in the Province of KwaZulu-

Natal. Blacks here refer to the ethnic grouping of people. These schools are situated in urban areas or locations and in rural areas.

1.5.5 Partnership

Partnership is defined as a number of people who have a common goal. These people co-operate with one another by contributing something of value. Something of value here is the profit out of education. The intended profit for partnerships is the better education for all learners. Partnership, according to Potgieter *et al.* (1997), occurs between the state, educators, parents, learners, the private sector and a number of the governing bodies who must all accept their responsibility to make the education system work. He also calls these people stakeholders in education in the vicinity of a particular school.

1.6 AIM OF THE STUDY

The study basically aims:

—   To investigate a link between politics and education.
—   To identify the extent and affect of politics on education of secondary schools.
—   To look into how partners in education handle politics in secondary schools.
—   . To identify the communities' attitudes and perceptions about secondary schools.
—   To look into ways educators and learners handle issues of politics.

The set aims however, cannot achieve the set goals unless appropriate methodology is selected and applied in search of relevant data to concretize this study. The following section briefly discusses methodology. A broader and more detailed discussion will be

tabled in Chapter Four of the study.

1.7 **METHODOLOGY**

A combination of research methods will be used in this study; namely: sampling method, sources of information, instruments for data collection, data analysis and data interpretation method.

1.7.1 **Sampling**

It is not possible to involve every relevant population of the Province of KwaZulu-Natal in this study. For more direct focus, sampling will be used. A random sample will be drawn. Results will then be generalized to the population.

1.7.2 **Sources of information**

The following sources will be utilized to solicit adequate information about the topic of this study.

1.7.2.1 **Literature**

Relevant literature will be studied with the emphasis on politics and education. Literature here refers to the use of library, journals, media, magazines and newspapers. All sources will be listed at the back of each chapter. The study of literature will provide the research with background knowledge so as to determine the extent and effects of politics on secondary school. Gay (1992:36) states, the major purpose of reviewing literature, as in the case of this study, is to determine what has already been done that

relates to the effects of politics on education of secondary schools. Mkhwanazi (1997:14) suggests that knowledge from literature also provide the understanding and insight necessary for the development of a logical framework onto which one's problem fits.

1.7.2.2 **People**

These are people to interview, observe their stories and are people to respond to questionnaires. These include knowledgeable people in the field of politics and education. Respondents to questionnaires will be school principals and educators.

1.7.3 **Instruments**

Literature review and questionnaires will be mainly used as instruments in this study. These instruments will be backed by observations.

1.7.4 **Data analysis**

Data that will be collected will be quantified, encoded as scores in tabular designs that the computer programme of analysis can interpret. Data presented in graphs and tabular form will be in percental form.

1.7.5 **Data interpretation**

Data collected and analysed will enable the researcher in; describing the findings out of data collected; relating the findings to the questions and the hypothesis of this research; describing the trend of politics; drawing findings and recommendations and

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in establishing the extent and effects of politics on KwaZulu-Natal secondary schools.

This section on data analysis and interpretation will be found in Chapter Five.

1.8   THE PLAN OF THE STUDY

This section sketches the plan of study to be followed. The study will comprise of six chapters.

The First Chapter serves to direct the study into what will be done and how. The chapter will deal with the following aspects, namely: motivation of this study; the area of concern is delimited; the statement of the problem and the hypothesis; definition of operational terms and concepts; the aims and objectives of this study and methodology.

Chapter Two deals in-depth mainly with literature review. Here the research will basically discuss: the history of politics and education in South Africa - hence providing a historical background to the study. The second section of this chapter deals with politics and education in the democratic South Africa. This section will review theoretical background of politics and education and their relevance and extent to political influence on rural secondary school education. Other areas of concern are; the relationship between politics and education; political socialization; depoliticizing education and lastly "die idee van politieke geletterdheid". The chapter lays ground for the next chapter three.

Chapter Three deals mainly with the crux of the topic, that is, the analysis of the extent and effects of politics on secondary schools in KwaZulu-Natal. The researcher will look into issues, *inter alia*, the effects of general politics, conflicting political ideologies

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(reference is only made to IFP and ANC ideologies respectively); effects of politics on school effectiveness and provisions, school politics, teacher unions and area politics.

Methodology will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

The tabling, analysis and interpreting of data will be dealt with in Chapter Five.

Lastly the findings, the recommendations and conclusions will be tabled in Chapter Six, which concludes this study. A summary at the end of this chapter will be written to synthesize major findings, generalizations, recommendations, implications and limitations.

1.9   THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This is an important study in the Philosophy of Education. The important premise of the study is expressed, as Brubacher (1962:6) states, in educational philosophy which subjects to terms and propositions undergirding educational thought and practice to rigorous scrutiny as to the form in which they are stated. He further states that the critical philosophy examine the logical premise on which educational conclusions rest. Philosophy closely takes a penetrating look at the kind of evidence which will be acceptable for confirming or refuting statement of facts about education.

This study reflects on the question of political influence on secondary schools. Such reflections on philosophical perspectives suggest, as noted by Kings (1962:282), that philosophical evaluation can rescue us, researchers, from making routine and precedent, from purposeless dilettantism, from totalitarian subservience, or from self-contradiction. Philosophy endeavour to make the researcher stand back and see what

he is involved in, not just in terms of here and now but by more universally acceptable criteria.

The researcher does not doubt the objective of existence of what he is trying to study. The study in reality endeavours to express political issues affecting secondary schools in KwaZulu-Natal as it is here and now. The researcher believes his observations and perceptions will significantly contribute in expressing the extent and effects of politics. The study is conducted with an understanding that the recognition here that each person's perception may be valid as a contribution to a general true understanding. King (1962:276) states that this recognition is an important outcome of pragmatism (what works is right) and empiricism (emphasis on the value of experience).

One, therefore, significantly aims to draw attention of the right perspective here, that of phenomenologically studying the intricate influence of politics on KwaZulu-Natal secondary schools.

In a nutshell, this study has the objective to importantly draw the attention of all stakeholders in KZN-DEC to remove political impediments affecting secondary schools. It is important to draw the KZN-DEC's undivided attention to concentrate on improving this level of schooling. This is an important study in creating awareness of how much damage did politics do to secondary schools. This study also aims at shedding more light on the existing knowledge about area politics and schools. Finally, it is of great importance to know exactly, and to address the backlog created by past political injustices in South Africa. The study will become the resource for educators, superintendents of education management in particular, and for all other partners in education.

1.10 **CONCLUSION**

The chapter has dealt with specific aspects of the motivation to the study, the area of concern, the statement of the problem and hypothesis, the aim of the study, methodology and methods of conducting this study. Lastly it presented the plan of this study and its significance.

The purpose for the first chapter was to lay groundwork for the subsequent chapters. This study is directed at creation of an awareness about the situation secondary school operate in. The researcher aims at depicting the right kind of attitude for attending all issues pertaining to this level of education. Hopefully findings and recommendations that the researcher will arrive at will prickle the right kind of co-operation between stakeholders. The appropriate action is needed to address and in eradicating the political problem in most Black secondary schools in the province.

Chapter two will review literature. Literature to be reviewed deals with the history of politics and education in South Africa.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORY OF POLITICS AND EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

(A Brief Historical Background)

2.0 INTRODUCTION

"It is hardly surprising that the educational process and educational structures have become highly politicized. In the South African political arena, education has become a bargaining ship, something to be placed firmly on the negotiating table:

- the education process itself has been utilized as a lever to generate political pressure;

- school boycotts, marches by students and teachers and protests have been used to generate pressures not only for change of the educational dispensation but also for general political change;

- election of management councils has in some cases become a party political test of strength."

(Heese and Badenhorst, 1992:IX)

The literature review of politics and education in South Africa provided some historical background of what was previously called Bantu Education.

This background is vital for this study in order to ascertain the extent of political influence on general education. Subsequent to the extent of influence, to ascertain the

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extent of effects of politics on secondary school education.

This Chapter comprises of three sections: the first section dwells on the History of Bantu Education, as sometimes called Apartheid Education. The two terms will be used interchangeably in the study referring to Education for Blacks; its results and the struggle that ensued against it; the second section; deals with the democratic education in the new South Africa and school governance and; the last and the third section deals with the relationship between politics and education.

2.1   HISTORY OF BANTU EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The apartheid ideology forms the basis of Bantu Education through its policies related to it as discussed in the next topic.

2.1.1 Apartheid ideology

De Kock in Behr (1988) states that Apartheid is derived from 1948 General Election Policy of the Nationalist Party. It's point was a formula of political and social "separateness" or apartheid for the Whites, Coloureds, Indians and Black population groups. Behr (1988:14) further avers that its general aim was:

- to ensure the maintenance, protection and consolidation of the white race as the bearer of Christian civilization in South Africa; and
- to enable it to fulfill its function of responsible trusteeship to guide the other groups toward eventual freedom in a peaceful manner
- to have control over the native education and to reform it so that natives will be taught from childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them (Dr

Verwoerd's Parliamentary Opening Address 1953 in Kallaway, 1984:168).

The policy of separate development or apartheid would, according to Behr (1988:232), allow and encourage the fullest development of each population group in the country. Its aim was the creation of separate geographical zones in South Africa for the Whites and the different African ethnic groups.

The Nationalist Party spoke, as argued by Heese and Badenhorst (1992:12) the language of diversity as an important factor in framing educational provisions as is a common nationality. The taproot of the policies of Bantu Education according to Rose (1970:43) are contained in the preservation of Afrikaner Nationalism against the growing non-white. The historical development of Afrikaner social attitude in Rose (1970) and Behr (1983) made it possible to establish the philosophical perspective of the underlying rationale about the South African Bantu Education as propagated by the Nationalist Party.

2.1.2 Bantu education prior 1948

Mugomba and Nyaggah (1980:60-61) made a careful analysis of the government policy towards African Education before the Nationalist. The analysis reveals that a relatively progressive education policy was adopted. A policy similar in many respects to the policy followed by the British in their other African Colonies. Education offered in these colonies had the potential for the kind of improvement that occurs elsewhere in Africa, up until 1910. Rose (1970:49) state the missionaries were the backbone of African Education until 1950's. The objectives of Missionary Education *inter alia*, was; to Christianize; and to provide academics and technical education; to get semi-skilled jobs after completion of primary or secondary school education.

2.1.3 Bantu education after 1948

The Education of Blacks drastically changed after 1948 when the Nationalist Government came into power. Since 1948, and significantly in 1954 Bantu Education in South Africa, according to Behr (1988:35) has been controlled primarily by the Nationalist Government. It was also directed along the lines of apartheid. Rose (1970:38) concurs with Behr (1988). The policy as the Minister Verwoerd argued was the Nationalist solution which resulted from the educated Africans frustration about not getting jobs in the White areas. Behr (1988:14) contends Dr HF Verwoerd brought the policy of separate development, "social separateness", to fruition. For the Nationalist to implement its policy, the apartheid regime set up a commission led by Dr Eiselen, The Eiselen Commission of 1951. Mugomba and Nyaggah (1980:65) contends that the commission was an official attempt to legitimize: racist policy; the control; maintenance and management of African Education. The Eiselen Commission recommendations, *inter alia*, were:

- it prescribed the objectives for a distinctly inferior education for Blacks
- aimed at giving them what the nationalist regime considered an adequate education useful for blacks in their own community
- it stated the proposed reorganization plans for African Education (Mugomba and Nyaggah, 1980:65).

2.1.4 The dual purpose of apartheid education

The Nationalist did not, according to Mugomba and Nyaggah (1980), hide their attitudes about their racial superiority to the blacks. The apartheid policy had a duel

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purpose.

The first purpose was the revision of liberal education policy, from the British Colonies traditionally the Cape and Natal, which would deny the African the most significant means of achieving economic mobility in the modern world. This purpose provided a rationale for continued discrimination. It is also perpetuated economic and political exploitation of the blacks. According to Mugomba and Nyaggah (1980:63), the second purpose was to allow the control of the educational system by Boers.

The dual purpose make clear the initial premise on which apartheid education was based. It is that Bantu Education, as Mugomba and Nyaggah (1980:66) avers, should prepare one to render services to one's own community. Discrimination against jobs forced the government to establish a policy which through its education system, was to determine: the number of blacks to be educated for semiskilled or professional jobs and the number to be left uneducated for manual work.

2.1.5 Apartheid laws and its implication on education

At first, the apartheid laws as Mugomba and Nyaggah (1980:70-1) state, prevented African authorities from having powers to make laws or develop policy in education without the express approval of the government. The education was centrally controlled. The premise that Africans could be responsible for their own areas was senseless. If the Homelands were to decide to build more science high schools, the power to make that decision could be withdrawn by the governor-general or the minister. The two officials had the right to withdraw from homelands any powers previously granted.

Secondly, one of the most controversial issues surrounding Bantu Education, contends

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Rose (1970:82-3), has been the government policy of finance. All funds were made available from the central government on condition that:

- rural Bantu school boards' applications for school facilities will stand a better chance if accompanied by an undertaking to provide necessary classroom
- the daily cleaning of the school building and grounds will naturally be the work of the pupils under supervision of the teacher
- fees will be changed for matriculation examination - a major examination.

One concludes that it has been politically frustrating for Africans to change the Apartheid Education Policy in the Homelands since the enactment of the Bantu Authorities Acts in 1951. The legislation passed on for African Education, according to Mugomba and Nyaggah (1980:71), was merely a blue point for inferior education. The authors also contends that policies on education at secondary school level led to: very few students finishing senior high school; under one quarter got an eight grade education; two out of one hundred finished high school. However, one realizes, the number reaching matric has dramatically increased in recent years. Christe (1985:109) attest to this increase of matriculants.

Mugomba and Nyaggah (1980:68) argue that the Nationalist Education policy was crude and lacked a sophisticated grasp of the meaning of education. The problems of a multiracial, multicultural communities were far more complex and stubborn than the government anticipated. One concludes the education was inferior and designed to keep Africans in their place both geographically and socially.

When the Nationalist Regime was under pressure, as Heese and Badenhorst (1992:26) put it, when its laws on education were opposed, requested a meeting of the Heads of

Education Departments in 1991. Heads came up with document, "Educational Renewal Strategy Document" of 1991 (DNE). The Heads of Departments made the three basic findings that:

- race be not accepted as a valid criterion for differentiation
- diversity is a part of the South African reality. Both unity and diversity must be accommodated.
- the balance of teacher education as a determinant of the quality of education in the formal system be accepted. Four year training period for teachers of secondary school be considered.

One acknowledges the document provided some indications of governmental thinking on education in the Republic in 1991. However, according to Heese and Badenhorst (1992:11), the system of education had a legitimacy crisis. According to them nothing short of change of governing authority reinstated public faith in its governing and delivery authority. The decisive rupture of legitimacy was inaugurated by the school students' revolts of 1976. Revolts will be discussed under the struggle against apartheid education later in this chapter.

2.1.5.1 Some repercussions of Bantu Education policy

There are numerous results of this policy. Counting on many would make this study the rewriting of Bantu education. For more focus and for the purpose of this study only the following results were considered very essential. Mugomba and Nyaggah (1980:72) avers:

- The preuniversity education was disastrous in many respects since most of the

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high school teachers did not have a university education.

- The quality of education deteriorated, when high teacher-student ratio was experienced.

- The general decline in academic standards. The unreasonable new language requirements for learning English and Afrikaans whereas Whites were taught in mother tongue. The Whites learnt the other language by choice. It was worse when teachers did not know Afrikaans, and did not receive training but were expected to teach it.

- While the quantity of African education ostensibly improved, the quality deteriorated due to; dwindling funds, poor teacher and staff, poor working conditions, unsympathetic Nationalist bureaucracy, and lack of enthusiastic support from the Africans.

- The apartheid system successfully denied the meaningful participation of the many in the various spheres of society, ruthlessly entrenched patterns of racial domination, sowed seeds of suspicion among the different racial groups, destroyed any potential for a shared meaning and finally guaranteed the social-political disintegration of the South African society.

From the above results it is revealed the legacies of apartheid education still abound. The results depicts by the high number of under-qualified educators still experienced; by high learner enrolments; low standards of education against the use of unqualified educators; by resources that are not equitably distributed. This situation, one realizes, in secondary schools generally especially in rural schools, is still experienced. The

legacies require ostensible addressing by the new democratic South African Education System. It is a fact that the responsibility was squarely placed on the Nationalist government. One sensibly concludes the communities and their learners never realized education their responsibility too. Presumably the struggles, discussed in the next section, against Apartheid Education ensued because stem from the unpalatable repercussions discussed above.

2.1.6 Some repercussions of Bantu education policy

The history of education in South Africa is complex, according to Christe (1985:59), as was earmarked by conflicts, and black resistance. Christe (1985:53, 55), further on, states that the struggle began in 1954-5 when black teachers and students protested against Bantu Education. The African Education Movement was formed to give alternative education. The struggle against apartheid education and education boycotts were not, according to Christe (1985:227), centre stage. It was part of a large campaign against apartheid regime. Boycotts started as early as 1920. Opposition in schools responded directly to broader social issues as organized by an established African National Congress (ANC) political group. Later Christe (1985:234) says, much of the student activity was inspired by Black Consciousness and its organizations.

The churches were the first to condemn and had unequivocally been opposed to supporting Bantu Education, as Christe (1985:83) puts it. The churches too had a strong stand when ordered to close down. The Anglican Church resisted and kept an independent boarding school for blacks from Standard 6 to Standard 10 until 1957. The stance of the churches was clear to the Department. One concludes, the churches were convinced that the true welfare of the African people was being denied by a political theory. Secondly, Mugomba and Nyaggah (1980:77) argue the multitude of

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laws, passed to implement the policy of education, steadily became more unbearable to Africans. Peaceful position proved futile. One therefore concludes the Africans finally resorted to violence, to express their anger and their dissatisfaction in the manner educational issues were handled. The culmination of the struggle against apartheid education was triggered in 1975 by the Minister of Bantu Education. He instructed that half of the subjects in Standard 5 and 6 must be taught in the medium of Afrikaans. Soweto upringings broke up in June 1976. The Survey 91982:501) as quoted by Christe (1985:239) pointed out that Bantu Education was not the cause of the riots. It was, however, considerable dissatisfaction that had deep historical roots.

Another resistance that broke up in 1984, according to Christe (1985:249), was the protest against education and against apartheid state in general. The demands protested against were:

- segregated and unequal education
- leakages of examination papers
- age limit in black schools
- unemployment is very high. School leavers face difficulty in getting jobs
- maladministration and corruption in local government.

Consequently, the belief in the imminent victory over the state, as Unterhalter et al. (1991:212) put it, led to the slogan "liberation now, education later", as adopted by Congress of South African Students (COSAS). The slogan spurred the struggle into great heights. Heese and Badenhorst (1992:viii) contends that the cry for liberation before education had three consequences of great importance: These are:

- it led to the virtual breakdown of the educational process
- it created a generation of pupils who are formally unschooled and
- encouraged learners to disregard all forms of authority.

In congruence with Heese and Badenhorst (1992) above, Unterhalter et al. (1991:212-13) state that the cry for freedom created organizational difficulties, which together with the banning of COSAS, led to a tendency for students to act without accountability to the other sections of the community. A trend towards politically destructive violence increasingly drove wedges between students on the one hand and parents and teachers on the other.

2.1.6.1 The role of students in the education struggle

Numerous studies exist such as Unterhalter et al. (1991:213), documenting the impact of the violence of apartheid on school education in 1976 as well as in the 1984-86 period. It is generally recognized that school children were involved in the conflict also of Natal in 1985 to 1990's. They have witnessed and have been involved in experiences of extreme horror. Nzimande and Thusi (1991:67); Gibson (1987:4-26); Straker (1988:3-13); Unterhalter et al. (1991:213-214), and Unterhalter et al. (1991:213) all agree that the conflict in Natal quickly developed into a bitter confrontation between UDF/COSATU and Inkatha supporters. One observed that the former KwaZulu Government was adamant and totally opposed to politicizing education and schools in this fashion.

Mkhatshwa's 1988 opening address of the 21st Annual Conference quotes the Cape Town Committee of 81 of 1980, comprising only students, declared being part of the great education struggle that:

"Our parents have got to understand that we will be "educated" and "trained" to become slaves in an apartheid capitalist society. Together with our parents we must try to work out a new future. A future where there will be no racism or exploitation, no apartheid, no inequality of class or sex.

<div align="right">(C.T.P.A. - Alternative Education Report 20-23.6.1988)</div>

The above quotation make it clear learners decided to join forces with adults in the struggle. Beare and Slaughter (1993:18) say if you want to change the world, then tell the kids first. This is a belief that holds that children, as they declare being part of the struggle above, can help to bring about change in the wider community. According to Heese and Badenhorst (1992:11) students were part also of a group of parents and concerned community leaders who formed the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) in 1985. This body unified a number of organizations of students with teachers, parents, churches, and trade unions. The aim of the Committee was: first, to get boycotting children back to school and second, to begin to formulate an alternative ethos to apartheid education. An ethos that has come to be known as people's education. Post 1976 educational struggle, as Unterhalter et al. (1991:213) put it, has seen students addressing the dimension of repressive institutional relations through the demand for democratically elected Student Representative Councils (SRC's).

The specificity of the education struggle, according to Unterhalter et al (1991:238) is to be sought in the social context. Thus it is not possible to have a progressive education within a repressive state. The form of oppression prevalent within a society in general will manifest themselves specifically within education. Despite massive state intervention in black schooling, e.g. finance, black schools remained key sites of resistance to apartheid, as Unterhalter et al. (1991:118) put it.

2.1.6.2 The strategic shift in the education struggle

Unterhalter *et al.* (1991:117-119) contends that the ideal of peoples' education, for peoples' power constituted a decisive strategic shift in the education struggle in three dimensions:

At first, this has involved a departure from the education boycotts as a tactic of struggle in favour of a long term strategy of reconstruction through the development of an alternative peoples' education.

Secondly, peoples' education stresses the importance of political as well as general education while emphasizing the link between education, politics and social transformation.

Thirdly, peoples' education propagate that education should meet the need of the community and should therefore preferably be controlled by the community concerned (Engelbrecht (1988:11) in Unterhalter *et al.* (1991:119); Vilakazi in City Press 6.3.88 quoted by Unterhalter *et al.* (1991:119).

The work of the NECC's National Education Policy Investigation in 1990, according to Heese and Badenhorst (1992:14), was underpinned by five principles: equality, non-racism, non-sexism, democracy, redress.

Unterhalter *et al.* (1992:120-1) give how it was arrived at the definition of the people. According to these authors, the meaning of peoples' is enshrined in the Freedom Charter of the ANC. In the tradition of ANC conception of political category of the people, it is referred to all oppressed category of the people, it is referred to all

oppressed groups, namely: Africans, Coloureds and Indians. On the other hand, the tradition of Pan Africanism from the 1950's and Black Consciousness is confined to the oppressed Blacks (Africans only) of South African society. In the late 60's and early 70's, Black Consciousness referred exclusively to Blacks, Africans, Indians and Coloured people. Therefore, people's education was meant education for the oppressed groups in South Africa.

2.1.7 Some considerations for secondary education under apartheid policies

2.1.7.1 Type of secondary education

The Eiselen Commission of 1948 in its tri-level system recommended that a series of post-primary schools be considered. Its functions will vary but will provide types of educated Bantu necessary for the development of Bantu Society. The Commission according to Rose (1970:58-73) emphasized that the reserves must be the nucleus of Bantu development, agriculture and handwork. The syllabus for all Bantu schools were determined by the Department of Bantu Education. Secondary school syllabus was a three year course leading to Junior Certificate. Behr (1988:35) concurs with Rose (1970) in that secondary education was provided for. The first three years for Junior Certificate examination, thereafter, a two year course leading to the Senior Certificate or Matriculation examination.

From 1935, the Natal Committee, according to Behr (1966:136), recommended that in rural areas, secondary classes would proceed to Standard VIII only and be as a rule attached to the primary school. In all other areas the high school would run from Standard VI to X. Consequently, the secondary phase from VI to X has been kept ever since and by the present education system.

In 1970 the last year of primary school was moved into secondary school. According to Christe (1985:241) Standard 6 moved to a secondary school level. There was a large increase in the number of secondary school students when this was introduced.

2.1.7.2 Curriculum

During 1961 the Director of Education introduced a system of two-stream secondary education in Natal based on his study of differentiation on secondary schools (Behr, 1966:132). According to Behr (1966:156) the Lighton Committee of Enquiry of 1963 summed differentiation up and defined it as that:

- there was a general need for it
- differentiation from the beginning of Standard VII was favoured
- there should be three streams for the above-average, the average, the below-average groups
- the policy and the implementation of differentiation within the Natal schools should be periodically received by an *ad hoc* committee composed mainly of experts educationists
- the selection procedure was too restrictive and inflexible. Standardized tests should be used for selecting pupils for the streams.

According to Behr (1988:110) there has been, recently, considerable criticism about the syllabus and textbooks in the schools for blacks. That did not instill love of reading in black children. Critics of the apartheid system of education, Behr (1988:110) contends that critics say that the content of these are compiled from the perspective of whites. Maree (1984:158) as quoted by Behr (1988) contends that Black children in secondary age were aware of their exploited position.

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2.1.7.3 Secondary school educators

In an attempt to find better solution for improving secondary education, according to Behr (1966:132), the Provincial Education Committee Report of 1964:22, Section 51 and 52, recommended that all secondary schools go up to Standard X. The provision of a trained personnel, however, was well-nigh impossible. For the most part the educator had no professional training. The problem of rural education was by no means solved by the education system. A number of one and two-educator schools existed. The exceptional difficulties and the tasks of handling classes from four to eight, in one group, imposed educational handicaps which were serious. The position of inadequate educators in secondary schools in rural areas has remained unsolvable for decades. Probably, it is an area needing future research to solicit solutions for arriving at adequate supply.

The consideration of the Nationalists on the type of secondary education or general education, the curriculum, the provision of educators and funding remained central in the struggle against apartheid education. The struggle against the apartheid regime as discussed above succeeded in bringing about democratic government in 1994. The government of National Unity was put into place in 1994. The government of National Unity is striving to transform its system of education to be more democratic. The next section deals with the democratic education and school governance as determined by the National Department of Education.

2.2   EDUCATION IN THE DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

2.2.1 The right to basic education

The South African Constitution, Act No. 108 of 1996, Chapter 2, Section 29 (1)(a), recognizes that everyone has the right to basic education. The state, through the KwaZulu-Natal Province, and other eight provinces must see to it that enough schools are built and maintained, educators are trained and paid, books and other material of the schools are purchased. Good standards of education are maintained. The state, according to Potgieter et al. (1997:5), must make enough money available for all this to take place.

The new Democratic Constitution of South Africa, upholds certain main values for the education of the country. These values are:

*   Human dignity, the achievement of quality, the advancement of human rights and freedom are to be the cornerstone of South African society.

*   Discrimination based upon race, creed, colour, sex is not permitted.

*   The rule of law will apply.

*   There must be accountability and openness (First Step, 1997:36).

2.2.2 The South African Schools Act of 1996

The act spells out clearly the policy of education system. The objectives of both the

South African Democratic Constitution and the new South African Schools Act (SASA) are intended to remove any unfair discrimination in education (First Step, 1997:35). Potgieter, et al. (1997:6) sums up the basic aims of the Schools' Act as follows:

- the quality of education of all learners must be improved
- there must be better facilities
- better trained teachers
- better method of teaching
- better school conditions
- learners must be better motivated
- learners must be disciplined and take their education seriously
- to use opportunities that are now open.

2.2.3 A single education system

Khumalo as quoted by City Press (May, 9, 1999:1), as the spokesperson for the Minister of Education, in his official capacity declares that the education system in 1994 was a relic of the apartheid system. He says the apartheid architects created 17 departments of education that were run and funded as if they were in 17 different examinations and huge differentials. However, since 1994, May, the national department of education has done away with 17 departments. All their differences done away with and new policies and laws were passed to create one education system. The new education system has put South Africa in a league with other countries attempting to integrate education and training in the course of life-long learning.

What does the National Department seeks to achieve? When Lazarus (1998) presented the document of National Education Committee (NEC), he reports on their proposals

on Quality Education for all. The recommendations contained in their document, provide a strategic plan for the new Education System and the challenges it faces in transforming education. The proposals the NEC makes attempt to address inequalities, marginalization and provision. These proposals are also guidelines for the transformation of all levels and aspects of education, minimizing, removing and preventing barriers to learning. Proposals also aim to develop and bring about effective teaching and learning for all.

The President of South Africa, President Nelson Mandela, in February 1997 launched the Culture of Learning, Teaching and Services Campaign (COLTS). The COLTS campaign has sought to raise the visibility of the problem of dysfunctional education institutions, especially schools. Schools are one of the most bitter and pathetic legacies of the apartheid era and the struggle for democracy. In emphasizing Quality Education for all it was vital to revive this culture without which quality cannot be attained. This campaign, according to City Press (May 9, 1999:1), aims to induce a sense of professional responsibility. It also aims in urging learners to make disciplined use of their opportunities to study.

The report by NCSNET and NCESS, does pay particular attention to secondary schools in as far as funding, physical environment, resources, support, curriculum are concerned. The proposals made have implications for the education system. The NCSNET and NCESS report provide these implications.

2.2.4 Implications for general education

All schools should develop their capacity to provide education within an inclusive and supportive learning environment where mutual respect is developed.

(1) Barrier-free physical environment

Existing schools should be renovated. Sufficient schools in each district or equivalent geographical area should be renovated within the building regulations.

(2) Flexible curriculum

The report states that all aspects of the curriculum should be reviewed and developed. It must be ensured that issues pertaining to diversity and barriers to learning and development are addressed. The curriculum according to the report should bear a strong emphasis on life skills education, vocational orientation, literacy and language development.

(3) Human resource development

The report states that all personnel involved in education should be provided with appropriate training and support. The development should cater for education management, in-service education programmes, additional training, parent programmes.

(4) Interschool collaboration

The report recommends that the Department of Education need to identify where the need is for interdepartmental co-operation with the General Education and Training (GET) phase. Collaboration recommended include collaboration between education, health, welfare, public works, justice, labour. Specific issues to be identified need be addressed by such collaboration. In a large scale collaboration encourages partnership between schools and the larger community.

(5) A community-based support system

It is recommended that every centre of learning should have a school-based

team around which support for the school would be developed. These teams would be strengthened by the inclusion of expertise from local and district communities. Programmes aimed at prevention of barriers to learning and development, and promotion or development of school as safe and supportive learning environment should be pursued through school-based-teams and district programmes.

(6) Funding

It is recommended that a percentage of general budget allocated to GET should be targeted at programmes and particular needs. This must ensure that barriers to learning and development are addressed (NCESS/NCSNE Report, 1997:120-3).

2.2.5 School governance

Section 16(1) of SA School Act stipulates that a governing body is a statutory body of people who are elected to govern a school. It is set up by an Act of Parliament in particular the School Act. The school governors, according to the Act, and as Potgieter, et al. (1997:23) put it, are people serving on a governing body, representing the school community. The governance of every public school, is therefore, vested in its governing body.

(1) Membership of governing bodies

The Governing Body of any ordinary school, according to the School Act, in an ordinary public secondary school is made up of three groups of people in schools with grade 8 to 12:

— Members who are elected. These are parents of learners who form the

majority; educators of the school; learners of the school; non-educators employed at the school.

— The school principal.

— Members who are co-opted but not elected. These do not have the right to vote. These are experts in appropriate fields of special needs education.

(2) The term of office

The Section 31 of the Schools' Act stipulate that:

— Elected members are elected for three years, or unless they are re-elected.

— Learners may not serve for longer than one year.

(3) The school constitution

The constitution as Potgieter, et al. (1997:29) put it, of the governing body forms the basis on which this body must act and govern. The constitution is like a set of rules and regulations. It also includes the values and principles of their organization. Every governing body must accept a constitution, according to Section 18 of the Schools' Act. Their constitution must comply with the rules and requirements laid down in a Provincial Gazette. The GB member must act and function in terms of its constitution. It must obey the rules and principles of its constitution. The constitution, according to Section 18 subsection 3, must be sent to the Head of Department within 90 days of election.

(4) The functions of all governing bodies

The functions, according to the Government Gazette No. 1890000 of 1998 and Schools Act, Section 8(3), are grouped into two categories:

- <u>compulsory functions</u> of all governing bodies as laid down in Section 20 of the SA Schools Act of 1996, e.g. adopt a constitution; promote the best interest of school; etc.
- <u>allocated functions</u> of Governing bodies as laid down in Section 21 of the SA Schools Act of 1996, e.g. maintain and improve school property, building and grounds, to buy textbooks, etc.

Potgieter *et al.* (1997:11) say, in support of the above functions, the governing body is responsible for school governance by

- performing all specific functions given to it by SA Schools Act and by provincial legislation and regulation
- improving and developing the rules, direction and policy by which the school must function within the framework of the Schools Act
- Overseeing and keeping overall control over the development and maintenance of the infra-structure and property of the school
- bringing about and developing partnership based on trust and respect between all stakeholders. Stakeholders here mean parents, learners, educators, other staff at school, the local community and the education authorities.

Governance as regards the governing body's function, means determining the policy and rules by which the school is to be organized and controlled. Governance also include that such rules and policies are carried out effectively in terms of the law and the budget of the school.

(5) Co-operative governance

According to Potgieter *et al.* (1997:18), co-operative governance is essential for the successful functioning of the school. It is also essential so as to ensure that a culture of teaching and learning is fostered in every school. According to Potgieter (1997) co-operation should occur at two levels; that of co-operation between various levels of government and co-operation at school level.

(a) Co-operation between various level of government

This means, according to Potgieter *et al.* (1997:18), that the Parliament, provincial legislature and local government authorities may all make laws, regulations and rules on education but that they must work together according to principles set out in the constitution. They must respect one another's status, power and functions and must co-operate with one another in mutual trust and good faith.

(b) Co-operation at school levels

Representation of various stakeholders on the governing body including learners and educators is a positive effort to achieve this.

(6) The principle of co-operative school governance

Potgieter *et al.* (1997:19) cite constitutional principles for co-operative governance that members of GB need to practice:

– activities of GB must preserve peace, national unity and individuality of Republic. This means there must be harmony and stability
– must secure the well being of all stakeholders in education
– must provide effective, transparent, accountable governance of the school
– must co-operate with one another in mutual trust by:

- encouraging friendly relations;
- keeping and supporting one another;
- co-ordinating activities;
- keeping to agreed procedures; and
- avoiding legal actions against one another.

2.2.6 Partnership

The principle of partnership or co-operation in education is also emphasized by the SA Schools Act of 1996. This is an important aspect of the act, in that there must be a partnership between all stakeholders who have an interest in education. The partnership must be between the State, parents, learners, educators, other members of the community in the vicinity of the school. Potgieter et al. (1997:8) are of the view that parents, as members of the community, are often in the best position to see what the school really needs, and what the problems in the school are.

2.2.6.1 Responsibilities of partners

Potgieter et al. (1997:8) state that all the stakeholders in education must accept their responsibility concerning the organization, governance and funding of schools. The stakeholders must also give whatever what ever is necessary to ensure that schools provide good education and that they function properly.

2.2.6.2 Aspects of effective partnership

Potgieter et al. (1997:8) cite these aspects of effective partnership. It is characterized by:

- mutual trust and respect;

- shared decision-making;

- shared goals and values;

- common vision;

- open communication;

- good teamwork;

- promotion of the interests of the partnership rather than those of the individual;

- respect for the role of different partners.

The study of education during the apartheid era as well as in the era of democratic South Africa imply the link between politics and education is prevalent. The link presumably is the source of influence. In the next and last section, in this chapter, I will deal with political influence on education, educational influence on politics and about link presumably existent between politics and education.

2.3   THE EXTENT OF POLITICS: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICS AND EDUCATION

2.3.1 The political influence on education

2.3.1.1 A basic notion of politics

Scribner (1977:22) talks of a basic notion of politics as the set of interactions that influence and shape the authoritative allocation of values. In elucidating this statement Scribner (1977) says allocations are mechanisms the society set up to make decisions; authoritative means decisions that are acceptable. The writer further says as individuals and groups attempt to influence these authoritative allocations, they are exhibiting

political behaviour. The notion is directly applicable to the realm of education on two levels:

> "First, education systems, such as local schools are legal subunits of the state government. Therefore, they have the authority to allocate values, on education, public funds, jobs, for the large segment of the population. The individuals, groups and agencies attempt to influence allocation are engaged in political activities within the school system. Secondly, on a different level educators and the education system itself can be viewed as engaged in trying to influence the authoritative allocation processes or products of the wider society, here politics is occurring. Much behaviour in the educational realm is clearly political" (Scribner, 1977:22).

It can be deduced from the above quotation that the decisions of a government system in the end serve the interests and values of the power holder. This means decisions on education are made by the government of the day. Brembeck (1966:425) concurs entirely with Scribner (1977) in that persons who are directly or indirectly engaged in education decision-making are involved in political activity. They are exercising social control by means of education. Educational decision makers do not carry political party labels, according to Brembeck (1966), but the education process is frequently most political when it is called "nonpartisan" and "nonpolitical". Unterhalter et al. (1991:235) reaffirms the idea of political influence in that the political terrain is where the source of transformation lies whereby education is an agent. The impulse for change will always come from the political realm. Unterhalter et al. (1991:123) reveal that after the 1975-85 period educational issues became central to any democratic settlement in South Africa. Education could not effectively be transformed without the undermining of the central pillars of discriminatory practices which include Group Areas

Act which prescribed the necessity of separate state educational structures. Therefore, Brembeck (1966:425) statement that both politics and education are intertwined is considered in this study. According to him also the struggle for control of the school is highly political struggle, and that the conduct of public education is a political issue/enterprise.

The idea of the relationship between politics and education is central in this study in order to arrive at the effects of politics on education. Van der Walt (1989) discusses five viewpoints about this relationship, as a political, conservative, liberal, liberal-reformative; and radical approaches with special reference to South Africa: "In Suid-Afrika speel die vyf modelle 'n rol in 'n vloeiende onderwyssituasie."

2.3.1.2 Van der Walt's viewpoint on the relationship

(1) Apolitical - "die apolitiese benadering"

This approach, according to Van der Walt (1989:7), state that politics has to do with the state and has nothing to do with education: "onderwys en politiek is twee relatief outonome lewensfere." Politics from one dimension of reality (werklikheid) from which the learner through education has to discover intellectually.

(2) Conservative - "die konserwatiewe benadering"

This approach, according to Van der Walt (1989:9-10), hold to foster desirable citizenship, its basic aim. The central question it addresses, is how to promote good citizens. In this approach: political participation is ideal, issues are held as they are in the eyes of children; the status quo is presented as ideal (politieke waarde van die status quo word op die leerlinge oorgedra); the curriculum bears

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the conservative goals; the kind of education system emanating from it is "action shy" and "change evasive". In political education, traditional methods are used like: *stress on factual knowledge; looking for correct answer to questions;* obedience, trust and conformity. Radim (1985:445) in Van der Walt (1989) sharply criticizes the conservative approaches as unacceptable. He gives five reason for his criticism, that:

—   *it leads children to hold respect (hoë eerbied) for the status quo*

—   it supports social uniformity

—   it ensures the position of the powerful group or party in the society

—   it leads to "good-suitable people" a dominant norm

—   *it is oppressive (onderdrukkend) in that learners are compelled to accept the standing social relationship.*

The criticism levelled here reveals that those in power will in this approach manipulate education to ensure and protect (*beskut*) their powerful position (*magposisie*).

(3)   Liberal - "die liberale benadering"

Van der Walt (1989:11) quotes Stevens (1987:82) in that liberal approach accept that education has a political dimension and that *education does not criticize those in power in the status quo.* Ross (1985:60) in Van der Walt (1989) says this approach should lead to critical thinking about social questions. The approach also recognize a person in his own right as well as one's free association.

(4)   Liberal-reformative - "die liberaal-reformatiese benadering"

The approach, according to Van der Walt (1989:15), concentrate on; the total political system; its processes and behaviour as well as informal everyday political

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context (such as school and family); the description of a political stand on issues; the approach also view the struggle and conflict between interested parties (belanghebbende groepe) as the core of politics. This approach considers the need to transcend the *status quo* as ideal (wat getransedeer behoort te word). This means changing the *status quo* to become more democratic and to make it more participative, according to Van der Walt (1989:15). According to him, this approach, should deliver a person who can on his own participate in what he comes across in life; that is, "the conflicting interests and ideals". Van der Walt (1989) contends that this approach demands that space be left for meaning: to allow argument, to develop political proficiency, personal autonomy, critical evaluation and self evaluation be prominent, emphasis on international and global. "Peoples education" is cited as a good example in South Africa of this approach.

(5)   Radical - "die radikale benadering"
       According to Van der Walt (1989:12-14), the radical approach strive to transform the *status quo*. Change is the key word for the approach (instrument om die verandering te bewerkstellig). It attempts to broaden democracy. It also attempts to take people away from systems pressure and to see people as autonomous. It emphasizes rights, responsibility, desirability of free choice. The radical approach is politics of difference. Steven (1987:76) contends that political theory and practice have a determining effect on educational theory and practice.

Van der Walt (1989:16) stresses that it is impossible to isolate the two, that is, *politics and education*. According to him "die onderwys het altyd politieke fasette en/of implikasies, en die politiek het weer op sy beurt onderwysfasette en/of

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implikasies"; "hulle is twee groothede wat elkeen relatief onafhanklik op eie terein is, maar hulle is tegelyk ook met mekaar vervleg."

2.3.1.3 The three categories of political influence

Thomas (ed.)(1983:8) clustered the effects of politics into three categories, namely: that of support of and access to education, category over the content and procedure and the latitude of social and political action.

(1)   Category One: Support and Access

This category is about influence over the support of, and the access to education. According to Thomas (ed.)(1983:8), the concern in this category is: who receives how much schooling? of what type, and of what quality? These are issues (generally) settled by political bodies outside the school system both public and private. Those who control the purse strings will ultimately control the decisions. The bodies referred to are public or private. First, the public ones include parliament, legislatures, planning committees, and school boards. Secondly, private ones refer to religious groups, political parties, ethnic society, and coalitions of parents. De Lange Report (1989:300) quotes Van den Berg reaffirming this category. Van den Berg says schools are established, funded and governed by the formal political authority in the country. This process, as stated above, occurs moreover through legislation, budgetary provision, the creation of ministries and departments of Officers of Education. Lastly, Thomas (ed.)(1983:9) contends that social dichotomies that are prime sources of dissent over support of, and access to education are:

—   urban versus rural

—   politically-favoured regions against politically-disadvantaged regions.

(2)   Category Two: Curriculum

The politics of the curriculum, according to De Lange Report (1989:305) is determined by states who often attempt to exercise a considerable amount of control over the content of the school curriculum. It is evident that the determination of school curriculum has influence of politics and politicians. This category dwells on the influence over the content and procedure of education. Thomas (ed.)(1983:8) contends that influence extent is arrived at by answering questions: what is taught? by what method is it taught, and how it is assessed? correctly. The extent to which political groups influence what goes on inside the schools and non-formal programmes differs from one society to another. It also differs from one time to another in the same society. According to Thomas (ed.)(1983:10) political groups label their application of influence as "social control" or the "public interest" while educationists within the school system call it "meddling" or "interfering".

The aspects, listed by Thomas (ed.)(1983:10), of this category of this domain of politics-education interaction are:
—   philosophy, goals and objectives
—   administrative activities
—   curricula, teaching methods and material
—   evaluation methods
—   certificates and diplomas
—   students
—   staff members

With regard, for example, to content of the curriculum, according to Thomas (ed.)(1983:11) political bodies may disagree with school personnel on the

objectives of the moral values programmes. Prominent areas of disputes are sex education, drug and alcohol education and such religious practices as prayers in the schools and the celebration of religious holidays. Thomas (ed.)(1983:11) says objectives to be pursued in these fields become an issue that stimulate confrontation between parent groups and school personnel as well as debates in legislatures and in courtrooms. According to Thomas (ed.)(1983) official regulations may be imposed, forbidding the teaching of certain values or requiring the teaching of other approved ones.

With regard to methods and material, do occasionally, according to Thomas (ed.)(1983:16), become topics of political debate, for example, laws governing the punishment; controlled reading material; political party groups may try to eliminate books that cast them in an unfair light thereby influencing content and procedure in education.

(3)   Category Three: Latitude of Action
This category is about the influence over the latitude of social and political action permitted by the people who inhabit the school. According to Thomas (ed.)(1983:8) the question here is: To what extent should the school professional staff members and students be allowed to engage in whatever social and political behaviour they choose? Thomas (ed.)(1983:18) say both the university and secondary-school students, not content to debate public issues only within the campus, periodically seek to spread their influence into the general society. Not only the youths' political beliefs but also their social habits draw reactions from political organizations. The habits Thomas 91983) cites are: hair styles, mode of dress, use of drugs, arms (guns). According to Thomas (1983) more frequently, political groups charge teachers with being not the direct activators,

but the ideological mentors behind students' activities.

In conclusion, Thomas (1983:18), is of the view that the range of influence of political groups on the education system can be broad indeed. The pattern of influence also can vary markedly. Presumably operational concepts of politics used to study politics in education need be discussed in order to shed more light on the political influence on education. Scribner (1977:24-26) cites the four operational concepts of politics as conflict, government, power and policy.

2.3.1.4 Operational concepts of politics in education

(1)   Conflict

Scribner (1977:25) says this concept is crucial to political study. Conflict is the root of all politics. The contagiousness of conflict is the central political fact. According to Scribner (1977) this concept includes activities such as: the activities of interest or pressure groups central to government process; all kinds of bargaining activities including fund bargaining structures. The relationship of actors are dominated by conflict and attempts to influence the decisions made by the authoritative policy making body. The kind and amount of influence, that can be aggregated in conflict, are dependent on resources, willingness to use them, and application of them.

(2)   Government

Government is the oldest notion associated with politics. This notion, according to Scribner (1977:23-24), has four aspects, namely:

—   an educational system is a legal subdivision of the state and its legal aspect can be studied

- an educational system can be analysed for the kind of and degree of interaction with other government units

- a school system has the authority to govern its own territory. Traditionally in education the school system was considered a separate governmental entity and school governance was studied from that perspective

- involves the long-standing question of whether education shapes the direction of the state or the state shapes the purposes of education.

(3)   Power

Scribner (1977:24) says power, as associated with politics, is not all inclusive concept. Power as a concept must be used with other concepts in order to understand certain kinds of decision-making that are explained by power. These other concepts are: control, authority and influence which are associated with the concept of power. According to Scribner (1977:25) many investigations of education politics has to do with who has how much power over whom and how that power is exercised. The power exercised either through influence, authority or control, is apparent in demands for community control and decentralization. Power can also be described as attempts by political parties to gain and maintain power. The decisions of a government system in the end serve the interests and values of the power holder. Those decisions, according to Scribner (1977:32), incidentally benefit others as well. Because political decisions benefit one group's values and interests, those decisions must also disadvantage others. This was evident in the apartheid education in case of funding and provisions of governmental institutions. Scribner stated that it has been well demonstrated that power and politics are important elements of the governance of education.

(4)   Policy

According to Scribner (1977:26) policy is about making of policy. Both the
process and the policy that results are emphasized as a central theme of politics.
Five characteristics of policy problems are identified. Policy is:

—   public in nature

—   complex

—   dominated by uncertainty

—   involving competing interests

—   very consequential.

Scribner (1977:26) says policy and policy making have emerged as major concerns of
the politics of education. Political system theory views policy making as a process
through which inputs, (demands and support) through a political system are converted
into outputs. These outputs result in certain kinds of outcomes (consequences of the
decisions) that in turn can feed back into the political system as new demands or
support.

2.3.1.5 Participatory behaviour: political styles

Lutz in Scribner (1977:56-7) place public participatory behaviour in local schools'
decisions into three styles of politics, namely: expertise, pluralistic and status. The
participatory behaviour refers to the kind of behaviour politicians or community leaders
display in their execution of their duties. Consequently it is the influential behaviour of
participating community leader from which political power in education emanates. A
short description of the three styles follows.

(1)   <u>Status politics</u>

Status politics, according to Scribner (1977:57), states, demands in moralistic, non-negotiable terms. It uses "face smashing" tactics and disruption of the present power structure as its major weapons. Its leadership is informal, often shifting and very close to the grassroots politics of people. Scribner (1977:57) says while always just below the surface of any political process; it emerges full blown when one category of the governed perceive itself and finds no way or hope of altering the relative position within the established structure or by other political style.

(2)   <u>Expertise politics</u>

According to Scribner (1977:57) individuals of certain experts know better than the people; what is good for and should be done for the people. These are support groups that only influence, they do not decide. Decisions are taken by the top power elite and experts are not expected to make public demand on the power structure that have not been agreed to in advance.

(3)   <u>Pluralistic politics</u>

According to Scribner (1977:57) the style in educational practice seem to be of two types:

(a)   One allows another group of experts into arena usually through collective bargaining procedures. The teacher group is the most likely group in this type of pluralism.

(b)   Community control is the extreme participating example of pluralistic politics in education.

The pluralistic model does not allow one to analyze the type of politics being exercised in attempt to influence educational decisions. It permits speculation and hypothesis building about type of politics that may be exercised by which group, under what conditions, and with what results?

2.3.1.6 Politicization

Thomas (ed.)(1983:272) contends that failure of education's separate government seem to lead t its politicization. The politicization of education, according to Heese and Badenhorst (1992:IX), may be a course or an effect of the politicization of the state. The public interest, the politicization of education and the publicity received in the media have resulted in a relatively public debate on education. Heese and Badenhorst (1992:IX) state that education is an emotive issue and is characterized by considerable amount of emotional heat in South Africa.

Thomas (ed.) (1983:273) argue that the expansion of conflict about education in the general day-to-day politics of the nation will, eventually, surface questions about; the legitimacy of education itself; its structures; internal politics; and governing philosophy.

According to Thomas (ed.)(1983:272) a different source of educational politicization may be seen where the central agencies of a states political processes undertake to redefine the philosophy, goals, and objectives of education. Such redefinition appears with respect to the delivery of education to particular population social class, ethnic group, regional groups, particularly ignored or discriminated against by the educational system. Thomas also contends that the national government which expresses concern for equality appears most often as the apologia for the direct intervention of the national

government in redefining educational questions. The rationale of equality leading to this sort of educational politicization may be seen in South African Schools' Act of 1996 which stated the policy of redress and equity. This summarizes the section on political influence on education. Subsequent to that, the next section deals with educational influence on politics.

2.3.2 The educational influence on politics

In finding how education influences politics, Thomas (ed.)(1983:18-23) provides functions of the education system, whereby the school programmes influences relationship among political groups in the broader society within which the education system operates. The seven functions will be elaborated on to shed light on education influence.

2.3.2.1 Seven functions of the education system

(1)   Political socialization

Thomas also calls this citizenship training. According to him social study programmes are directed toward this.

(2)   Political legitimation

Thomas (ed.)(1983:19-20) contends that the education system becomes an important instrument for achieving this goal. Educational tools used are newspapers, and television to persuade the people that rise to power has been legally, morally and socially desirable.

(3) <u>Manpower production</u>

The education system is assigned national development scheme which includes a *manpower production component*. Thomas (ed.)(1983:20) says, *how long the* education system carries out the manpower assignment, the longer it influences the stability and longetivity of the existing political organization.

(4) <u>The sorting of personnel for the power hierarchy</u>

This feature, according to Thomas (ed.)(1983:20-21), interests sociopolitical analysts, at different levels of the schooling hierarchy. Educational institutions perform a sorting function that influences the political system of the society in general. The schools are designed to maintain the *status quo* in terms of social class, ethnic, religious and gender characteristics.

(5) <u>Social assessment and interpretation</u>

According to Thomas (ed.)(1983:21) within each society there are social critics. These are people who assume the task of assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the political-economic system and of displaying their judgement for other to views. Thomas says these critics include: professors, journalists, legislators, religious leaders, novelists, and activities within political groups arising in power. Education system serves as a key agency for transmitting evaluation to the next generation of citizens. It also serves for stimulating youth for functioning as critics themselves. Thomas further states that the government need to exercise some degree of tolerance for political assessment in freedom of speech, free press and literacy or this social evaluator role of education.

(6) <u>Social control</u>

According to Thomas (ed.)(1983:22) social assessment often results in attempts

at social action. These are attempts to correct shortcomings in the social system. Thomas contends that students and sometimes staff members from the educational establishment are activists. Attempts may be of two types:

— those intended to make the existing political system operate more fairly and efficiently and

— those intended to change the basic philosophy and structure of the system.

Consequently, from the above, Thomas expresses the view that social control attempts to change the social system of bribery, corruption, inhumanity, favouritism, exploitation of the weak, and the repression of free speech and of religious freedom, as major shortcomings in society.

(7) The stimulation of social change

The nature of this function of education in a society is reflected in the question: "To what extent can the education enterprise serve as a conscious tool for affecting major changes in the political order?" The question has been debated over decades by sociologists, political scientists and educationists alike. Some content the education system has an obligation to influence social order. Thomas (ed.)(1983:22) quotes Dewey (1899:43-44) in that the school should be an embryonic community propagating the idea that it must be a lever of social change. Thomas also quotes Conty (1932:22) in that schools must become centres for building of the civilization.

The political effects of educational acts can either be the results the education planned or results they never intended.

2.3.2.2 Strategies for using education

These are strategies for using education to achieve political ends. Thomas (ed.) (1983:31) contends that in recent years the politicians operating government of Western industrialized nations have been employing three sorts of activities. These activities, according to Thomas (1983), are related to education as instruments for replacing a deteriorating public confidence in the current regime's ability to rule.

These activities are:

- the creation of education laws and the increased involvement of the courts in educational policy
- the use of research and experts and
- the introduction of participatory decision-making in education.

2.3.2.3 Internal politics of the education system

Thomas (ed.)(1983:27) contends that the internal politics of the education system cannot "*ab initio*" be theoretically ruled out-of-field in the attempt to understand the relations between a country's general politics and its education. One cannot follow a criteria which would rule out-of-field those cases where the inability of the system of educational governance to contain its internal conflicts by means of its established conflict-management channels allow these conflicts to spill over into the realm of a nations general politics.

Innacone writes in Thomas (1983:271), that the expansion of conflict about educational moves, which can no longer be contained by internal politics of educational government, require their adjudication and resolution by the more central agencies of

a nation's government. In the process Thomas states that such educational issues and conflicts become part of the ongoing politics of a nation's central government.

2.3.3 **The relationship between politics and education**

According to Thomas (ed.)(1983:1), politics and education live in a symbolic relationship with each influencing the fate of the other. Symbiotic relationships means each simultaneously affecting the other. One therefore concludes the nature of this politics-education interaction can vary greatly from case to case depending on the circumstances involved.

Politics and education affect each other in three versions, through:

- Patriotism: Patriotism in some nations is taught. Students thereafter join the nations armed forces to help protect their country's political system against intrusion by activities from competing political systems (Thomas, 1983:1).

- The political-education interaction: Here one finds one region of a country enjoying superior educational opportunities. More and better facilities; more and better teachers; because key political leaders located in the nation's capital originally come from that particular region and consistently favour its requests for educational support. Consequently, the percentage of government officials from that region continues to increase. The bias of the government in favour of the region also continues to grow.

- Political-educational symbiosis: This symbiosis result when members of the dominant religious sect in a country pass a law requiring religious instruction in

the nation's school. Thereafter, Thomas (1983:1) says, the sect can expect to gain superior opportunities to propagate its belief, thus further strengthening its position as the nation's dominant faith.

Van der Walt (1989:2) is of the view that people's education is a good example of the relationship between politics and education. The author says the existence of people's education is the result that: "die onderwys is dus ondenkbaar as dit nie in verband met die politiek verstaan word nie; die twee word nie as twee afsonderlikhede en onafhanklike groothede beskou nie." This means politics and education cannot be viewed as two different and independent entities.

Education acts in some degree as an agent of social change practically in all classes of society. That it should do so, Brembeck (1966:195) says, is not surprising in a technological society which requires expert knowledge and specialized skills to succeed. These goals especially economic and social, all political affairs, can hardly be achieved without education.

It is not possible to address the question of democratic changes and social transformation in South Africa, without coming to terms with the education question. Further, Unterhalter et al. (1991:122) contend that the centrality of education to the struggle for democracy in South Africa stems from the 1976 school children revolts in Soweto.

Apple and Weis (1986:8) are of the view that politics and education cannot be separated for many already mentioned reasons and for many reasons among others

• school programmes are influenced by economic needs

- parents and communities put pressures on schools to prepare children for success
- different interest groups conflict over what knowledge should be passed on to children through curriculum content and textbooks.

In support of the above view Ballantine (1997:238-9) expresses the view that the state has become increasingly involved in educational reforms, hardly any area has remained untouched. The whole educational system, according to him, is affected by laws requiring change in administration, school district, early childhood, general finance, secondary, students, teachers and parents.

In conclusion Brembeck (1966:426) emphasis the fact that politics and education are intertwined. Public education is a governmental function, a part of national, state and local government. Education is governed by formal laws and its monies are derived from the power of the state to tax, borrow and spend.

2.4 CONCLUSION

The historical background provided the study with much depth of the extent of politics in education in South Africa. The background also provide clear understanding of the extent of the effects of politics. The extent is to vast and too wide to meticulously discern. However, it was essential to review literature so as to elucidate the link between politics and education. The literature study provided a clear distinction of a dividing line between the two. The study attempts to dwell on positive effects of influences. Lastly, the historical background of politics and education has helped to streamline this study on the effects of politics on education of secondary schools.

Chapter Three will deal with the extent and effects of general politics in KwaZulu-Natal; conflicting political ideologies; effects of politics on school effectiveness; effects of politics on provisions, on educators and their unions; on culture of learning and teaching.

CHAPTER THREE

THE EFFECT OF GENERAL POLITICS IN THE EDUCATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN KWAZULU-NATAL (1980-1999)

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The study engages in an exacting exercise, that of standing back and seeing oneself in context. This exercise affirmed by Broudy (1961:18) demands a philosophical perspective to analyse and evaluate principles. To determine the philosophical implications for education we should understand the main school of thought whose deliberations or manifestations have had direct application to school organization and practice. Broudy (1961) argues that education practitioners should compare established philosophical implication for their direct influence and also look for direct implication.

One feels in the portrayal of philosophical systems, it is of prime importance to communicate at least some of the emotional complex surrounding it, such as struggles, boycotts, fights between ANC and IFP, so as to see the logical outcome, in this case the effects of general politics in the education of secondary schools in KwaZulu-Natal between the years 1980 to 1999. One holds the perception that the education philosophy defined by Brubacker (1962:6) as a philosophical study of this complex problem of education and politics, plays a role in this study, and that, that philosophy tries to get an overview of the whole field of education and politics.

Literature reviewed in this third chapter reveals that the beginning of the 1980's brought about another political turning point for KwaZulu. The change is affirmed by Nzimande and Thusi (1991:7) in that students mobilized in schools; school boycotts; student-called stayaways and brought violent reprisals as early as 1985. According to Unterhalter *et al.* (1991:212) this led to another development of politics. He avers the conflict in schools quickly developed into bitter confrontation between United Democratic Front (UDF) and Inkatha supporters. This political conflict had been particularly intense and unique in its longetivity. Scribner (1977:190) concurs in his description of this political development, that it was new heterogeneity that had led to confrontation, conflict, and produced new forces that had to be orchestrated for effective education impact; secondly during this development the encounter of the old and the new forces shaped the politics of urban education, which eventually spelt over to rural areas. The schools, especially secondary schools were vulnerable as the most accessible segment of the establishment. Lastly, Scribner (1977:190) state that during the political development, schools were regarded by the populace as "the most critical institutions for eradicating (the) historic injustices. One therefore concludes the secondary school levels that took part in the conflict were the worst affected since the schools were used to eradicate past injustices.

The confrontations waged against both KwaZulu Government and its Department of Education (DEC) demanded her to be dismantled, (Nzimande & Thusi, 1991:73); and the Bantustan to be destroyed, (Buthelezi, 1986:151). Confrontation and conflict brewed up into fierce political violence. The violence rocked KwaZulu, from the mid-1980's and led to the current state of education in KwaZulu-Natal province. Inkatha, according to Buthelezi (1988:28) was lambasted because it did not involve itself in school boycotts; secondly it was an enemy of UDF to be annihilated (Buthelezi, 1987:130). One concludes that an Inkatha led KwaZulu Government was not liked by

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UDF members. One feels learners were mobilized against education offered by KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture which was regarded as inferior and illegitimate.

During this period of turmoil, gaining access into schools and into communities was easy. The accessibility meant going as they pleased, through vandalized school fences and school buildings. Buthelezi (1988:59) states that many activists had been imported as agents provocateur from elsewhere. He further says these agents were trained instigators of violence. This accessibility, in order to community leaders, both in urban and rural schools. One concludes that accessibility was an attempt to turn people against community leaders hence usurping their powers. Both McKay (1995:182) and Harber (1998:118) agree on that this was because of different conflicting interests.

Gaining access into, either a school or a village, to a certain extent, was through force and violent means. This confrontation and conflict is the underlying factor of political violence that infested KwaZulu homeland. Harber (1998:118) states that KwaZulu homeland's experience and its acceptance of violence as a problem-solving tool and the persistence of the adversarial political mindset - "if you are not for us you are against us" - led to continual confrontation and stand-off. On the other hand the national process of democratisation was continually hampered by political posturing, for the long history of political divisions and accompanying violence had had a lasting and negative impact on people.

Drachler (1962:190) avers that the political turmoil of the 1980's and 1990's in KwaZulu led schools to enter into educational-political arena, without allies or power. It was a task for which the schools were not prepared for. However as democratic institutions they could not resist. One agrees with Dracher (1962) who avers that the

grievances posed mingled with historic injustices appeared as one. Politically the city as well as rural community had to respond to the present and to the history. One feels that called for extraordinary political leadership government to assist schools survive.

In this third chapter the researcher will discuss some effects of general politics in the education of secondary schools. The chapter has been divided into three sections. Firstly, the conflicting political ideologies and their impact on secondary schools. Secondly, the impact of the activities of political parties on secondary schools. Lastly, a discussion of some significant effects of politics in the education of secondary schools in KwaZulu-Natal.

3.1   CONFLICTING POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES AND THEIR IMPACT

In order to gain an understanding of political conflict, it is essential, at first to elaborate on the concept of ideology as applicable in this study; its implications; why incorporation of ideologies was not feasible and the question of legitimatisation as apposed by democratic movements.

3.1.1 Ideology

The term ideology used in this study is defined by Meigham (1981:155) as an ideology used in the analyses of ideologies of education since this makes it capable of being used as an analytical tool to demonstrate alternative patterns of ideas that co-exist and compete for acceptance. One ideology may achieve a position of dominance over the other. Meigham (1981:159) further states that ideologies of education operate at various levels; having several meanings; nationally in the Education Act; regionally in the local education authority; locally in a particular school and internally between moral

groups of a school. Furthermore and more importantly ideologies of education are linked with other ideologies of political parties.

3.1.2 Political Ideology

Different political parties, according to Meigham (1981:155), do have widely publicized, detailed, formal party politics on education. One holds the view that political interests bear different beliefs. In KwaZulu-Natal the two major African political parties, namely Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the African National Congress (ANC) held conflicting political ideologies. Their political ideologies had conflicted over the two passing decades over issues of: educational provision; educational management; school governance; the standard of education and the schools' academic performance.

The ANC led government and its National Department of Education differ from IFP education policy in that it was the National Department of Education that was responsible for setting standards including content (ANC Report, 1998:12). The provinces had to employ educators; decide on textbooks and develop the curriculum into what the teacher does in each lesson. Whereas the IFP education policy advocates that in keeping with its federal approach, the provision and management of education should be a provincial competence. The role of the National Department of Education should be to monitor compliance with essential norms and standards (Policy Document 2000:16).

The ANC Report (1998:12) advocates an education system centrally controlled at national level whereas the cornerstone of the IFP constitutional vision had been the devolution of power. The IFP advocated the devolution of power, based on subsidiarity, in which the provinces were established as the primary government of the people and

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in which the provinces had all the power and functions which could practically be exercised at this level (IFP Policy Document 2000:7). As opposed to present practice of the National Department of Education determining norms and standards, the IFP did not believe in uniform or nationally determined, for example, educator-learner ratios. The IFP believed in that school authorities would obviously be strongly encouraged to move closer to the average pupil-teacher ratios, depending on budgetary affordability and sustainability.

IFP believes in discipline and maintains that a culture of learning, responsibility and authority in schools needs to be promoted. According to IFP Policy Document, discipline and orderly classrooms should be maintained. However, during the political turmoil this discipline and culture of teaching and learning had waned especially in secondary schools. Moreover, the IFP policy advocated improving the quality of teaching, high levels of educator performance and dedication. According to IFP, excellence in the teaching profession needed encouraging, by rewarding educators who improve their qualification and in particular the quality of school principals. School principals, according to the policy document, should master a wider range of skills than educators in administration, co-ordination, planning, community interaction, negotiation and funding skills all required of an effective principal (IFP Policy Document 1999:16-17).

The last point one wishes to highlight on conflicting political thinking is that one about traditional leaders. The ANC Report (1998:12) acknowledged that ANC was still working on agreeing on the role of traditional leaders in whose areas most rural secondary schools were based. Whereas the IFP Policy Document (1999:17) stipulates a strong IFP belief in the recognition of the autonomy of traditional communities and the protection of traditional leadership within the overall system of pluralism.

In the above discussion on political ideologies one has highlighted the severity and the intensity of how the differences elongated decision making, on how educational problems in schools can be successfully solved. One concludes that the conflicting political thinking also affected both material and human resources management meant for schools to be effectively managed.

3.1.3 Incorporation

Incorporation, as defined by Meigham (1981:155), means either to absorb, take over or combine with another's ideology in a variety of ways. One therefore concludes incorporation in the KwaZulu-Natal province could not materialize because of the opposing views held by major competing political parties. Speculations of amalgamation were disputed and shun away by politicians. One has observed that peace treaties had been held but in vain. It is evident that there had been no incorporation of ideas on education. The primary reason, Nzimande and Thusi (1991:12) state, it is lack of political tolerance between the parties. Hlongwa (1999:7) in the Report by the Institute of Multiparty Democracy (IMPD) in KwaZulu-Natal concurs that parties were intolerant in many ways, *inter alia*: Firstly, KwaZulu-Natal is one of the likely places in South Africa where one could get beaten up or even killed for one's political opinion; Secondly, the survey notes that most people in the KwaZulu-Natal province saw peace agreements as publicity stunts that would have little effects at grassroots level where the problem actually exists; Lastly, no-go areas still abound and many Amakhosi and other traditional leaders allowed only one party, they were affiliated to, to campaign in their areas. One notes some developments towards cooperative governance within the province. Peace initiative programmes had been promoted to bring about peace hence establishing political tolerance vital for peaceful settlement of disputes and political differences among KZN communities. One concludes that the

peace initiatives will positively affect the education in secondary schools in that political fear is eradicated and peace is restored coupled with stability, orderliness, self discipline essential for an effective secondary school.

3.1.4 Legitimatisation

IFP-ideology achieved acceptance through its policies in governance as well as in education prior the 1980's in KwaZulu. The cultural domination, as Meigham (1981:157) calls it cultural hegemony, was dominant in KwaZulu. This was according to the dominant Zulu culture and an attempt to contain all others within it. He further states that such a dominant culture becomes the basis of a dominant ideology. UDF/COSATU and its affiliates confronted and opposed this ideology. What came up, Esland (1977) in Meigham (1981:158) points out that the socially powerful supporters of UDF/COSATU were used to enforce the other view of social order. Organization like UDF/COSATU were strongly, unequivocally opposed to the legitimate governance of education by the KwaZulu government. Both Buthelezi (1987:130; and 1986:151) and Nzimande and Thusi (1991:73) agree in that the KwaZulu government was not regarded legitimate by UDF/COSATU and its affiliates. Moreover, Nzimande and Thusi (1991:73) avers that education of an Inkatha led government had been seen by the youth of COSAS, affiliated to UDF/COSATU alliance, as illegitimate, because KwaZulu, according to the ANC Report (1998:12) was the bantustan. The bantustan was regarded by UDF/COSATU as a puppet run by the South African State, something to get rid of. One therefore concludes that this resulted in political turmoil that had an impact on secondary schools whose learners had been part of the struggles for or against KwaZulu.

To conclude this section, it was essential for one to look into the role of community

leadership especially Amakhosi, in regard to this political conflict and politics in general as impacting on the education of secondary schools. It is important also to view the implication of their role in secondary schools.

3.1.5 Community leadership and secondary schools

Scribner (1977:30) emphasises the necessity to comprehend and understand the power structures of the community and the operation of politics of education. One therefore felt imperative to discuss this understanding. McKay (1995:182) and Harber (1998:118) both agree that community leadership especially traditional leaders had been left out in the struggle against apartheid education, and their control over schools usurped from their authority. In rural schools Amakhosi were firm on the control of their communities and schools. In their positions, McKay (1995:191) states, they discarded political activities and political interference in schools. They were completely opposed to strikes, stayaways and school boycotts. Sometimes they barred or regulated admissions in schools especially secondary schools. Educators were approved by the community leadership. This control of education by Amakhosi, Esland (1977) in Meigham (1981:158) says, it was one way, prominently need, for preventing an alternative ideology from becoming available. The other way used in rural areas was "to deny access to educators from outside the leadership areas". One concludes this means educators residing in certain urban areas teaching at Amakhosi controlled schools were denied access to schools.

Shiba (1999:6) reports that Amakhosi in KwaZulu-Natal were very vocal in expressing their sentiments about their role in the communities they lead: They felt sidelined and abused, feeling bitter at being left out of the general politics of the country and may be because most politicians regard traditional leaders as part of the problem of South

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Africa and especially in KwaZulu-Natal; They were bitter that politicians campaign by vilifying their names and were not consulted when campaigning in their areas. Lastly, they were the best available source for promotion of peace and maintenance of social stability in their communities. These sentiments show anger reflecting on how Amakhosi's authority was being usurped. One is of the view these sentiments reaffirm McKay's (1995:197) description. He describes traditional leaders as the custodians of culture, values, customs, and norms of their communities. One therefore concludes that being the custodians of these values, Amakhosi could positively or negatively influence school governance, and school management in many ways. Politically they have power to influence a political opinion in the running and decision making in schools as well as the employment of educators. If the community leaderships had been positively involved in the affairs of secondary schools, all the political chaos in secondary schools could have been averted and calmed. A stable learning and teaching environment, conducive could have been created for effective teaching and learning to take place. Amakhosi were therefore an institution pivotal to community development. The South African Constitution Act 108 Chapter 12, section 212 stipulates that, subsection (1) - this is an institution at the local level which deals with matters affecting local communities; secondly, subsection (2)(a) - stipulates that a provision for the establishment of the House of Traditional Leaders in Parliament, and a national legislation may establish a Council of Traditional Leaders. One therefore concludes, for the great revival of culture of teaching and learning in secondary schools, Amakhosi with their constitutional right and authority should be given respect by politicians in their political roles. They should not be left out in general politics and especially in matters affecting secondary school education in their areas.

Therefore, the political intolerance and conflict hanging over KwaZulu-Natal needed reconciling. Several attempts to negotiate peace were made. The first Premier of

KwaZulu-Natal, Dr FT Mdlalose, pledged in his Parliamentary opening Address (KZN-Government Journal of 1994), first and foremost to do anything possible to bring lasting peace in the KZN Province. Prior the democratic governments, Buthelezi (1989:113) warned that from past experience Inkatha had become convinced that no peace initiatives will ever succeed if it is unilaterally imposed and does not originate from the members of the warning factions. However, the 1999 KZN Coalition Government between the IFP and the ANC took a giant step aimed at bringing lasting peace. Both parties agreed to resolve their differences within the KZN province. The peace agreement was termed Resolution of Goodwill (Khumalo 1999). One concludes that the peace agreement was a boon for secondary schools. Presumably it would bring about political tolerance, co-operation in addressing political issues affecting this level of schooling.

3.1.6 Resolution of goodwill

This is Peace Agreement signed by ANC and IFP in 1999 in KwaZulu-Natal. The agreement stipulated that bad tactics used previously were completely condemned. The agreement also expressed a wish to work hand in hand in good co-operation. There was an education problem caused by political ideologies of IFP and ANC led to enstrangled relations in education. Educational policies therefore took longer time to be implemented since the uncompleted debate would continue even in the media. The resolution of goodwill therefore aimed at bringing the lasting peace in KZN. The resolution entails, *inter alia;* the IFP pledging itself to shared common goals with the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal; secondly, IFP resolved to maintain its distinctiveness within the Provincial coalition government regarding its policies, vision, mission and history; thirdly, there must be mutual recognition of the value of the difference of respective policies and the prospectives which the ANC and the IFP brought towards the achievements of

the shared common social goals and objectives for the people; lastly, the greatest task, both organizations had, was an enormous task to heal the wounds and also to normalize the black body politic in order to re-occupy themselves with delivery to the poorest of the poor. Members from both parties still feel the pain of having lost their loved ones in the conflict, at the signing of the peace agreement (Daily News, Monday, August 2, 1999:1).

One concludes that the four issues above raised the implication that: there will be speedily delivery of educational needs to secondary schools and other schools; there will be mutual recognition; there will be smooth debates on educational issues because of common goals and objectives; a conducive learning and teaching environment will be created and that redress and imbalances in funding and provisions in secondary school education will be jointly addressed.

The researcher therefore concludes that the IFP and ANC clashing political ideologies discussed above had been the causal factor of confrontation among learners belonging to two camps. One had observed a perception created that there was a legitimate political ideology, that of ANC, hence undermining the other, that of IFP. This conflict spilled over to secondary school learners who became crazy with the so called "saviour" political organization. Learning and teaching had been greatly derailed. One also observed that most Amakhosi registered with IFP categorically rejected the accommodation of youth led by Congress of South African Students (COSAS) - the Youth-Wing for ANC. Unterhalter et al. (1991:213) categorically affirms this argument in that the devastating effects of party politics had great wounds in KwaZulu-Natal schools and their communities. Secondary schools were still battling to address the results of activities of political parties. Some of the political activities discussed in the next section were prevalent at this level of schooling.

3.2 THE IMPACT OF THE ACTIVITIES OF POLITICAL PARTIES ON SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Thomas *et al.* (1983:2) explains the political action as an action involving attempts of political groups to exercise power over others. Activities, according to him, are means of political strategies ranging from gentle persuasion and logical reasoning through bribery and intimidation to physical violence. Political action seem to be found more on motives of, *inter alia*, fame and power. One has however observed that leaders in communities had to intervene in schools' political problems. Thomas (1983:10) avers that political groups labeled their application of influence through their activities as "social control" and or that they acted in "public interest", ostensibly general public interest, within the school system, were apt to call it "meddling" or "interference". Such intervention by community leaders would be called interference or meddling in school matters. One therefore is of the perception that community leaders could act in good faith in certain instances of political chaos in their schools.

Cole (1999:9) in Daily News report that the United States Consul-General, Frederic Hassari, in his assessment of KZN politics, learnt that KZN politics is unpredictable. The unpredictable to the Americans, according to Hassani, caused them to be scared and thought the country would erupt in flames before the 1994 elections. However, by the 1990's the major political problems had been avoided by deft maneuvering. The crucial political issues were handled through negotiations at the Congress of Democratic South Africa (CODESA) held in Johannesburg in 1990. International mediation was sought. A negotiated peaceful settlement was agreed upon by all political parties in South Africa. Hence deft maneuvering avoided having South Africa in flames.

One is therefore determined it is of importance to study and understand the impact of

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political activities on the education of secondary schools. In this section a particular attention is paid to how schools were turned into war-zones, how politicization of schools came about; how political parties struggled over control of secondary schools, and lastly what were the factors of political influence affecting the secondary schools in KZN province.

3.2.1 War-zones

The political activities turned secondary schools for blacks in KwaZulu into war-zones. When black on black political violence intensified, it spilled over onto secondaries. One is of the view that the youth was greatly involved in political struggles outside the schools carried those struggles into their respective schools. Garson (1998:2) affirms how schools were turned into war-zones, in that; the truth is that crime violence and that phenomenon which embodies it all - gangsterism were making inroads more and more deeply into the schools. This suggests that gangsterism made its way in secondary school in the guise of political parties' activities. Secondly, Garson (ibid) avers that educators were expected to teach and students to learn when they had their eyes warily on the door, half-expecting to be held up by a branch of gun-wielding thugs. This suggests the negative impact of gangsterism. This imply that this fear had been exacerbated by the educators' and learners' experience of gun shootings, killing of learners and educators within the premises of the schools through kangaroo courts. One concludes that schools as fighting areas had their programmes disrupted, experienced high absenteeism and the school property, experienced high absenteeism and the school property smashed and looted. That on its own negatively affected the culture of teaching and learning. Lastly, Garson (ibid) disputes the retrenchment of security guards at "privileged" schools in KwaZulu-Natal as this increased the anxiety referred to above. The withdrawal of security services by implication means the lives of

educators and learners are at stake in those war-zones.

Garson (1998:12) states that most people had been exposed to violence of some sort or another. People knew how long the effects linger. According to him studies show time and again that schools functioning as safe havens are schools which succeed. Many schools had therefore been gangsters' zones instead of safe havens of learning they should be. Going to school had literally become a life and death issue for most educators and learners in KwaZulu-Natal. One agrees with Garson (ibid) that the brutal manner in which educators were terrorized attest to the fact that many schools were turned into gangsters' zones.

One concludes that the incidents of political attacks reported, affected the work spirit of educators, lowered their morale and that of their learners. It also led to a state of apathy and depression. These incidents finally had a negative bearing on November examination results of a secondary school, because they affected the culture of learning and teaching, discipline and authority of these schools, in particular.

3.2.2 **Politicisation**

Heese and Badenhorst (1992:52) maintains that politicisation of Black Education might well had been one of the strongest forces driving this transition in South Africa. According to these authors, politicization was negative in the sense that more being enlightening about the backlogs and injustices of the apartheid education, sowed differences and enstrangled relations between black parties. Nzimande and Thusi (1991:73) confirm the above argument in that high school learners in democratic movements, be it UDF; COSAS or Inkatha Youth Brigade because of the negative attitude became troops and political activists. One quite agrees with Heese and

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Badenhorst (1992:52) who state that where troops, used in the battle against apartheid education, had been learners, the schools were characterized by: poor attendance; non-acceptance of authority; destruction of facilities and intimidation of those who wish ordinary education to proceed. One draws a conclusion that politicization enstrangled relations in great details; between educators and learners, between parents and learners, between the school and the community and its leadership. Poor relations between stakeholders adversely impacted on co-operation, singleness of purpose, educational provisions and funding so vital in the smooth running of secondary schools.

3.2.3 Control of schools

Brembeck (1966:425) argues that the struggle for control of the schools is a highly political struggle. Being in control of schools, especially secondary schools had been fought for moreso as means of gaining access to propagate a particular political ideology acceptance. Meddling and interference occurred, Thomas (1983:10) avers, as part of the political struggle wherein both educators and learners were involved in one way or the other. This resulted in unwanted learners and or unwanted educators. Furthermore, Thomas (1983:171) states that the education system, is in effect, an agent of mobility, and nowhere, in this phenomenon is it more clearly illustrated than at this level of schooling, that is, secondary school level. One holds the opinion that the struggle for control over the secondary schools, moreso because learners at this level were particularly interested in general political issues and were very active in general politics, rendered these schools undoubtedly inefficient and ineffective.

Unterhalter et al. (1991:222) comment on the conflict between the Department of Education and Culture, under the formerly known KwaZulu-Government, and some of its employees who were members of the South African Democratic Teachers Union

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(SADTU). These educators had become prominent political activists who challenged most education policies together with UDF. However, Unterhalter (ibid) state that the department remained adamant that if educators could not work in such a way that they fulfilled the national goals they could get out of the system. These educators indirectly wanted to display their right over the control of all school activities and functionings. Hartshorne (1992:295) concurs with Scribner (1977:214) in that educators saw little that was positive and appropriate from the work of the departmental authorities, be it school committees, superintendent of education management and the Minister of Education in KwaZulu. Educators took them as autocratic and very unsympathetic to their demands. Educators saw themselves as helpless in the face of the disruptions and unsympathetic department. At this time the Department of Education was faced with defiance, insubordination and its policy and authority parties. One is of the view that the department lost control over schools and so were educators in their line of function. One presumes the disruptions and the school boycotts were indirectly blackmailing the work of the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture (KDEC), that of endlessly aspiring and promotion of quality teaching and learning, educator dedication, maximal educator incentive and motivation, excellent education and learner performance. Buthelezi (1988) avers that the defiance and insubordination was aimed at opposing IFP led KwaZulu government as propagated by UDF/COSATU, under the pretext that KwaZulu government was illegitimate and was an apartheid structure - "a bantustan" as Nzimande and Thusi (1991) called this type of government.

Educators had lost complete control over schools and learners. Moreover they feared learners who had lost respect for them. Unterhalter et al. (1991:221) argues that there was serious breakdown in communication between educators and learners. He cites the example in teaching history as a subject. According to him, history subject educators were unable to express themselves freely in fear of being implicated. They

also feared that members of political organisations would label them as either UDF members or Inkatha members, depending from which party labeling came. They would be in danger of being displaced or to the extreme being killed. Teaching had therefore become increasingly defensive, confined to the syllabus, with no relationship or communication with learners outside the classroom. Furthermore, Unterhalter (ibid) state that without the support of any educator organization, educators saw no purpose of individual action. Fear and mistrust pervaded schools. Educators isolated themselves from pupils. Learners took the frontline role in collaboration with political organizations. One views such loss of control over learning material and learning activity as detrimental to pursued learning and teaching results in secondary schools, hence were end of the year results so disastrous and despicable. Poor results led to a demand - "pass one pass all". This is indicative of the complete loss of control over schools by both educators and departmental officials. One agrees loss of control was coupled with loss of school discipline, among educators and learners. It is a known fact a disciplined school environment is conducive to effective learning and teaching. One therefore presumes the loss of control led to complete loss of the culture of learning and teaching in secondary schools.

An analysis of the Pietermaritzburg situation in 1987 up to 1990 by Unterhalter *et al.* (1991:212-228) reveals many resemblances of what occurred in the whole of KwaZulu. Learners became militant. Learners acted without accountability. Learners resorted to political destructive violence, which caused division between them and their parents and their educators. Learners were organized through the Congress of South African Students (COSAS). Learners acted through COSAS against education issues that were later increasingly linked to broader townships and national struggles. Rural schools experienced stayaway, boycotts and strikes. However Nzimande and Thusi (1991:7) agree that the children involved in this conflict had witnessed and had been involved in

experiences of extreme horror. One observed the forceful removal of learners from their classes to join marches pickets and national struggles. Rural schools and other township schools experienced the spill over, of what occurred in big city townships. One strongly agree with Nzimande and Thusi (1991) in that learners were great victims of political violence in the province; school buildings, desks, books, were vandalized and looted because these were taken as apartheid objects and structures. One, however, presume learners acted out of frustration in fighting a psychological enemy, that is apartheid ideology, by destroying school property that benefitted them. At this time there was absolutely no control of schools.

Ramgate (1999:9) advocates for curative ethos in the education since there is:
> "the pervasive culture of indiscipline in black communities, the absence of self mastery and orderly behaviour, still tyrannised by the hidden enemies that lurks in the mindsets and cultural habits" (Sowetan, Monday, March 9, 1999:9).

In the above quotation Ramogale (1999) implies that a new culture had emerged against a culture conducive for schools to be controllable. The hidden enemies by implication work behind the scene, using learners and sometimes educators hence inculcating and changing their mindset during the exploitation. Discipline and education cannot be separated. Appropriate, orderly behaviour and good discipline are required for learning and teaching to proceed as planned. One therefore agrees with Ramogale (ibid) in that a curative ethos is of utmost importance. One also agrees with him in that the standard of education in secondary schools should be drastically improved, by addressing the culture of indiscipline and inculcating appropriate behaviour. Control in schools must be restored. One is of the view that the loss of control discussed above is indicative of the extent of political influence to be discussed in the next section and

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the political influence occurred.

3.2.4 Political influence

The critical factors of influence were too numerous. Thomas (1983:24) identifies seven factors that influenced the sort of strategies political strategists or political activists adopted for their influence to thrive. These factors are: personal welfare; perceived consequences; identification, scope, authority hierarchy, organizational habituation and communication networks. One is of the opinion that secondary school learners as well as their educators could not escape being influenced through these factors identified by Thomas (1983). Political organizations used youth structures, for example, Inkatha used the Youth Brigade and the ANC used COSAS, through which all strategic planning meant for the youth even secondary schools, could be communicated.

Thomas (1983) avers that political strategists communicated their messages to all membership, to become aware of planned activities, organizational structures, their scope of activities and about who was on the authority hierarchy. Personal welfare was guaranteed by affiliation, support and participation. There was need for a member to identify with all activities and the party ideology. Identification and welfare determined the consequences that which will happen as a result of dissent. Buthelezi (1986:18) states that the political activities were marked by increased radicalization in Black politics, upward spiral of violence for political purpose and ungovernability. One concludes that these activities had, as seen earlier, an impact because of tremendous political influence, exerted on KZN-secondary schools, they could not escape scot-free, the extent of political influence.

To conclude, the following third section of this chapter gives an elaboration on

significant effects of general politics on the education of secondary schools. The significant effects emanate from the conflicting ideologies and the activities of political parties. What follows, therefore, are the significant effects or "scars" borne by secondary schools. It remains to be seen how devastating the struggle was, against apartheid government, against apartheid education and its structures, to secondary schools.

3.3   THE SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS OF GENERAL POLITICS IN THE EDUCATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN KWAZULU-NATAL

The preamble of the South African Schools Act (SASA) of 1996 envisages changes in education. Such change would be implemented by the Provincial Education Department. One realises that political turmoil had derailed plans and elongated implementation time. Moreover, there seem to be lack of direction, low educator morale and low standard of education that remain to be efficiently, effectively and timeously addressed.

The effects of politics are the core focus of this third chapter, of this study on how general politics significantly affected secondary schools. The crucial effects to political influence selected among others are: provision, funding, democratic school governance, standard of education and parental right of choice, educators' unions response to politics; school effectiveness and the culture of teaching and learning, and poor quality schools' funding and provision.

3.3.1 The standard of education

The "standard" of education here refers to "the degree of excellence" (Oxford

Dictionary), that is required for the education purpose in secondary schools. The researcher is of the view that KZN secondary schools are battling with the required standard of education. There are no set criteria for excellence. There are numerous provisional and academic issues to be addressed for setting up standard of excellence in education. Presumably outcomes based education (OBE) could afford to identify the standard criteria for secondary school level of education. Standards are not attained or maintained. That is indicative of a crisis in this level of education. Heese and Badenhorst (1992:vii) point out that the education process had largely been broken down in many communities. This is exemplified by:

(1)   A large number of children of school going age who are not accommodated, and in fact cannot be accommodated in schools because of the inavailability of classrooms.

(2)   A number of children who are theoretically accommodated in schools, whose vast numbers were not making effective use of their opportunities. This is marked by playing truancy; habitual absenteeism; dodging of homework and tests; examination irregularities; fake reports, pass one pass all demands.

(3)   In many schools, educators are not teaching, in fact they are often, not even present in the classroom in order to teach.

(4)   In many educational environments shortages of required educational material make it very difficult for teaching of any significance.

(5)   The destructive of goods, of morale and structures has led to the virtual discontinuation of education in a meaningful way in many of the schools.

These are examples of a crises that suggest that excellence is hard to come by because of low standard of education in secondary schools. Moreover, as Wringle (1984:57) argue, that the state monopoly of education that favour political abuse, is also liable to lead to drab conformity and standardization. The state control and state decisions on education, and as Scribner (1977:22) states, in the end serves the interests and values of the power holder. Serving of interests had been detrimental to KwaZulu-Natal. One fully agrees with Bridgraj (1997:5) who reports that the KZN-Provincial Education is needy:

(1)   KZN Department of Education ranks as possibly the largest in the country. But the state of education ranks extremely poorly and compares unfavourably with other provinces on many fronts.

(2)   KZN is clearly lagging far behind with its programme to bring about equity and in redressing the imbalances of the past.

(3)   KZN has the largest education department in the country but is not sufficiently funded.

(4)   The education department has struggled to overcome the budgetary constraints with the assistance of the private sector.

According to Bridgraj (1997:5), a major facelift is necessary. Equity, redress of past imbalances and provisions of even the most basic facilities to many of the provincial schools could no longer be a hot potato passed between provincial and central government authorities. At stake was the academic well being of close to 2.7 million learners. One's perception, however differ from that of the reporter, whose standpoint suggest a political standpoint despising the basic infra structure the previous government provided, as if it was of no significance. Per capita expenditure is the bone of contention under the new democratic government. Poor funding carried more weight

in terms of where a ruling party's political interest was. Poor funding was detrimental to provisioning to be dealt with in the next section.

3.3.2 **Critical provisions**

The educational provisions in secondary schools are in distinct need of a major facelift. Pampallis (1998:9) highlights that most schools were underresourced and those catering almost exclusively for blacks. Bisetty (1999:9) reports that KZN-region Chief Directors face critical backlogs in schools. There are outdated infrastructure, low educator morale, and lack of textbooks that needed urgent sorting out. These need be sorted out before learners could hope to achieve better year-end results. Schools had no water and no electricity. Roads leading to the school were sometimes not accessible especially during the rainy season. Ritchken (1990:18) notes that bad administration, lack of resources and lack of teaching qualifications were effects of imbalances of the past.

Ritchken (1990:23) further reports on Lebowa to exemplify on similar occurrences obtaining in KwaZulu-Natal secondary schools in that: there was shortage in the provision of schools and classrooms or even adequately and properly maintaining buildings. The researcher concurs with the report which reveals that this situation was exacerbated by the embezzlement of school funds. Funds were misappropriated by tribal authorities, by school principals and members of the school governing bodies in certain instances. One presumes funds collected and sent to a common tribal authority fund were difficult to access and utilize since they were controlled by another institution, hence making maintenance of school buildings very difficult. One therefore concludes that misappropriation of funds made it impossible to either establish or maintain the basic critical infrastructure every secondary school needs. Misappropriation impeded

the provision of school structures and other needs.

3.3.3 **Funding**

The stringent Fiscal Policy advocated by central government compelled the KZN-MEC for Education to announce as Bridgray (1998:4) reports that there will be: withdrawal of cleaning services; withdrawal of security services; exhabitant school fees; non-delivery of textbooks and stationary; new management plan would result in severe staffing cuts.

The researcher views the above envisaged Educational Resource Strategic Plan to lead to irreparable destruction of secondary schools education in the province. No cleaning services meant lower levels of school hygience. Parents were and are expected to bear the cost of school fees and to buy textbooks. Staff cuts meant more workload on the few employees. The tight policy resulted in underresourced schools as discussed under provisions above. One, however, definitely agrees with Van der Stoep and Louw (1984:259) in that the cost of secondary education is exceptionally high. This therefore suggests why there is such huge crisis in secondary schools; in terms of staff shortage and inadequate resources.

It is also worth noting what Scribner (1977:91) says in that the politics of education is concerned with the question of who benefits and how these benefits are determined. Scribner (1997:91) quotes Polby's triology which is determined by the politics of education in that: who participates? who gains? who loses? which is an accepted formulation of the question about who controls. McKay (1995:189) affirms the above statement in that over a long period of time, unequal relations of power become embedded in the practices and institutions of society in ways that society members might not even realize. Some are disadvantaged and others are advantaged in ways

they are unaware of. Ardington (1992:28) expresses the view which affirms McKay's (1995) argument in that the history of financing education in South Africa reflects a strong anti-rural bias. This therefore suggests that the government treated rural schools differently from urban and semi-urban schools.

(1)   The cost of their building are not fully financed by the government, as a result of particular power relation mentioned by McKay (1995) above.

(2)   The rural school has less facilities than urban school because less funds are available.

This therefore suggests that rural communities had to carry a significant part of financing secondary education in their areas. This had been a considerable burden on them as these people are poor. McKay (1995:189) contends that these people could least afford to subsidize their school building and maintenance. Education is the most expensive asset for the community. One concludes that rural communities were victims of inefficiency, corruption, discrimination, preference, differential treatment in funding with reference to the principle of government subsidy.

Ardington (1992), Graaff (1988), and McKay (1995) all agree that the political bias against rural areas is existent in South Africa and is also not unique to South Africa. However Graaff avers that in a post-apartheid situation the government, dominated by the ANC would itself still be oriented towards urban areas, which were and are the strongest sectors of the ANC-SACP-COSATU alliance. One concludes that poor funding therefore makes school governance especially in poor rural schools an insurmountable task.

3.3.4 School governance

The struggle against apartheid education brought considerable change in education. The struggle significantly resulted in a democratic education. The democratic education management and governance of schools was adopted as stipulated by the South African Schools Act of 1996 in congruent with the South African Constitution Chapter 2 (The Bill of Rights). As stated in the Acts, Van der Heever (1987:12) states that it is an international recognition for the right of a community to determine who shall teach, who shall be taught, what shall be taught and how it shall be taught in their schools. One quite agree this is what democratic education management is all about. The Schools Act of 1996 granted parents of schools more say in the education of their children.

The system as operating in South Africa, according to Van den Heever (1987:12), was allowing parent communities a share in the management of schools, as well as, in the appointment of teaching staff by participating in School Governing Bodies (SGB's). According to the Schools Act School Governing Bodies have more power than formerly known School Committees. Van den Heever (1987) provides summarized duties of SGB's as it entails: to determine the school policy; to maintain and improve the school property; to determine extramural curriculum of the school; to determine the code of conduct for learners and educators, to pay for services to the school (First Steps, 1997:8).

Meison (1998:4) made an assessment about SGB's work in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal. His observation and evaluation of school governance are:

(1)   School Governing Bodies are pivotal to their new, democratic model
       of organization, governance, and funding of schools, as set out

down in the *South African Schools Act of 1996.*

(2) Since the election of school governing bodies there has been a hill. These bodies were promised training in their roles and responsibility. The majority feel disillusioned and some have resigned out of frustration.

(3) A user friendly and simply written SGB's starter-pack, which contains basic information on starting up an SGB, was made available in July 1999, almost three years down the line.

One presumes the frustration and a hill were resultant of SGB's given work of which no development was given in order for elected parents to perform their duties with great efficiency. There was no preparation for SGB's roles, in order to take off smoothly. This therefore suggests that no education on SGB's roles; no induction of SGB's prior their assumption of duties created this disillusionment, the frustration and vast disagreement in many School Committees that had to vacate their positions. SGB's were viewed as usurping the power of the school committee, and as politically imposed structures. One is of the view that this is an area the department of education in the KZN province has to revisit for School Governing Bodies to perform maximally with commitment and great dedication in the governance of their schools. One feels they were just pushed in, though elected democratically, disputes still abound over membership. In some instances chairpersons who chaired the school committees, because of their donation of land to build the school or a sizeable amount of money given to the school building project, totally refused to vacate the seat of chairmanship. One concludes that this is an area needing through investigation to even matters of school governance in all communities. For parents to ensure high standard of education in secondary school among other things, they needed fund-raising skills, conflict management skills, and many more skills essential for handling secondary school matters efficiently,

appropriately and timeously. On the other hand conflicting political ideologies, disagreement over representability of educators and learners in school governance, were some factors causing failure to govern. Some parents therefore exercised their right to choose and some out of frustration, frustrated by chaos in Black secondary schools.

3.3.5 **Parental right of choice**

The democratic education made accessibility to all its schools possible. Schools that had well functioning School Governing Bodies were well administered and attracted many learners. Parents were free to choose the school of their choice. The choice of a school relied mostly on good school governance. By choosing schools parents were exercising their right of choice. Colin (1984:56) stresses this right parents had to bring up their children as they choose. According to him nothing seems more natural, more reasonable and more in keeping with an enlightened democracy, that parents should be free to bring up their children in their own way. This is what parental right of choice is all about. Parents can do that according to their own traditions, beliefs, and values. Secondly, parents may be thought to be the people most likely to have their children's best interest at heart. Sensitive and educated parents may reasonably be expected to be good judges of where their children's best interest lie. Colin (1984) claims parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Democracy therefore made it possible to send children even to the most expensive model C schools and the multiracial schools in urban areas. Evidently, the accessibility caused the multiracial and model C schools to experience increase in enrolment. Children came from semi-urban and rural schools. One concludes that parents were hired by good discipline, good control, well managed schools, the existence of well grounded culture of teaching and learning and results are observable and attainable in

these schools. It is true that it is mostly parents in urban areas who exercised their right of choice. This is simply because in rural areas there are limiting factors. Most parents in rural areas are illiterate, poor and cannot therefore afford to choose the best education nor judge what the good education for their children is. This therefore suggests a challenge for the government of the day to evenly provide the best education for all.

3.3.6 Educator unionism

Educators who are citizens of South Africa, in terms of the Bill of Rights, have a right to join a trade union. Educators, Scribner (1977:214) avers, had historically been sanctimonious about their leadership role. School officials today are not as naive or secretive about their political activities as they were. They probably are as involved as their boards and constituents would tolerate. Educational leaders, like educators in KwaZulu had to acquire new antennas in order to be sensitive to the political climate that was and is evolving. This therefore suggests the need for educators, education managers to understand the politics of communities they serve. Scribner (1977:199) says decisions or indecisions on any issue could stir up a political storm. He asserts that priorities for schools, are determined by political forces in our society, therefore schoolmen must be in a position to influence the decision makers. After 1990 educators had been vocal in politics and in influencing decision and decision makers. The education departments had to listen to their employees, that is, educators. Educator unions had become the political tool rather than a professional mouthpiece for educators. Unionism during this period was the cause for tension, disputes, disapprovals as experienced by secondary school educators. One observed that in most cases it is these educators who took the lead in organizing political activities for unions. As stated above, union members were very vocal after the 1990 dispensation.

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Hartshorne (1992:288) avers that educators converged to address issues affecting their teaching profession. Originally educator unions were formed to solely address and strive for: better salaries - equal pay for equal qualification and experience; conditions of service; improving their professional status; power decisions; winning greater rights and for being independent professional once for teachers. Hartshorne (1992:301) and Hale et al. (1981:8) argue that unions, like SADTU, are sometimes used to wield political power. Black educators had organized strikes and stayaways and showed that schools cannot operate without them. Educators not striking were often forced by learners to join their colleagues on strike.

One is of the perception that politics of South African education system led to the formation of Black educators' unions. These are National Teachers' Union (NATU) and South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU). Most educators join the unions by choice. One, however, notes with great concern what Lawton (1992:115) articulates in that educator unions lack union and are frequently fighting among themselves to be as powerful as they would be. This suggests, despite one effective type of educator to enable a particular child to learn effectively both (SADTU) and (NATU) instead of addressing this obligation, they still differ in their visions and mission statement principles that speculate what they aspire for. The editor of the Teacher (1998:6) reported on SADTU actions of stayaways, of supporting political activities of Trade Unions. These activities were regarded by the Department of Education as unlawful and intended to disrupt the business of the employer. SADTU had been adamant were an army of educators and had the capacity to confront the department of education. SADTU believed they had a professional responsibility to engage in policy development which will impact on the future of education. One presumes it is easier for SADTU to be vocal to the government education policies since they are indirectly in alliance with the existing party in government as an affiliate of COSATU.

Bissety (1999:9) reports that SADTU members were "victims of harassment" by traditional leaders. Wringe (1984:76) states that this kind of relationship was borne by: mutual suspicion that SADTU members would politicize community schools; hostility in relationship and is highly political faction. On the other hand Bissety (1999) contends that SADTU wanted its place in the sun and it is still not welcomed in certain areas in the KwaZulu-Natal province especially areas of Amakhosi. One is convinced that is the SADTU style of "educator trade unionism" as propagated by Jay Naidoo, who was COSATU leader at the launch of SADTU in Harare-Zimbabwe, in Hartshorne (1992:314), which rendered the union's disapproval by the formally known KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture. One agrees with Hartshorne (1992) the department could not tolerate provocative actions to disrupt the teaching process. The fact that there were numerous stayaways against KZN-DEC policy, against the MEC for Education, and the collaboration with national trade union strikes, attest to the fact that the department disapproved SADTU actions.

On the other hand, Hartshorne (1992:307) says, the leadership of NATU has had to struggle to maintain their independence of the union from being politicized and yet to be able to negotiate with formerly known KwaZulu government on behalf of its members.

In the past the members of both NATU and SADTU, according to Hartshorne (1992:307), in response to repression by the apartheid state and KwaZulu government had to:

(1)   keep a low profile and were accommodating local shift of power as it swings between community forces and departmental structures.

(2)   close their eyes and concentrate on surviving.

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(3)   leave the profession to work in industries or private companies.

One presumes the unions still battle with the dwindling teaching profession in this post apartheid era. Unions are faced with preserving and improving conditions of service, better educator benefits, terms of salaries, pensions, job security. In the meantime many educators have left, either they have resigned or have joined the private sector.

In conclusion, one critically views the effects of unionisms on KZN-secondary schools. Union activities had:

(1)   Unions' activities had destabilized school governance, when collaborating with National Trade Unions' activities, the members of affiliated educator unions would be absent from schools. Those refusing to join the political activities or mass action adopted a "play it safe" strategy. This means that they went to work when it was safe to do so during mass action or a strike. Many schools never operated during strikes because there were no educators.

(2)   Unions' activities had lessened time for actual teaching and learning where these were experienced. This was evident in the end of year poor pass rates in black secondary schools.

(3)   Unions' activities had led to disagreements on appointment and on promotion decisions. It however took a long time to resolve these disagreements. Some conflicts remained unsolved. In other institutions learners would strike in collaboration with their educator disapproving the appointment or promotion.

(4)   Bridgraj (1999:4) reports that KZN-Department of Education experienced a lot of disruptions, tension and anxiety reported

across the province.

(5)   Unions' activities had some educators displaced. This suggest an educator who finds the workplace not safe for his life. Secondary schools remained without crucially needed subject educators because of disapprovals, disagreements and unresolved disputes and activities coming up thereof.

3.3.7 Educator's morale

The activities of general politics in KwaZulu-Natal had lowered the levels of discipline among educators. These political activities caused educator confidence to wane. As seen earlier in this chapter conflicting political ideologies; the attitude of community leadership; political intolerance, and other activities of political parties led educators to feel unwanted if they did not support the local political ideology. Even if they took part in the other party activities they would be treated as dissent. Eventually their involvement caused them to experience a tense, hostile working relations. Hostile working relations had led to a number of displaced educators; and destroyed cooperation between educators and the School Management Teams (SMI), and community leadership. The displaced left the school. This led to overloading with work to remaining staff. Overload created discomfort, indiscipline, unbearable loads of work, and teaching and learning objectives could not be attained.

One presumes the educators' morale is low. Hartshorne (1992:295) points out that discipline deteriorated as a result of a response by teachers to the repression and the political struggle they had been involved in. One agrees with Hartshorne (ibid) in that those educators who took part were called a body of dissident educators, militant and radicals within the teaching profession. The behaviour of most educators, deteriorated

for the worst and was acceptable. President Mbeki in his speech addressing SADTU Fourth National Congress held in 1998 condemned educators behaving in the manner that tarnished the image of the majority of dedicated educators. The President condemned:

(1) educators who persistently come late to school, leave early and seek to do as little work as possible

(2) many educators allow an atmosphere permissive of the collapse of discipline, enabling them to join in the abuse of children, hence betraying their responsible to act "*in loco parentis*".

One concludes the two above type of conduct which educators displayed, indicates how low the morale is. It also suggests these educators were never bothered in correcting the deteriorating situation.

The educators confidence also was waning. Mokeney (1998:2) reports that the educators morale was the lowest in 1998. This was because of the lack of policy direction in education. Mokeney further reports that a survey by the Association of Professional Educators had found that educators in the KZN province felt "battered" from all sides and as though they were working in an "education vacuum" with no support from authorities. The findings of the association above presumably refer to political parties struggle to address educational issues in secondary schools. Political differences and certain political agendas had caused parties to fail to give educators a say in addressing education policy issues, they were expected to implement or practice. Educators were, however, tossed in between whether the policy or resolution was as agreed upon or not.

Therefore a boosted morale for educators is essential in striving for the excellence in education. It is rather unfortunate that when the democratic unitary system of education, they struggled for is in place, so many political and so many educational issues affected and demoralized them adversely. One is of the opinion that their morale is crucial in the revival of culture of teaching and learning.

3.3.8 Educator shortage

McKay (1995) reports that political issues such as unemployment of qualified educators; redeployment; job insecurity; political and school violence; and lack of policy direction, all discouraged students to study and aspire to become educators. Therefore educator shortage was looming in KwaZulu-Natal province. There was dramatic decline in student-educator enrolments at College of Education. Pretorious and Heards (1999:6) affirms this that a national educator shortage was on the horison. The decline according to the reporters was attributed to some of these factors: poor pay; the tarnished image of the teaching profession; a perception that there is no job or job security; bigger classes and workloads; no money for equipment and books; limited bursaries and unsafe environments.

The report further contends that the projected shortage will hit schools in the year 2001 in the following manner:

(1)   Educators not correctly placed are demotivated. A survey conducted two years ago found that 80% of Mathematics and Science educator graduates taught English and History.

(2)   Matric students interested in Mathematics and Science were snapped up by the private sector.

(3) Many move out through Voluntary Severance Packages; resignations, displaced because of victimization, etc. (Pretorious & Heards, 1999:5).

Finally it becomes clear as Heese and Badenhorst (1992:4) put it in two scenarios that the excellence in education is directly related to the ability of the educator to stimulate the involvement of his or her learners. One agrees that there is no alternative to dedicated, disciplined and inspired teaching by committed educators. Secondly, even in the best equipped environments there are educators who cannot teach. Educators who chalk down also cannot teach. Equally in the midst of the complete breakdown of education in a particular school, teaching is effective as ever, and their classrooms were islands of organized learning in a sea of chaos.

3.3.9 **School effectiveness**

One is of the view that the struggle for democratic education and political literature rendered some secondary schools dysfunctional and ineffective. There were many factors that contributed to this ineffectiveness. Among others were: absence of order and discipline; lack of resources; poor funding; poor learning environment; involvement of learners and educators in the political struggle. The factors and many others, one is under the conviction that these destabilized schools' learning and teaching environment. It is however of importance for one to note that whereas the struggle had negative impact on schools being effective, it also created an awareness that good education was received from good school - well run schools by any reasonable standard. Of late schools were called to revive the culture of teaching and learning. One is under the impression that school communities have also heeded this call and that they work toward this objective to restore this culture a thing left to the education

in the past.

3.3.9.1   The culture of teaching and learning

Research conducted on this subject warrants discussion here. One is under the impression that it is necessary to touch on this culture as all stakeholders realised education was missing something at the dawn of democracy. The culture of teaching and learning (COLTS) demands certain qualities in order to achieve or reach maximal effectiveness. Lawton (1992:127-8) states that in enforcing and maintaining COLTS, the required essential characteristics of COLTS are: adequate autonomy for principals and their staff to devise their own path for improvement; efficient and committed educational leadership; staff stability; good curriculum planning and implementation; staff development; parental involvement and support; public recognition of academic success within the school; maximal learning time (time on task); and local authority support.

Wringe (1984:53), on the other hand, draws lessons from outstanding private schools. For COLT to be revived Wringe avers there is need for outstanding achievement which is characterized by: better qualifications and greater dedication of staff; superior resources; better educator/learner ratio; more favourable home backgrounds; more aesthetically tolerable buildings; better stocked libraries; better equipped science laboratories; staff offered salaries above average and attractive conditions of work.

One deduces from Lawton (1992) and Wringe (184) statements of good characteristics that COLTS can be excellently attained in all secondary schools. This is possible if school governance collectively strive to attain all essential characteristics mentioned above by Lawton (1992) and many more in order for the schools to be effective in their

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function. Secondly, secondary schools should strive to be the best by outstandingly achieve as mentioned above by Wringe (1984). One therefore concludes that all stakeholders should support with commitment, dedication and enthusiasm the renaissance of COLTS to be effectively achieved and maintained over a longer period of time.

In collaboration with Lawton (1992), Zille, MEC for Education in the Western Cape describes what COLTS means. O'Conner (1999:3) quotes the MEC in the COLTS means going "back to basics" of teaching and learning. One is under the impression that this refers to what ought to happen on every school day at school. According to O'Conner (1999:3), going back to basics means: starting the school term on the first day and ending it on the last day; having a dedicated educator in each class; having class list and working timetable for each class; a principal who is a good manager and team builder; having a governing body of committed parents; effective circuit managers; learning resources in each classroom and the relevant curriculum.

There are two scenarios one deduces from the above three arguments on COLTS: Firstly, O'Conner (1999) reports on ground level issues whereas to the major facelift is categorically stated by Lawton (1992) and Wringe (1984) above. The researcher is of the view that O'Conner's (1999) suggestions are a starting way forward to total resurgence of COLT in secondary schools as stated by the other two authors.

The culture of teaching and learning, Garson (1998:2) asserts, is battling to breathe, let alone thrive. He also state that the feeling of well being is shattered, and the desire to learn and advance is dampened by despair and a pervading sense of pointlessness. This therefore suggest that the success or failure of the school depends on what happens at schools. As mentioned earlier, KwaZulu-Natal was affected by political

violence which presumably shattered a state of well being and rendered schooling activities pointless. Political violence, Nzimande and Thusi (1991) stated earlier, adversely affected secondary schools, and the effects of violence still linger on. Since COLTS is a national and a largely debatable issue, further research particularly on it, is warranted to ascertain if programmes are successful to full resuscitation of COLTS. One is convinced it was sufficient in this study to look at how politics affected this culture and how briefly a conducive environment could be created for culture to be revived.

3.3.9.2 The learning environment

KZN general politics created an environment not allowing learning and teaching to take place smoothly. A good learning environment is conducive to school effectiveness. As noted earlier on, in sections One and Two of this Chapter, a hostile, tension-filled, highly politicized environment was created. Violence, conflict and confrontations ruled this environment. Lessons drawn from such an environment described it as unwanted and bad. That caused, as Harber (1998) states, the democratic government to advocate for a democratic school environment to be created. Such an environment was conducive to the revival of the Culture of Teaching and Learning and Services (COLTS). Harber (1998) views suggests how this environment could be created. Harber (1998:118) describes the democratic school environment as the best place to give democracy its time meaning. According to him such an environment, as envisaged by the National Education, provides students with an opportunity to learn about good communication, mediation, conflict-reducing techniques, tolerance and crime responsibility. Such an environment is also a place where the effects of these values can be seen. In this environment students have an opportunity to participate in an active working democracy, a microcosm of society in which the learners can develop a vision for what they would like macro society to be like. One deduces, from Harber's

views that he first advocates for teaching in totality, for bringing up children to fit and serve its society appropriately. Secondly, Harber views propagate educative teaching that is value centred. Teaching, is child centre - a philosophy of education principle.

The creation of such a democratic school environment, in the midst of a political climate in the KZN province, had limiting factors. Khumalo (1999:6) identifies the limiting factors. These were a result of the most bitter and pathetic legacies of apartheid era and the era of the struggle for democracy. Khumalo (1999) cites: inadequate provision, lack of funding; dilapidated school buildings; as the most prevalent limiting factors. In addition, Harber (1998:123) asserts that the continuing violence and intimidation by gangsters are other factors. One is under the impression that intimidation whether political or not does nothing to support a democratic school environment. Harber (1998:123) also avers that there is another type of culture emanating from this intimidation, that is "the culture of silence" which now prevails in schools. This silence means learners reluctancy to reveal the severity of political violence because of their well-being and the lives of their families were therein threatened. Thirdly, and lastly lack of discipline, as discussed in the next section, is also a limiting factor. One therefore concludes these above mentioned factors has a limiting effect which undermines all attempts aimed at creating an environment conducive to a culture of good teaching and good learning.

3.3.9.3   Indiscipline

It was stated in Section I that political struggles, riots and all political activities wherein learners were involved created uncontrollable and very militant learners. Discipline waned especially in secondary schools. One presumes this is a major factor which undermines resurgence of COLTS in secondary schools. Moreover the level of

indiscipline had reached levels of unacceptable proportions. Scores of educators battled with uncontrollable learners who wanted to do as they please. Ramogale (1998:9) states that the problem of indiscipline in black South Africa has several causes. The major cause he states is the anti-apartheid weapon of ungovernability which was one of its chief causes. Prior Ramogale (1998), Buthelezi (1986:154) warned about this ungovernability that it will remain after liberation. Ramogale is hoping all politicians will begin to see instilling of discipline as a challenge necessary for national survival. This was a challenge which required the kind of resolve and moral courage displayed in the struggle against apartheid. One is of the view that the department of education ought to strategies for rekindling of discipline an essential groundwork for COLTS.

The researcher supports the view that "social discipline" need be instilled in order to remedy the situation. Van der Stoep and Louw (1984:68) describes social discipline as discipline including norms of the community. These norms are: religious-moral; social-cultural; and judicial-economic norms, which confronts the child. Social discipline is as important as all other aims in teaching in that, the way the educator helps and supports the child, should lead the child to "unconditional acceptance of authority".

Indiscipline is coupled with deteriorating from acceptable behaviour and conduct among learners. Heese and Badenhorst (1992:52) gives a description of a deteriorated behaviour and conduct experienced by schools and homes. The authors assert that the change to misbehaviour and misconduct was resultant from where learners were troops in the battles of political violence, as argued in the other above sections. Harber (1998:124) argues that the problem of violence in schools is further exacerbated by the lack of parental-cooperation with police. Some parents were actually involved in the

same gang or political violence as their children.

The breakdown of discipline in these schools was awesome. Harber (1998) avers that the deteriorated behaviour is seen from:

(1)   learners who ignore their parents

(2)   learners who scorn their educators

(3)   the educator who through honest commitment to the struggle or through intimidation reject the authority structure of the schools, the inspectorate and the department they serve

(4)   those who are victims of the call for liberation before education are just hoping that they may or may not experience liberation in accordance with their dreams. These shall remain largely uneducated and largely unprepared to function in a coherent society.

One agrees that the above factors occurred in both learners and educators who were part of the problem of discipline. Heese and Badenhorst (1992:vii) concurs with Harber (1998:24) in that the problem in our secondary schools emanates from; absence of culture in schools, diminishing discipline, no respect to authority, unavailability of support schools need; in the increases in criminal behaviour. These are symptoms of social decay from which we very often recognize elements of morals. However, Heese and Badenhorst (1992) argue that the education system was not inculcating a moral value structure which allowed children to cope with the world in which they live.

Unterhalter et al. (1991) concur with Heese and Badenhorst (1992) in that no learning and teaching prevail in schools because of indiscipline. Presently, Unterhalter (1991)

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cites in addition to other factors that there is lack of interest in schooling in an increasing number of students. Lack of interest is shown by high absenteeism, learners start late and many come and go as they please. He notes that among the learners who had suffered constant disruption there was a growing danger of disenchantment with schooling. He also warns of a danger that these may lead to high level of illiteracy. One therefore concludes that there is indiscipline, lawlessness in secondary schools. Poor examination results are found where indiscipline and lawlessness prevail.

3.3.9.4   Matriculation examination results

Matriculation results for black matriculants in KZN province were one bitter and pathetic legacy of apartheid era, the era of the struggle for democracy and post apartheid era. Lawton (1992;119) avers that one major result of no culture of learning and teaching, was seen in the legacy of a "culture of failure" which secondary schools experienced. The pass rate were indicative of the extent to which schooling had been disrupted politically. Unterhalter (1991:218) and Heese and Badenhorst (1992:55) all agree in that all political factors and many more factors are reflected in the results of Senior Certificate Examinations. When secondary schooling became more disrupted and as Unterhalter (1991:225) state, learners and parents became increasingly concerned with certification and so place high premium on examinations that on what is learnt and how it is learnt. He asserts this happened in KZN province: there were examination irregularities all over the province; face matriculation certificates were discovered. It is a fact that black matriculation results are disastrous. Even those who passed often found their expectation frustrated. One agrees to the argument that those who passed could not find jobs or places in tertiary institutions.

One has observed that it is true most black school-leavers had no place for work or

further learning. In most cases they failed to obtain matriculation exemption required for admission at tertiary level. Some of those who failed demanded to repeat matric class. Their repeating usually caused high matric enrolments. High enrolments attributed to high failure rate. Moreover some of those who passed were not tertiary material.

Bodman in Proctor-Sims (1981:201) describes the ways used in obtaining matriculation results and what happened at secondary school level. Bodman states that coupled with the acquisition of matric certificates, passing of matriculation examinations was the primary objective to which all effort was directed. Passing of these examinations was seen as a function of the system to get as many university entrance passes as possible. The route to that objective was the dispensation, the acquisition of knowledge to know the answers to questions at the critical time in order to pass examinations. One concurs with Bodman that this problem was especially emphasized where headmasters saw their prestige reflected in high matric marks and the staff was required to teach with the primary objective in view. The primary objective was emphasized by KZN Department of Education analysis and announcement of the top ten. Schools below 50% should account for their results.

From the above, Heese and Badenhorst (1992:viii) contend that each year a perception of vastly differentiated standards was reinforced. Widely divergent matriculation pass and exemption rates and by percentages of learners gaining distinctions were published. The pass rate provided symbolic proof of the disparity in the quality of education received by the various racial groups. All of which undercovers that the results obtained provided little evidence that equality of opportunity was seriously pursued. One is under the impression here that the incomparables were being compared, the haves and the have not; the urban and the rural; the adequately resourced and the under-resourced,

the well adequately staffed and the poor quality staffed. One therefore concludes that this idea of concentrating more on matriculation results had over the years deliberately or not, blackened the desired consideration and necessary provisions for the secondary schools. More attention was focused at Grade Twelve results only.

3.3.9.5   Poor quality secondary schools

The last significant effect of politics was the indirect creation of poor quality secondary schools. McKay (1995:182) confirms this in that rural school conditions were poorer in comparison with urban schools. He argues that they were systematically ignored, because rural people, and their children did not have the voice, the organization, and the political clout than urban people did.

McKay (1995) further asserts that the "rural" in rural education was more about politics. It was about unequal power between people. Rural schools were inferior because they were the product of disadvantaged communities with little political power. McKay (1995:194) argues that rural poverty is said to be a question of who benefits from such poverty. Obviously the party in government. The question of politics is the question of power and of interests. McKay (1995:186) cites Graaff (1988) in that the fact of poor rural schools emanates from three basic reasons, namely:

(1)   parents might have little or no education. As a result children do not receive the stimulation or background which other children from more affluent origins do.

(2)   parents do not always regard education as very important.

(3)   parents usually have much lower incomes than urban parents. Communities usually do not farm on any meaningful scale. The

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main source of income is often the pension payment to older people.

One draws a conclusion that political discrimination based on either rural or urban was the root of inferior rural secondary schools.

3.3.9.5.1   Funding for poor quality schools

Educational finance dispensation is handled by politicians right in parliament. Therefore funding is a political issue. McKay (1995:198) contends that, ever since the creation of homeland governments, poor quality schools had been chronically short of funds. This has therefore forced KwaZulu-Natal even in post apartheid era to cut back on school finance. One is of the view that cutting back finance hit the hardest on rural schools. Funding was discussed earlier in this chapter, but with reference to poor quality schools, it will suffice to note, as Ardington (1998:32) argue, that the state probably took less of the initiative and had borne less of the cost of secondary education than it was of primary education. This therefore suggests that secondary education had been left as the responsibility of rural communities. However, rural communities had failed to provide secondary education on a significant scale for a number of reasons. Rural adult, *inter alia*, had lower educational levels and had limited experience of the requirements of the modern state on the needs of secondary education. One therefore concludes poor funding is detrimental to the development and maintenance of rural secondary schools who had thrived to make ends meet.

3.3.9.5.2   Provision for poor quality schools

Ardington (1992:29) contends that the discrimination or anti-rural bias is not limited

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to capital cost but persists through educational financing. This therefore suggests that consideration when was made on educational financing preference would fall on urban schools. On top of the other two distinct factors mentioned earlier, one feels it is however important to make a distinction between provision made to rural and urban schools. Ardington (1992) affirms that the discrimination in provisions existed. He says the discrimination between state and community schools was not restricted to the provision of physical infrastructure (as discussed earlier) but persists with regard to staffing and the provision of books and other services like, cleaning and security. In comparison to urban school, Ardington (1992) argues that provisions for rural secondary education had these following limiting circumstances:

(1) The system did not allow for the subsidization of non-teaching academic or administrative staff at community schools regardless of size.

(2) The state accepted no responsibility for the maintenance of community schools. This was reflected in the condition of many of the buildings. The more rural and remote a classroom the more difficult its maintenance would be.

(3) Communities had failed to provide adequate education. Their achievement in the area of secondary education was dismal.

(4) Suffer inability to attract and hold quality educators and brilliant learners.

(5) Few non-governmental organizations (NGO's) operated in the rural areas. The private sectors had little interest in them.

One is under the impression that the survival of rural secondary schools is crucial and needs addressing by the department of education. The school communities had to fend

for themselves in order for secondary schools education to thrive. One therefore concludes this gab shown by Ardington (1992) above demands closing and eradication. There should be no discrimination on funding and provisioning between the two areas. Rural communities as part of a bigger South Africa and a bigger province require equal treatment in funding and provisions for them to be at par with more affluent urban secondary schools, and to produce good results.

3.4 CONCLUSION

Chapter Three discussed the effects of general politics in the education of secondary schools in KwaZulu-Natal. The period concentrated on (1980-1990), revealed how general politics turned out to be political violence.

In the first section the researcher discussed conflicting political ideologies and to what extent that conflict impacted on secondary schools.

In the second section the researcher discussed the activities of political parties and their impact on the education of secondary schools. Activities identified gave rise to schools becoming: war-zones, highly politicized, fight for control over schools.

In the third and the last section the researcher discussed the significant effects of politics. The discussion entails: provisions, funding, standard of education, school governance, parental right of choice, educator unionism, educators' morale, educator shortage, school effectiveness, and how political discrimination of rural areas brought up poor quality schools.

Literature studied provided valuable information in this study. The theoretical

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background studied will assist the researcher when analysing the results of the empirical work conducted during investigation in the fifth chapter.

Chapter 4 (which follows) deals with methodology. Two aspects of methodology are dealt with, namely: sampling, data collection and tabling. The remaining two methods; data analysis and interpretation will be dealt with in the fifth chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1   INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this research is to determine the extent and the effects of politics in KwaZulu-Natal secondary schools.   There has been a great deal of writing about political violence as reported in the third chapter.   Sufficient data have to be presented to make argument for what the political effects during the 1980's and 1990's were, and how they impacted on the secondary schools.

This chapter deals with methodology or the procedure to be followed in this study. Methodology means the study, the description, the explanation and the justification of methods and not the methods themselves.   Robinson (1993:13) quotes Kaplan (1964:18) in that methodology is a meta-level investigation, aimed at understanding the process of enquiry rather than the products themselves.

4.2   A DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND APPROACH

The researcher considered it imperative to use both historic approach and a descriptive approach.   The nature of the topic dictates that first historical background be reviewed. The historic approach to be applied will be aimed at studying; understanding and at explaining the past events.   The ideal purpose is to arrive at conclusions concerning the effects of past political occurrences.   These conclusions might help explain present events and to anticipate future events.   Gay (1976:9) avers that knowledge of the

history of education can yield insight into the circumstances involved in the evolution of the current education system as well as practices and approaches. Educational problems and issues of the present times can be better understood in the light of past experiences.

In this research literature will be reviewed in two chapters, namely chapter two and chapter three. Chapter Two will review the history of politics and education in South Africa. The chapter will cover the history of Bantu Education in South Africa. The second section of the chapter will review the state of education in the democratic South Africa. The third section will review the relationship between politics and education and how each influences the other. Chapter Three will review the effects of general politics in the education of secondary schools in KwaZulu-Natal during the period 1980 - 1999. The first section of the third chapter will review the conflicting political ideologies and their impact on secondary schools. The second section will deal with the impact of the activities of political parties on secondary schools. The third and the last section of the third chapter will deal with the significant effects of general politics in the education of secondary schools.

The larger part of this study will be descriptive. Data will be collected to test the hypothesis and to answer questions on the extent and effects of politics in secondary schools. The descriptive approach as applied in the study, according to Gay (1976:16) means: to determine and report the way things are (in secondary schools); an approach which involves assessing attitudes; opinions towards events and procedures (as affecting secondary schools); and an approach in which data are typically collected through a questionnaire and observation.

The two approaches to be used in this research compliment each other. Politics

permeates times, the past to the future. Reflections therefore to history of education that these prediction deserve adequate description. In addition to literature study, the other investigative method used in this research will be the questionnaires.

4.3 QUESTIONNAIRES

The means of instrumentation to be used will be an educator questionnaire to collect data. Sibaya (1992:70) defines the questionnaire as any scientific data collecting instrument for measurement and collection of particular kind of data which has been obtained from a set of specific questions to which the respondents directly supplies answers. It consists of a number of questions or items on paper that a respondent reads and answers. This definition imply that a questionnaire is a device which is specifically constructed to measure and collect data in which the researcher is interested with regard to his or her specific study.

Likert scale as suggested by Vockell (1993:354) will be used in designing questions. Likert scale technique of measurement is where a respondent is given a statement and is asked to place his or her responses into one of the categories given, presumably: "strongly agree"; "agree"; "uncertain"; "disagree" and "strongly disagree". Other response words will be used in addition to these, such as categorical response mode of "yes-no".

The categorical response offers two response possibilities for each item. The purpose for using Likert scale is to measure the degree or frequency of agreement or occurrence, in this study. Respondents will be given a series of statements and will be asked to rank order them in terms of their preferences. Tuckman (1988:227) identifies the chief advantage that scaled responses are easy to score, whereas its chief

disadvantages, according to him, are that it is time consuming and can be bias. Sometimes they are difficult to complete.

The questions will be formulated with the sole purpose to determine the extent and effects of politics in KwaZulu-Natal secondary schools. The questionnaire will have to gather information on these main issues: biographical data; politics and morale; politics and the culture of learning and teaching; politics and management / administration; and politics and provisioning.

The main questions will be numbered Section A, B, C, D and E. The questionnaire will consist of both close-ended questions and open-ended questions. Close-ended questions are mostly used for the following advantages, as discussed by Sibaya (1992:72): they are standardisable; they are simple to administer; they are quick and relatively inexpensive to analyse; the information given by the respondent is always relevant to the purpose of the study; and they produce greater uniformity among respondents along the dimensions in which the investigator is interviewing.

4.3.1 The format of the questionnaire

The questions are subdivided as follows:

SECTION A has four questions, which are included to determine demographics essential for describing the responding group in order to compare group response.

SECTION B has nine questions, which are included to determine politics and morale. This entails how general politics and its struggles impacted secondary schools.

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SECTION C has <u>nine</u> questions, which are included to determine how politics affected the culture of learning and teaching in secondary schools.

SECTION D has <u>five</u> questions, which are included to determine how politics affected governance of secondary schools.

SECTION E has <u>seven</u> questions, which are included to determine how politics affected provisioning of resources of secondary schools.

4.3.2 Requirements for a questionnaire

All attempts were made to comply with the requirements of a good questionnaire, as suggested by Burrough (1971:100) in that: questions must be short and clear; the questionnaire must be short; questions must not be ambiguous; no hypothetical questions must be used; and that questions must not look for similar responses.

4.3.3 Advantages of using a questionnaire

The questionnaire is advantageous to use for a number of reasons. Barr et al. (1953:158) and Burrough (1971:106) concur that the use of questionnaires is advantageous because: anonymity to respondents is guaranteed; wider scope can be covered. It is cost effective - data can be collected at low costs. They are easy to administer. It is a substitute for personal interviews. The respondents fill them in on their own time. They are dependable. It is the easy way of assembling a mass of information. The given points imply that it is a convenient instrument to use in collecting data at a given time for a specific topic under investigation.

4.3.4 **Pilot study**

The questionnaire will be given a trial run. The questionnaire will be tried on a group similar to the one that will form the population of the study. The respondents will write on a provided form in response to questions given below with regard to the questionnaire. Bell (1993:84) suggests that the value of the pilot study should be to try questionnaires to determine:

(1)   How long it takes to complete?

(2)   Were the instructions clear?

(3)   Were any of the questions unclear or ambiguous? If so, will say which and why?

(4)   Did you object to answering any of the questions?

(5)   In your opinion, has any major topic been omitted?

(6)   Was the layout of the questionnaire clear or attractive?

(7)   Are there any comments to make it better?

This means therefore that the questionnaire will be tested on a group of educators. These educators, as mentioned earlier, will not be part of the sample. The responses of the pilot study group will help at revising the questionnaire before distribution. The group will be given three days at most to respond and comment. The questionnaire will be accompanied by an introductory letter which explains the purpose of this study to the respondents. The focus is mainly on secondary school educators whose experiences and observations are crucial to the evidence required to prove the hypothesis of this study.

4.3.5 Distribution and return of questionnaires

The research will distribute the questionnaires personally. This is advantageous in that the researcher will be able to explain the purpose of the study. It can happen that questionnaires are completed on the spot. Probably the researcher is likely to get better co-operation by establishing personal contact.

Each distributed questionnaire accompanied by an introductory letter which specify the purpose and importance of this study. The letter also guarantees confidentiality of respondents. Follow-up on non-respondents will be made either by reminding the respondents or by supplying a new questionnaire in case the first one has been misplaced.

4.4 SELECTION OF SUBJECTS

4.4.1 The Sample

Since the study will investigate the extent and effects of politics in KwaZulu-Natal secondary schools, it would have been advantageous if a representative sample of all secondary schools in the province could have been used. Unfortunately this would have made the study too large, expensive and time-consuming. Barr et al. (1953:158) state that to sample is the selection of a part to represent the whole population. Respondents, to participate in this study, as Wallen (1991:127) avers, will be selected from the population of secondary schools. In this study the population comprises of approximately 1 500 secondary schools in KwaZulu-Natal. A random sample of 20 secondary schools will be selected to generalize or make inferences on the results of this study. The subjects to participate will be five educators per school comprising of

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the principals, deputy principals, head of departments and two senior educators. The schools will be drawn from Empangeni region from four different districts, namely Eshowe (five schools); Hlabisa (five schools); Mthunzini (five schools) and Enseleni (five schools).

4.5 DATA COLLECTION AND RECORDING

4.5.1 Data collection

The introductory letter is aimed at ensuring response, to encourage respondents and to emphasize why the response is important. It also requests co-operation enabling the researcher to collect data.

The questionnaire will be used to collect data. This information will be transformed into numbers or quantitative data by using the rating scale technique and by counting the number of respondents who give particular responses, thus generating frequency data.

4.5.2 Recording of data

A roster will be designed. This table will display the number of questionnaires distributed. Data will be quantified. Similar responses will be counted together and written at the relevant category of question number appearing on the questionnaire. Three methods will be used in quantifying data, namely counting of similar responses; rank order and tabulation. The scores recorded will be verified through double checking. This will be achieved by checking step by step all calculations.

4.5.3 Scoring procedure

The scoring procedure to be used in the study are: counting, rank order and tabulation, as identified by Tuckman (1973:249).

(a) <u>Counting</u> is the simplest method. The researcher will count responses of respondents sharing the opinion and those respondents sharing an opposing viewpoint.

(b) <u>Tabulation</u> involves refinement of results in tabular form in totals, percentages or averages and calculations. Tabulation will be used to determine the probability of relationship among data.

(c) <u>Rank order</u> is used for purposes of making valid comparisons among persons with respect to quality. Rank order constitute a final court of appeal in interpreting the quantified results of the counting method. This therefore suggest the comparison of data to identify how many principals responded for or against or how many males or females share or agree on an issue or item appearing in the questionnaire.

4.6 DATA PROCESSING AND ANALYSIS

A numerical coding will be used when data is processed. Tuckman (1973:282) defines a numerical code refers to a piece of datum easier to record, store process and retrieve. Data coded will be processed through a computer programme available in the main campus of the university, used to process and analyse data.

4.7   METHODOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS

Foddy (1993:13) asserts that methodological assumptions inevitably influence the way we collect data, and about the social worlds in which we are interested. The researcher, having clearly defined the topic about which information is required, on the basis of Foddy's assertion above, assumes that:

(1)   the respondents have the information that the researcher requires

(2)   the respondents are able to access the required information under the condition of the research situation

(3)   the respondents can understand each question as the researcher intends it to be understood.

(4)   the respondents are willing or at least can be motivated to give the required information to the researcher

(5)   the answers that different respondent will give to a particular question can be meaningful compared with one another.

4.8   METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS

The researcher envisages some limitations or weaknesses in this research method. The following limiting factors, in this method of research chosen, have been identified. These are:

(1)   Information that is not known to respondents cannot be obtained.

(2)   Information that is not salient or conspicuous to the respondent cannot be obtained.

(3)   It is time consuming to tabulate and summarizes open-ended

question that are so good in giving the respondent a change to state his mind.

(4)   There might be misunderstanding of questions and procedures by respondents.

(5)   The limited time and financial resources made it impossible to gather abundant information. The researcher would have liked to include more responses from educators, parents, community leaderships, school governors, superintendent of education management and politicians in this study.

(6)   Though more information is gathered through questionnaires more first hand information could have been collected by use of interviews.

Nonetheless, questionnaires have an added advantage in their use as tabled earlier on.

4.9   CONCLUSION

In this chapter methodology applied has been defined and described as applicable to this study. The method of research used in this study will be descriptive. The primary aim of this chapter was to look into detail the procedures to be followed when investigating the subject of the extent and effects of politics in KwaZulu secondary schools. Particular attention has been paid to these procedures:

(a)   Questionnaire constructions or format, the selection of questions, its requirements, its advantages over other methods.

(b)   A procedure of trying the questionnaire for validity and reliability on a group of educators.

(c)   The other procedures discussed are sampling, data collection and recording, data processing and data analysis.

The chapter also discussed assumptions upon which the investigation is done. In conclusion particular attention was paid to factors that might limit the researching procedure.

Chapter Five, which is the next chapter, will deal with data processing and analysis. Findings will be recorded also during analysis.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF RESEARCH DATA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter only an analysis of data, from completed questionnaires, will be done. Significant features of the respondents' responses will be highlighted. The analysis of data has been conducted on the basis of examination and simple comparison of relative frequencies of responses. The procedure followed has to examine the overall response to a particular question as reflected on the data.

5.2 DATA GATHERED

The researcher drew samples at random from Senior Secondary Schools of Mthunzini District under Empangeni Region.

Twenty schools were randomly selected. Five senior educators including the principal were targeted per school. Five educators selected made the sample size to stand at 100 respondents.

Secondary school youth, that is, learners had been the target for politicking, and were easily influenced, malleable, could be subjected to any influence and political influence in particular. Educators, especially senior educators, had gone through death threats, had witnessed the gruesome political violence, the spilling of violence, and had faced

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intimidation at secondary schools. Some of them participated in political activities during their schooling years. Their experiences were crucial to record in this study. It is for this reason why senior educators in secondary schools were important respondents in this investigation.

5.3 ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Caploreitz (1983:93) suggested that when using tables, responses might be conveyed in a table which shows the numbers of percentages of respondents who give each possible answer to the question. Data in this study is presented with frequencies and expressing these in percentages. Percentages are given in the table for purposes of easy comparison. The response were analysed as follows:

5.3.1 Biographical data

Table 5.3.1.1   (N=100)

Characteristics of Respondents		N	%
1. Work site	Junior Secondary Senior Secondary	11 89	11 89
	Total	**100**	**100**
2. School selected in	Rural Area Semi-Rural Area Urban Area	52 20 28	52 20 28
	Total	**100**	**100**
3. Years of experience	1 - 5 6 - 10 11 - 15 16 or more	18 28 38 16	18 28 38 16
	Total	**100**	**100**

4. Job category	Educator	38	38
	Head of Department	35	35
	Deputy Principal	13	13
	Principal	14	14
	Total	**100**	**100**

(1) Your work site

The research data in the above Table 5.3.1.1 determined the level of secondary school where the respondents worked. The majority (89%) were teaching in Senior Secondary Schools. Only (11%) were teaching in Junior Secondary Schools.

It is the level of schooling initially targeted in this study.

(2) School situated in

The data from Table 5.3.1.1 reveals that a significant percentage of respondents (52%) had their schools situated in rural areas. 28% had theirs situated in urban areas. Of the number of respondents 20% were from the semi-rural areas.

It is essential to note that the schools were situated in three different areas. It is of significance in this study to investigate the effects of politics using the three different areas wherein secondary schools were situated.

(3) Years of experience in your job

The above table 5.3.1.1 indicates that 38% of the respondents had teaching experience between 11 to 15 years. 28% had 6 to 10 years of teaching experience. 18% had 1 to 5 years teaching experience. Of the number of respondents, 16% had 16 or more years of teaching experience.

It is evident that respondents varied in their years of teaching experience. However, most had the significant experience. Most educators (82%), if adding 38% plus 28% plus 16%, were already teaching during the time under study. Therefore, most educators experienced the effects of politics at schools and as educators. Such experience will ensure credibility of this study because the researcher dealt with senior educators as a sample of this research.

(4) **Your job category**

From the above Table 5.3.1.1, 38% were level one educators. 35% were heads of departments. 13% were deputy principals and 14% were principals.

It is noted that less number of the most senior educators responded. This might be because the questionnaires were distributed while the final year examinations were in progress.

5.3.2 **Politics and morale**

Table 5.3.2.1: **Legitimacy of learners' participation in the political struggles**

Categories	N	%
Yes, to a great extent	11	11
To some extent	55	55
Not at all	26	26
Uncertain	08	08
Total	**100**	**100**

From the table above 55% respondents agreed to some extent that secondary school learner participation in the political struggle was legitimate. Of the respondents, 11% said yes to a great extent. 26% indicated that such participation was not at all

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legitimate.

It is interesting to note that most respondents agreed that learners' participation in the political struggle was legitimate. The response reaffirms Scribner's (1977:190) statement that schools, during political development, were regarded by the populace as the "most critical institutions for eradicating (the) historic injustices".

Table 5.3.2.2: Do you think Secondary School operated successfully with political parties' interference?

Categories	N	%
Yes, to a great extent	Nil	Nil
To some extent	30	30
Not at all	66	66
Uncertain	04	04
Total	**100**	**100**

The data from the preceding table reveals that a large number of respondents, 66% indicated that secondary schools were not at all operating successfully with political parties' interference. Of the number of respondents, 30% agreed to some extent that secondary schools operated successfully. 04% were uncertain. No respondents agreed to a greater extent.

It is evident that political interference disrupted the smooth running of secondary schools. As noted above learners participated in political struggles. Their participation called for stay-aways, marches, strikes, which adversely affected normal schooling. This response reaffirms the statement by Heese and Badenhorst (1992:52) in that learner involvement resulted in poor attendance, non-acceptance of authority, destruction of facilities and intimidation of those who wish ordinary education to proceed. However, the 30% who agreed that secondary schools operated successfully reveal that a certain

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degree of stability and tolerance prevailed in some areas where normal schooling was not interrupted.

Table 5.3.2.3: Political parties label their application of influence on school activities as "public interests"

Categories	N	%
Always	36	36
Often	39	39
Seldom	04	04
Uncertain	16	16
No	05	05
Total	100	100

Of the respondents, the table shows 36% indicated application of influence always happen. 39% indicated it often occurs. 04% indicated it seldom occurs. 16% indicated they were uncertain and 05% disagreed with the question.

It is interesting to note that three quarters (75%) of respondents agreed that political parties label their application of influence on school activities as public interest as stated earlier o n (cf. 3.2). It is also evident that the response confirms what Thomas (1983:10) stated in that political groups labeled their application of influence through their activities as "social control" or that they acted in "public interest" ostensibly general public interest within the school system were apt to call it meddling or interference.

Table 5.3.2.4: The culture of silence prevails in secondary schools because of fear of being labeled as political

Categories	N	%
Definitely, it is so	47	47
It usually happens	34	34
Rarely occurs	07	07
Uncertain	06	06
	06	06
Total	100	100

From the table above 47% indicated the culture of silence prevails because of fear of being labeled as political. 34% indicated it usually happens. 07% agreed it rarely occurs. 06% respondents were uncertain and 06% disagreed that the culture of silence exists.

Culture of silence,(Harber, 1998:123) emanates from intimidation by political enemies or gangsterism. This is about fear to reveal the severity of political violence. The response confirms Garson's (1998:2) statement that this fear had been exacerbated by the educators' and learners' experiences of gun shooting, killing of learners within the premises of the schools. Going to school had literally become a life and death issue for most educators and learners.

Table 5.3.2.5: Confrontation among political parties increased political tensions in secondary schools

Categories	N	%
Yes	87	87
No	07	07
Uncertain	06	06
Total	100	100

From the table above, most of the respondents (87%) agreed that confrontation among political parties increased political tension in secondary schools. Of the respondents 07% disagreed, and 06% were uncertain.

It is evident that tension abounds in secondary schools. School management and governance could not work harmoniously where there was tension. Tension lowers morale, creates mistrust and suspicion. Consequently working relationships among educators themselves, learners themselves and the School Governing Body self were abnormal because of the political tension. Confrontation and conflict brewed up into fierce political violence. It is evident tension is detrimental to the school's progress and good results. Conflicting political ideologies as Nzimande and Thusi (1991 Report) state, had greatly impacted on secondary schools' education in KwaZulu-Natal. This is because secondary schools were the most accessible segment of establishment (Scribner 1977:90).

Table 5.3.2.6: Would it be correct for educators to pronounce their political affiliation publicity?

Categories	N	%
Yes	10	10
No	90	90
Total	100	100

From the table above, the majority of respondents (90%) emphatically did not agree in that educators pronounce their political affiliation in public. Of the respondents, 10% agreed that educators should pronounce their political affiliation.

Respondents gave two different reasons on why they agree or disagree.

5.2.7.1   Reasons for disagreeing on pronouncement

The majority of respondents (90%) emphatically disagreed with the pronouncement of political affiliation on the following grounds.

a)   Most respondents indicated that educators were role models. They should therefore, not pronounce their political affiliation, because learners will loose trust in them or will not have good faith in them. Such pronouncement will divide the staff, learners and the community of the school. An educator has to be in service of different children, despite their political organization, in order to reach all of them. Educators must be able to work well with learners.

In other words educators should be accommodative of learners' different spheres of life.

b)   Respondents stated that learners came from different political backgrounds or political persuasions. Learners can sometimes react provoked by the educator's political status. Learners might also develop a negative attitude against educators who are not affiliated in their political party. Evidently they would not respect educators o the opposing political party. Consequently learners might develop a negative attitude against the subject of the educator in particular. On the other hand the educator will be targeted and that can result in victimization or sidelining in promotion posts of the educator was belonging to an opposing party to that of the community of his/her school.

There was fear that educators might favour learner affiliated to his/her party and that will promote political intolerance. Such an educator might intimidate other

learners, his/her colleagues in his political standing. Obviously the pronouncement would cause conflict, increase political tension in the school and thus in the community. There would be no place, no harmonious working relations at school.

c)   Generally, the respondents indicated that, it would be against professional ethics of the teaching profession to pronounce political affiliation. It is something uncalled for. Educators should protect themselves, their image and their prestige. Educators must not appear as politicians but as educators. One respondent categorically commented that our democracy is still politically immature in South Africa to allow such in schools.

5.2.7.2   Reasons for agreeing on disclosure

From the above Table 5.3.2.6 a few respondents (10%) gave the following two reasons for agreeing that educators should publicly make their political affiliation known.

a)   Firstly, it is in the Constitution, in the Bill of Rights (Chapter 2 of SA Constitution of 1996). Educators who are South African citizens have a constitutional right to belong to any political party of their choice.

b)   Lastly, it is good to know the person with whom you are talking to, in regard to political standing. Make your affiliation clear. It is good to let everyone know where you belong and what your political persuasions are.

Table 5.3.2.8: Do you fear learners who are active in party politics

Categories	N	%
Yes	46	46
No	54	54
Total	100	100

More than half of the respondents (54%) indicated they do not fear learners who were active in party politics. Almost half of the respondents (46%) agreed that they fear learners who are active in party politics.

Such a response suggested that there were still areas where politics was still rife. This circumstance lowers the morale of both educators and learners. Low morale does not yield the expected optimal learning and teaching performance. This response reaffirms the statements that learners were fully involved in politics (Kallaway, 1984:19). Because of the negative attitude against apartheid, Nzimande and Thusi (1991:73) remarked that they became troops and political activists. Buthelezi (1988:59) called them agent provocateurs. From the response, it is evident that there are educators who do not fear learners active in politics and there also those who fear them. Educators gave the following reasons:

5.3.2.9.1 The reasons put forward by educators for having no fear were that:

a)   The learners had a right to do so, and it was their constitutional right to participate. Their involvement in politics would make them matured by the time they left school.

b)   There was no fear as learners did not interfere with teaching and learning.

c)   Learners of today were better than learners that fought for freedom. Most learners were no more violent. Learners at the time respect educators.

However, educators commented that guidance must be given to the learners' participation in politics. They should draw lessons from democracy itself. They should tolerate one another.

5.3.2.9.2   The reasons put forward by educators who feared learners active in politics

a)   Politicians targeted secondary schools for their influence. Politically immature learners were used by politicians in most cases. Indoctrinate learners sometimes did not reason.

b)   Lack of tolerance. Learners might come from a party that does not tolerate other parties. These learners usually discriminate those learners who belong to the other political party. They disagree in ideas different from their political convictions.

c)   Learners carried dangerous weapons. Some learners were armed by their political parties. They were dangerous to the school life as such. They used force to get things done. They might kill educators while teaching. The school was not at all safe with them.

d)   Learners made the schools ungovernable. They became hostile, disruptive, disrespectful, murders. They defied instructions from educators. They despised authority of their parents as well as that of their educators. They disturbed the

smooth running of the school.

Table 5.3.2.10: Would you say the political environment of the secondary school in which you work was uncertain?

Categories	N	%
Yes	60	60
No	40	40
Total	**100**	**100**

A large number of respondents (60%) agreed that the political environment, of secondary school wherein they worked was uncertain. Of the respondents (40%) did not agree with the statement.

It is noted that the environment is uncertain, dominated by fear, culture of silence, confrontation, the so-called "public interest". There is no freedom of movement. It is evident that such an enormous adversely affected morale of both educators and learners. It is not a free environment for educators to give their best performance with low morale. Consequently envisaged individual school academic cannot be bettered by educators full of fear.

A conducive environment for learning and teaching is one thing all stakeholders and political parties should strive to achieve. Harber (1998:118) states that the National Education Policy dictates that a learning environment should provide students with an opportunity to learn about good communication, mediation, conflict-reducing techniques, tolerance and civic responsibility. Harber (ibid) describes the democratic school environment as the best place to give democracy its true meaning.

5.3.2.11   Educators' suggestions on how assistance could be provided for secondary schools with the political problem

The educators' response to this question was recorded here. The educators expressed their opinions in that:

a)   The politicians must be put in proper perspective, that is, "Education comes first". Education in general is the best weapon for their schools to fight against poverty, illiteracy and ignorance. Secondary schools should be politics-free zones. School Governance in these schools should not be politically bias but should be aimed at attaining fundamental educational aims in each individual secondary school. Schools should remain purely educational institutions. Politics and politicians must be removed from the secondary school which is an area for teaching and learning. Educators should at all costs, be neutral when handling sensitive political issues in their schools.

b)   Learners should first be told to finish school before engaging fully in political matters. The Policy of the Department of Education should publicly ban and discourage learner from active participation in politics. Politicians should positively assist learners with learning only. Learners should be engage in constructive community projects.

Two different opinions were expressed by respondents in regard to teaching of politics in secondary schools. Both educators and recognized-prominent members of political parties should clearly address learners about the purpose of learning and the fundamental philosophy of education as against party politics at school. Learners must be educated on democratic principles like, tolerance,

Ubuntu, Unity, Patriotism etcetera. Secondly, learners should be taught politics while growing in secondary schools. Political Science should be included in the secondary school curriculum as an examinable subject.

c)   All stakeholders of the particular school should collectively solicit solutions in political problems. Community involvement is crucial in the stabilization of the school environment. Political parties should work hand in hand with secondary school management, in calling their members to order, punishing their members who act against the party rules. Parties should also constantly act against all criminal activities. The parties should stop interfering with secondary schools. It should be their duty to encourage their young members to get educated, it is for their benefit after all. Community leadership in the form of Amakhosi, Headman and Councillors should be educated on how to assist instilling the culture of learning and teaching in secondary schools.

d)   The politicians should educate their members on the importance of an undisturbed schooling. All fundamental political differences, spilling over to secondary schools, should at the shortest possible time be settled or to an amicable compromise. Communities must be taught not to use their political differences to destabilize secondary schooling.

5.3.3 Politics and the culture of learning

Table 5.3.3.1: Would you say secondary schools, where politically active is rife, are conducive to learning

Categories	N	%
Yes	20	20
No	80	80
Total	**100**	**100**

From the table above, 80% of respondents indicated that in the secondary schools where political activity were rife, were not at all conducive to learning. Of the respondents, 20% agreed that secondary schools were conducive to learning despite rife political activity.

It is interesting to note that a significant percentage of educators disagreed. This indicates that good teaching and learning was derailed by political activity. This poses a challenge to the Department of Education and Culture in addressing and curtailing political activities that destroyed the culture of teaching and learning in secondary schools. As stated earlier, De Lange et al. (1989:318) secondary schools had been politicized. Stakeholders have a responsibility to normalize the schools' environment for good teaching and learning to take place.

Table 5.3.3.2: Would you say the exposure of secondary school learners to politics has any effect on their learning?

Categories	N	%
Yes	92	92
No	08	08
Total	**100**	**100**

The above table indicates that 92% of the respondents agreed that the exposure of secondary school learners to politics had effects on their learning. Only 08% of the respondents disagreed that the exposure to politics had any effect on learning.

It is evident that the majority of respondents agreed about the presence of political effects on learning.

Unterhalter (1991) avers that learners associated with political violence, experience loss of interest in learning, loss school culture, loss of discipline and low morale. This was detriment to quality learning.

Table 5.3.3.3: Have schools become battlefields as a result of party politics?

Categories	N	%
Fully agree	47	47
Agree to some extent	49	49
Disagree	04	04
Total	100	100

The above table shows that almost half of the respondents (49%) agreed to some extent in that schools had become battlefields as a result of party politics. Of the number of respondents 47% fully agreed that schools had become battlefields. 04% of respondents disagreed that schools had turned into battlefields of party politics.

It is interesting to note that the majority of educators, 96%, that is, the number of those who fully agree plus those who agree to some extent, agreed that secondary schools turned into battlefields of party politics. That totally destabilized, teaching and learning. Party politics turned learner against fellow learners. It had also turned learners against their educators. Moreover it turned some members of school governing bodies against

educators. The scenario was abnormal for normal teaching and learning. Some schools closed down because political unrest brought secondary schools to a halt.

Table 5.3.3.4: Do you agree learning involved in political struggles used violence as "a problem-solving-tool"?

Categories	N	%
Yes	88	88
No	12	12
Total	100	100

The preceding table indicates that 88% of the respondents agreed in that learners who were involved in political struggle used violence as "a problem solving tool". Of the respondents 12% disagreed with the statement.

The response reaffirms the statement of De Lange et al. (1981:1) in that people used political activity to try and control what schools did. It is therefore, evident that the majority of the respondents agreed that political violence as Harber (1998:118) states, was used in solving school problems. If there were demands presented, property would be vandalized and looted. In certain instances assault of and beating of other learners, carrying of dangerous weapons, was witnessed to threaten educators and parents until their demands were met.

Table 5.3.3.5: Do you think secondary schools were the worst affected by political violence?

Categories	N	%
Yes	95	95
No	05	05
Total	100	100

The above table indicates 95% of the respondents agreed in that secondary schools were the worst affected school level by political violence. Of the respondents, 05% disagreed that secondary schools were the worst affected.

It is evident that the majority of respondents agreed that secondary schools were the worst affected by political violence, hence the culture of learning and teaching waned.

Table 5.3.3.6: Which do you think were the most five prevalent political effects?

Categories	%
Keeping dangerous arms at school	73
Disrespect of authority	69
Indiscipline	61
Strikes became the order	56
Schooling stopped	48
Total	**100**

The preceding table indicates the five most prevalent political effects selected by respondents. It is only the top five in overall or the five most preferred political effects that were recorded.

Keeping of dangerous arms at school topped the list of preferences. Being armed result in disrespect of authority are indiscipline. Strikes became the order of the day, this means that striking was most prevalent in getting all demands met. Consequently it is evident that schooling stopped because learners were armed violent and feared no school management. It can be concluded that schooling in secondary schools was in utter chaos, allowing no conducive environment for learning and teaching.

Table 5.3.3.7: Does your teacher union contribute to teaching and learning?

Categories	N	%
Greatly so	37	37
To some extent	29	29
To a lesser degree	18	18
Not al all	16	16
Total	**100**	**100**

The above table shows 37% of respondents agreed that Teacher Unions did contribute to teaching and learning; 29% agreed to some extent; 18% agreed but to a lesser degree. Of the number of respondents 16% indicated that the Teacher Unions did not at all contribute to teaching and learning.

Surprisingly there were educators who feel Teacher Unions did absolutely nothing to instill the culture of learning and teaching. This shows a certain number of educators lacked confidence in their work of contributing to better teaching and learning. Mostly were engaged in politics of the country than in teaching. It is significant to note that most educators varingly agreed that Teacher Union played a significant role. A bleak picture is drawn here. Unions might not be convincing in their attempts. Unions might had been wrestling with educator rights rather than reviving COLTS.

Table 5.3.3.8: Responses that show how teacher unions contributed to teaching and learning

Categories	%
Staff Development	63
Culture of Teaching and Learning	61
School Governance	57
Discipline	55
Policy Formulation	53
Curriculum Development	48
Authority Acknowledged	44
Total	**100**

The above table indicates the preferred order of important reasons that show how Teacher Unions contributed to teaching and learning. The respondents agreed in Table 5.3.3.7 that Teacher Unions did contribute to teaching and learning. The reasons were ranked in the table above in their order of importance as selected by respondents.

It is noted that staff development is ranked top of the contributors followed by culture of teaching and learning. This shows the commitment of unions in developing their members. It also shows the preparedness of unions to revive the culture of teaching and learning. However, it is astonishing to note that acknowledging authority comes last. It is evident it is not a priority matter. Acknowledging authority is vital for the culture of co-operation in a school situation.

Table 5.3.3.9: Are learners in the school where you teach aware of political problems affecting their school?

Categories	N	%
Yes	54	54
No	46	46
Total	100	100

More that half of the respondents (54%) agreed that learners in their schools were aware of political problems affecting their schools. Of the number of respondents (46%) disagreed that learners were aware of political problems affecting their school.

Table 5.3.3.10: Would you say the pass rate is related to how the school is affected by political violence?

Categories	N	%
Yes	77	77
No	23	23
Total	100	100

The above table indicates that 77% of the respondents agreed that the pass rate was related to how the school was affected by political violence. 23% respondents disagreed that the pass rate was related to how the secondary school was affected by political violence.

A large percentage of respondents agreed that the pass rate was related to how the schools were affected by political violence. This response reaffirms the statement by Heese and Badenhorst (1992:54) that failure rate is characterized by political activities secondary schools were involved in.

This response also reaffirms what Lawton (1992:119) stated that one major result of no culture of teaching and learning was seen in the legacy of a "culture of failure" which secondary schools experienced. The pass rates were indicative of the extent to which schooling had been disrupted politically.

5.3.4 Politics and school management/administration

Table 5.3.3.11: Do you think the local leadership understands its role in education?

Categories	N	%
They certainly do	06	06
To a certain degree	28	28
To some extent	35	35
Not at all	31	31
Total	**100**	**100**

The data in the above table reflects the response on the role played by local leadership in education. Of the respondents 35% agreed they did to some extent; 31% respondents indicated that local leadership did not at all understand its role in education; 28% of respondents agreed to a certain degree. Only 06% of the respondents agreed that local leadership certainly did understand their role in education.

It is evident that most respondents agree that local leadership understood its role in education. That understanding need be harnessed in order to promote good governance of secondary schools in their communities. It is clear that local leadership, with the power they posses, could give good support to school management, which will enable both teachers and learners to perform maximally in their secondary schools. Prosperous school governance requires a responsible concerted effort of all stakeholders in order to provide quality environment for secondary school education.

Table 5.3.4.2: Do you have local political leaders that are members of your school governing body?

Categories	N	%
Yes	50	50
No	50	50
Total	**100**	**100**

The table indicates that half of the respondents (50%) agreed that there were local political leaders who were members of School Governing Bodies. Of the respondents 50% disagreed with the question.

It is evident that in certain areas, local political leaders are part of school governance. It remains in their power of influence to encourage efficient school management of their schools. They stand a better chance to eradicate the political disturbances hence assisting in bringing about the needed, effective, efficient school management.

Table 5.3.4.3: If it does happen, how is their attitudes?

Categories	N	%
Supportive	52	52
Bossy	21	21
Behave like principal	05	05
No response	22	22
Total	**100**	**100**

The above table indicates that 52% of the respondents stated that the local political leaders in school governing bodies are supportive in their attitude. Of the respondents, 21% reported a bossy attitude in the SGB; 05% reported they behave like principals. 22% did not indicate their responses.

It is evident that more than half of the respondents expressed that there was a

supportive attitude among local leadership active in school governance. Where there was such an attitude school management excelled.

Table 5.3.4.4: How do you work with political leaders who are members of the governing body in your schools?

Categories	N	%
Very well	21	21
A relationship of trust	24	24
Tension abound	34	34
No responses	21	21
Total	**100**	**100**

The data in the above table indicates that 21% of the respondents indicated that educators worked well with SGB members who political leaders. Of the number of respondents 24% indicated working relations reflected a relationship of trust. Of the number of respondents 34% indicated that tension abound. 21% did not respond to the question.

It can be concluded that the working relations in certain areas had good co-operation, that is, very well and bore a relationship of trust. Good working-relations were crucial to the success of school governance. School projects were carried out successfully. Good governance was very essential for successful teaching and learning. It is evident that the tension which abounds in certain areas is a result of the presence of a bossy leader in the SGB. Tension is detrimental to the smooth running of secondary schools. Non-response is indicative of the fact that culture of silence still prevail in certain schools.

Table 5.3.4.5: How do the local leadership work with educators?

Categories	N	%
Harmoniously	58	58
Quarrel with them	06	06
Rejects them	20	20
Disapprove of them	10	10
No response	06	06
Total	100	100

From the table above 58% of the respondents indicated that local leadership work harmoniously with educators. Of the respondents, 20% indicated that educators were rejected by some leader; 10% indicated that educators were disapproved by the local leadership; 06% indicated that they quarrel with educators. Lastly 06% did not respond at all.

More than half of the respondents indicated that the local leadership worked harmoniously with educators. This is an indication that work relations had improved and educators were accepted. This shows signs of political tolerance and good partnership. Where tension abounds as the Table 5.3.4.5 indicates, educators were disapproved, rejected and sometimes they quarreled with them. The picture displayed in the table needed drastic change for educators to work well and to administer well the secondary schools where they are posted.

Harmonious working between schoolmen and politicians is crucial in overcoming problems and in amassing great public support for their schools to be successful.

Table 5.3.4.6: Views on the participation of local political leadership in resolving political problems of their schools

Categories	N	%
Very satisfied	11	11
Satisfied to a degree	31	31
No satisfied	37	37
Uncertain	19	19
No response	02	02
Total	**100**	**100**

The data on the above table reflects the responses of respondents in regard to the participation of local political leaders in resolving political problems of their secondary schools. Of the respondents; 11% were very satisfied; 31% were satisfied to a degree; 37% were not satisfied in the manner political problems of secondary schools were resolved; 19% were uncertain and 02% did not give their responses.

It is noted that most respondents are both uncertain and not satisfied in the manner schools' political problems were resolved by local political leadership. This is a situation demanding addressing for school management teams to effectively manage secondary school to greater success.

Table 5.3.4.7: Have parents lost control over their children in secondary school level?

Categories	N	%
Yes	84	84
No	16	16
Total	**100**	**100**

The above table shows that 84% of respondents agreed that parents had lost control over their children in secondary schools. Of the respondents, 16% disagreed that

parents had lost control

It is noted that significant percentage of respondents agreed that parents had lost control over their children, in secondary schools. There were a number of reasons one could state causes of lost of control. To name a few: parents were afraid of violent children who were involved in politics (Nzimande & Thusi, 1991); parents might had little or no education, then inferiority developed (McKay, 1995:186); some parents were too old - pensioners.

This evidentially made it difficult for school managements to instill discipline if parents were aloof because they were afraid of their violent and armed children or had no interest whatsoever in exercising discipline to their teenagers in secondary schools. Such a response confirms the statement that parents lose interest in their children who have reached the secondary school level. Connel (1983:53) found that parental interest diminishes at high school and is strongest at the primary school. Contrary to this reasoning, nothing seems more natural, more reasonable and more in keeping with an enlightened democracy than that parents should be free to bring up their children in their own way according to their own tradition, beliefs and values.

5.3.5 **Politics and provisioning** (equitable distribution of resources)

Table 5.3.5.1: Are secondary schools hardest hit by government policies of provisioning?

Categories	N	%
Strongly agree	46	46
Agree	35	35
Uncertain	16	16
Disagree	03	03
Strongly disagree	Nil	Nil
Total	**100**	**100**

The table reflects that 46% of the number of respondents strongly agreed that government policies of provisioning hit hard on secondary schools; 35% also agreed. 16% were uncertain whether government policies affected secondary schools or not, 03% disagreed. No strong disagreement were recorded.

It is noted that a significant number of respondents agreed that secondary schools were hardest hit by government policies of provisioning (cf. 3.3.9.6.2; 3.3.9.5.1). A major facelift (Bridgray, 1997:5) was necessary for equity and to redress imbalances and provisions. Most schools (Pampallis, 1998:9) were under-resourced especially schools for blacks.

Table 5.3.5.2: Do you think the government treats rural school differently as opposed to urban schools?

Categories	N	%
Yes	84	84
No	16	16
Total	**100**	**100**

The table indicates that 85% of the respondents agreed that the government treated rural schools differently in terms of provisions, as opposed to urban schools. Of the number of respondents, 16% disagreed that rural schools were treated differently.

It is noted that the majority of the respondents agreed that rural secondary schools were treated differently as opposed to urban schools. It is evident that these schools did not receive the best of service as in urban schools. It is a question (Thomas, 1983) of who receives what, when, whey and of what quality. Such a response confirms the statement that provisions of infrastructure, equipment, teaching and learning resources were delivered to urban schools efficiently. This is because of what Ardington (1992:28) expresses about the history of financing education in South Africa which reflects a strong anti-rural bias. This means there were less facilities than in urban schools. Thomas (ed) (1983:9) contends (cf. 2.3.1.3) social dichotomies were prime sources of dissent over support of all access to education. These are: urban versus rural; and politically favoured against politically disadvantaged regions.

Table 5.3.5.3: Do you agree that shortages of required education resources/material make it difficult for teaching and learning to proceed smoothly?

Categories	N	%
Fully agree	89	89
Agree to some extent	11	11
Disagree	Nil	Nil
Total	100	100

The above table indicate that 89% of the respondents fully agreed. Of the number of respondents, 11% agreed to some extent that shortages of required education resources make teaching and learning difficult. There were no disagreements.

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It is noted that all of the respondents agreed. It is therefore evident that no teaching and learning of any significance can proceed smoothly without the essential educational material resource. This reason affirms the statement that of secondary education to be meaningful to the learner, there should be adequate provision of resources and sufficient funding for provisions by government.

Table 5.3.5.4: Does shortage of staff make teaching and learning difficult?

Categories	N	%
Yes	99	99
No	01	01
Total	100	100

Almost all the respondents, 99% agreed that shortage of staff in secondary schools make teaching and learning difficult.

It is interesting to note that almost all educators indicated that the shortage of staff made teaching and learning difficult. It is evident that shortage result in poor results, heavy unmanageable workloads; clashing of composite timetables; other subjects not offered at all; difficult classroom management; high pupil ratio. This is the matter demanding urgency on the creation of posts, resolving displacements and replacement at the shortest possible time for effective learning and teaching to take place in secondary schools.

Table 5.3.5.5: Do you think black communities have failed to provide significant support to secondary education?

Categories	N	%
Yes, to a great extent	55	55
To some extent	45	45
Not at all	Nil	Nil
Uncertain	Nil	Nil
Total	100	100

The table reflects that 55% of the respondents agreed to a great extent that communities had failed. Of the number of respondents, 45% agreed to some extent that communities had failed. There were no disagreements recorded. There were also no uncertainties recorded.

It is noted that all the respondents, 100% agreed that communities had failed to provide significant support to secondary education.

Rural communities, as McKay (1995:189) states, could least afford to subsidize the school buildings and maintenance. Education is the most expensive asset for the community. They carried a significant part of financing secondary education in their areas because of political bias against rural areas (Addington, 1992; Graaf, 1988; and McKay, 1995) and because of differential treatment in funding with reference to the principle of government subsidy.

5.3.5.6 General comments:

Educators' additional comments or suggestions regarding the effects of politics

a) **Learners took politics blindly**

Respondents expressed that learners took politics blindly. They became violent because they were used and taught to be violent by their leaders. Then learning became of secondary importance. One respondent commented that politics is a widely misinterpreted phenomenon. It is all among Africans, just usurpation of power and greed. The other respondents suggested that although learners should be aware of what is going on in politics, but they must not get entangled in the actual political struggles.

b) **Poor school performance**

Respondents indicated that party politics resulted in poor performance in school work. Party politics should have not been allowed into schools in the first place. Consequently many schools had dropped their academic standards. Some effects highlighted were: high drop-out ratio; high failure rate; high rate of absenteeism; school disturbances. One respondent suggested that political parties should teach learners that educators are adults and parents too, who act in loco parentis, and should be accorded due respect. This had resulted from political circles where adults and the youth were regarded as equals, for example, comrades and the teacher-learner relationship declined in that way. The learner saw an educator as a colleague and not as an adult.

c) **Lack of discipline and respect**

One respondent stated that the new South African dispensation on Education

had resulted in learners lacking greatly in discipline and respect which stems from chaos and uncontrollable-violent learners that were part of political upheavals. The other respondent stated that Youth Centres for extra-curricular and cultural programmes should be established in communities to fully involve learners and thereby minimizing unnecessary learners participation in party politics.

d) **Politicians bring back the culture of teaching and learning usurped**

One respondent expressed the idea that political campaigns caused serious disruptions in secondary schooling in the 1990's. In certain instance community leaders did not care about learners, as long as they achieved their political aims. The other stated that secondary schools had been electioneering grounds for politicians and were looking for votes from the youth to the detriment of their education progress. Most respondents suggested that now it is the time for campaigns, of the magnitude; similar to political campaigns of 1990's to be effected and used to effectively bring back the Culture of Learning and Teaching Services (COLTS) in secondary schools. In collaboration with the above suggestions, one respondent suggested that politicians should use the same vigour as it was in electioneering to mobile educators and learners take education more seriously, as they should. Politicians should responsibly support education in order to develop learners into responsible citizens and community members. Ramogale (1998:9) avers that politicians should begin to see instilling of discipline as a challenge necessary for national survival. This challenge required the kind of resolve and moral courage displayed in the struggle against apartheid.

e)   **Victimization of suspected educators**

Respondents expressed that School Governing Body members seem to be harmoniously working with the principal and the school management. However, their hidden political agenda will always want to surface. One is always trapped or suspected to belong to the other political party which is not theirs. Some educators also expressed that some of them had become political victims in some communities. One respondent categorically suggested that the political parties must give educators a break and let them do their work responsibly without political interference. Respondents categorically stated that politics must get out of education.

f)   **Counseling is essential to learners affected by politics**

One respondent suggested that the Department of Education and Culture in KwaZulu-Natal need to make adequate provision for Guidance and Counseling in the secondary schools to help learners with predicaments resulting from previous political violence, detrimental to scholastic ability to be fully developed. There are no need for a neutral body of the Department, to be set up, to deal with spills of politics in schools. In addition, some respondents stated that educators of secondary schools should be empowered with skills in order to give relevant and adequate professional guidance to their learners who were victims of political violence.

5.4   **CONCLUSION**

In this chapter the research data collected from educators was quantitatively analysed.

A discussion of results was undertaken. Each of the responses were analysed and

interpreted to indicate how secondary schools were in actual fact affected by politics.

The next chapter, which is the last one, will give a brief summary of everything covered in the first three chapters, the findings portion of chapter 5; an overview of this research in a summary of conclusions and certain recommendations will be made.

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CHAPTER SIX

SYNOPSIS, FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapters the researcher had stipulated the objectives of the study. The researcher had studied all relevant literature in Chapter Two and Three. Data was collected through questionnaires. Data was presented, analysed and interpreted in Chapter Five.

This chapter, the last chapter, will focus on the findings, conclusions and recommendations. At this point the researcher will draw conclusions from the whole study and make recommendations.

6.2 THE SYNOPSIS

6.2.1 The purpose of the study

The researcher formulated the basic aim in Chapter One to the course of this study. The aims were realized through literature study and with the structured questionnaire.

The primary aim of the study was: to investigate a link between politics and education and thereby determine the extent and effects of politics on KwaZulu-Natal secondary schools. On this basis recommendations are made.

6.2.2 **Restatement of the problem**

As a result of the historical background, and the political changes in South Africa, a need was felt for identifying extent and effects of politics.

It was essential to determine the extent and effects of politics on provision and funding of secondary schools, on culture of learning and teaching, on school governance, and on educator-learner morale of the secondary schools.

This study was specifically aimed at determining the extent and effects of politics on KwaZulu-Natal secondary schools. The significant effects of politics were identified.

6.2.3 **Method employed**

The method used in this research consisted of two instruments, namely, literature study and questionnaires.

a)   **Literature Study:** Literature studies as shown in the list of references at the back of each chapter, was the source of background information related to the problem the researcher felt to exist. From the study of literature it was realized that the scope of the problem was too wide that investigation had to be limited. Political effects to be studied were mapped.

Historical background in Chapter Two helped to perceive the history of politics and education in South Africa. Historical background also helped to explain the origin and developments of political problems affecting secondary school in general in South Africa. These problems revealed themselves: backlogs was still

huge in terms of provisioning; staffing and funding; rural schools remained uncared for; conduct of public education was a political issue/enterprise; control of secondary school was highly political struggle; a negative impact of apartheid ideology; the impulse for change will always come from the political realm; education is the political terrain where the source of transformation was.

In Chapter Three specific effects of general politics and party politics were studied, in regard to their effect on the education of secondary schools in KwaZulu-Natal during the years 1980 to 1999. These problems reveal themselves: conflicting political ideologies impact on secondary schools (cf.); the impact of political activities on these schools; the significant effects of general party politics (e.g. control of schools; incorporation; legitimatization; critical provisions; poor funding; low educator morale; and ineffective schooling).

b)   **Questionnaire:** These were designed only for educators. The instrument was used to collect data from the respondents. There was hundred percent return, after a struggle, of questionnaires. The questionnaires was successfully piloted. There were no changes on the questionnaires after piloting. The questionnaires consisted of both open and closed questions. Data from closed questions was quantified and encoded in tabular form and interpreted. Data was presented in percentage form. Responses to open-ended questions were collated and summarized.

6.2.4 Limitation to the study

For ethical reasons it is necessary for a researcher to point out the limitations and problems encountered during the course of this investigation.

These include the following:

a)   The absence of financial resource made it impossible to gather abundant information at a larger area. The researcher was then confined to select a sample of 20 secondary schools of Mthunzini District only.

b)   Educators have a negative attitude towards completing a questionnaire. This attitude might have influenced the reliability of the results because among other things there was:

    —   misreading of instructions and questions
    —   misinterpretation of questions.

Besides the limitations the researcher is confident this study will provide KZN-Department of Education, its officials, Superintendent of Education Management (SEM) and principals with valuable resources. It will also provide basis for future research.

6.3   FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The following discussion highlights some of the major findings. The interpretation thereof is based on the assumptions tabled in Chapter One of this study.

6.3.1 Politics affects morale (discipline and confidence)

The study reveals that:

•   Political interference hinders effective secondary schooling.

- There is culture of silence in secondary schools. No one wants to divulge information about political violence.
- Political confrontation among parties affects schools' working relationship and school environment.
- Educators are against pronouncement of their political affiliation.
- There are educators who are afraid and those who are not afraid of learners who are active in politics.
- *Political influence in secondary schools is labeled as public interest.*
- There is an uncertain political environment.

The study concluded that there are elements of party politics affecting secondary schools.

6.3.2 Politics affects culture of learning and teaching

It was revealed that:

- Secondary schools where politics is rife are not conducive to learning.
- Learners' exposure to politics affected their learning.
- Secondary schools became the battlefield or war-zones of political parties during political upheavals.
- Violence was used in secondary schools as a problem solving tool.
- Pass rate was related to the effects of political violence.
- Secondary schools were the worst affected by political violence.

It emerged from the study that there is failure in addressing crucial political issues that destroy the culture of learning and teaching in secondary schools.

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6.3.3 Politics affects school management and administration

It was also revealed that:

- Local leadership understands its role in education. They were supportive, worked well with educators and worked well with School Management Teams (SMT's).
- Educator were partially satisfied with problem solving methods applied by local leadership.
- Parents had lost control over their children who were learners in secondary schools. In actual fact they feared them.

The researcher concluded that there is no co-operation from the community with regard to solving secondary schools problems. Parents as well as local leadership find it hard to clamp down instigators and root out real problems in these schools. Harmonious working relations, unhindered by political differences, are crucial to excellent school governance.

6.3.4 Politics affects provisioning

It emerged from the study that:

- Backlogs were still huge. The gab between rural and urban schools need closing. All imbalances need be equitably addressed.
- Government policies of provisioning affected secondary schools.
- Rural schools were treated differently as opposed to urban schools.
- Shortages of educational material affected learning and teaching.
- Staff shortage makes teaching and learning situations unbearable.

- Black communities have failed to provide significant support to their secondary schools.

It emerged from this study that there is a huge backlog in secondary schools funding and provisions.

From the above findings and conclusions the recommendations were made.

6.4 TESTING THE HYPOTHESIS

The primary hypothesis drawn in this study states that:

> "Politics as a phenomenon can influence education negatively or positively. A good understanding of this relation between politics and education will contribute towards better secondary schools' education results and policy formulation for the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education and Culture system."

The literature studied in Chapter Two and Three and the findings drawn indicated there are negative effects of politics on secondary school education generally.

The analysis done reveals the significant effects of politics. The study revealed that politics affects morale of both learners and educators, affects culture of learning and teaching; affects funding and provisioning; and it affects school governance of secondary schools.

The researcher can therefore conclude that a far as the investigation was able to reveal,

there is a huge extent and considerable effects of politics that affected secondary schools in KwaZulu-Natal. The hypothesis is accepted.

6.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

This section presents the recommendations regarding the extent and affects of politics in KwaZulu-Natal African secondary schools on the basis of the findings of this study.

Should they be implemented they might limit and eventually eradicate effects of politics affecting secondary schools. Relevant authorities need to attend to political effects in a politically unbiased manner and seek relevant and practical solutions.

The most important aspect of the recommendations is aimed at getting rid of the effects of politics in KZN secondary schools' education and underlying purpose of this, thereby creating a conducive learning and teaching environment free of political intervention or interference of any kind.

The study made the following recommendations.

6.5.1 Politics affects morale (discipline and confidence)

In view of the effects of political activities on morale:

a)   the KZN Department of Education and Culture should draw clear policy on what to be done to stop political interference, political intimidation, political disturbance, in order to create a free school environment from politics for both learners and educators.

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b)   the politicians should keep learners and educators out of politics. They should mobile both for good performance in schools.

c)   the Department should prescribe that politics be part of the school curriculum. It is suggested it be offered as a learning area in Outcomes Based Education's (OBE) programme in secondary schools. Politics can form part of the learning area of Human and Social Sciences (HSS). The envisaged specific outcomes to be authentic moral values, diligence, hardworking, perseverance, patriotism, nationalism, sense of value, etcetera. In that way political socialization discussed in Chapter One will be addressed. Syllabus need be drawn and modified along the years. Educators need be developed in handling the subject with great care and ability.

The subject is important for political enlightenment and political knowledge. This will conscietize learner's about politics and as means of fighting political ignorance, and for democracy to find its true meaning in the youth. Education in politics will help the Province of KwaZulu-Natal in producing politicians in the true sense of the word.

6.5.2 Politics affects COLTS

In view of the effects of politics on culture of learning and teaching:

a)   The KZN Department of Education and Culture should reinstate annual school inspections by a panel of SEM's in addition to Developmental Appraisal System (DAS) that is in place. The school inspectors', now called SEM's, visit have a

great impact on the revival of culture of teaching and learning.

SEM's visited schools on the opening days and during examinations in the year 2000 and 2001. The remarkable improvement observed was great. SEM should visit schools and actually take stock of infrastructure and accessibility of schools under his control other than rely on principals' reports. They should evaluate and report on the use of resources. They should provide needed reliable assistance and advise to educators and the school governing body on site.

6.5.3 Politics affects school management and administration

In view of the effects of politics on school management and administration:

a) The Department of Education and Culture should set up a programme to invoke love and harness Traditional Leaders to provide adequate support to secondary schools, as fathers of their communities. Black secondary education need them to grow in their areas. It cannot grow unless they play a major role in promoting secondary education of their communities. They are the best available resource for promotion of peace and maintenance of social discipline, social culture, values, customs and norms of their communities and the nation. Amakhosi therefore, are an institution pivotal to secondary school education. They stand the better chance to promote ubuntu; to monitor, encourage learners and educators to do well; to quickly resolve political problems in the nipple; and to disarm learners who come to school armed in their areas. In that way positive support will be addressed. Open communication between Amakhosi and Departmental Officials is one to safeguard trust and clarify misconceptions even during conflict.

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b) The Department of Education and Culture, through its Human Resource section should set up a programme to continually develop School Governing Bodies to perform maximally for their school to excel. Members of SGB's need be equipped with skills for fund-raising; for conflict management; administration. The SGB must be developed thoroughly for greater efficiency in their roles, and in school governance. Their development will elevate their self-esteem and confidence required in their partnership roles. That confidence, coupled with knowledge of what they are supposed to do in their roles, is essential in handling all kinds of issues referred to them. In that way school management will do very good.

c) The Department of Education and Culture should exonerate high school principals from actual class teaching thereby enabling them to fully control and properly manage the schools. It is poor staffing that affected school management. The principals are responsible for school administration/management and teaching. These are two different major activities that demand individual attention from a principal. Good results will come when secondary schools are properly and efficiently managed. A principal cannot be a class teacher, a school secretary at the same time a school manager. School managers must manage schools. The researcher feels the school principals/managers are too stretched to provide total quality management of their secondary schools. In that way principals will drive their schools towards its vision and mission and greatly so towards the KZN-Department of Education and Culture's vision and mission.

6.5.4 **Politics affect provisioning**

In view of the effects of politics on provisioning:

a) The KZN-Department of Education and Culture should address the backlogs in secondary schools. Survival of especially the rural secondary schools is crucial and need urgent addressing. The tender process should be shorter for quick delivery of services and resources. Learning resources should be brought in every classroom. The Departmental Officials should serve all needs of individual schools indiscriminately and apolitically. The gab in funding and in provisioning between rural and urban schools need be closed. These schools should be given equal treatment for them to be at par with more affluent urban secondary schools. Rural schools must also produce the best results. The most limiting factors for a democratic school environment need be addressed. These, *inter alia*, are: dilapidated school buildings; inadequate provisions; and lack of funding. These are essentials for excellent resurgence of COLTS.

b) The Department should address qualified educator shortage. Post Provisioning Norms (PPN) and weightings adversely affected the number of educators required at secondary schools. On the other hand, it has been detrimental to the revival of COLTS because there are not enough educators to teach and control learning. The researcher feels the norms of allocation of post in post primary schools should be revised to cater for good specialization in secondary schools. Let there be no educator "just holding the fort". There should be no educator with only Matric giving lessons in matric because of staff shortage. All subjects need be handled by an educator who is properly qualified. Creation of posts will lessen the unworkable duty loads resulting in insignificant teaching without proper

control of learners work. Mechanism need be put in place to ensure that posts allocated for secondary schools do teach them on time. In that way provisioning of adequate qualified staff in secondary schools will be addressed.

6.5.5 The need for further research

This research drew attention to what extent politics has influenced secondary schools. A number of effects were studied in order to identify influential ones.

This study emphasized the essence of school freedom from party politics in order to be governed well and to perform maximally without political parties' interference.

Therefore, it is suggested that the most significant research in addressing political issues will have to determine how such freedom can be attained in African secondary schools.

6.6   FINAL REMARKS

The complex nature of political conflicts warrants a multi-dimensional approach to manage it. In this chapter an attempt has been made to provide a comprehensive set of recommendations which can be useful in KZN-Department of Education and Culture.

Since the extent of politics originates from other subsystems or institutions related to the schools the researcher has made recommendations for the Department to address to these institutions.

The problem of politics must be addressed as the quality of education in secondary schools is severely affected.

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A LETTER OF REQUEST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

P O Box 3090
Esikhawini
3887

16 October 2000

The Superintendent General
KZN-Department of Education and Culture
Private Bag X04
ULUNDI
3838

Dear Sir

re: **A REQUEST TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN THE PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL**

I hereby request permission to conduct research on the undermentioned topic on secondary schools. This request is made to enable the researcher in fulfilling requirements for Master of Education dissertation at the University of Zululand. The Required respondents are educators of secondary schools on a chosen sample.

The topic for research stands as:

AN ANALYSIS OF THE EXTENT AND EFFECTS OF POLITICS ON KWAZULU-NATAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

The "basic aims" of the study are:

(1)   To investigate a link between politics and education.
(2)   To identify the extent and effects of politics on secondary schools in KZN.
(3)   To look into how some partners in education handle politics in secondary schools.
(4)   To look into ways educators and learners handle issues of politics in secondary schools.

Your consideration and permission will be greatly honoured.

Yours faithfully

VS XULU (The Researcher)

INTRODUCTORY LETTER

P O Box 3090
Esikhawini
3887

16 October 2000

Dear Respondent

I am conducting a study to determine the extent and effects of politics in KwaZulu-Natal secondary schools. The attached form lists questions on several issues, that may have influenced secondary education. The questions ask for your opinion. Please answer the questionnaire the way you feel.

The topic has some sensitive issues. Anonymity and confidentiality are guaranteed. Do not reveal your name, surname or school. The researcher will collect the questionnaires.

Your participation is encouraged. Your co-operation will be greatly appreciated in this research.

Thank you for your time

Yours sincerely

_____

VS XULU (The Researcher)

[for Supervisor's information]

PILOT STUDY: QUESTIONNAIRE

NB: **Write your response to questions below on the provided spaces.**

1.   How long it takes to complete this questionnaire?

_____

2.   Were instructions clear?

_____

3.   Were any of the questions unclear or ambiguous? If so, say which and why?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

4.   Did you object to answering any of the question?

_____

5.   In your opinion, has any major topic been omitted?

_____

_____

_____

6.   Was the layout of the questionnaire clear or attractive?

_____

7.   Are there any comments to make it better?

_____

Thank you for your great assistance

THE STRUCTURE OF QUESTIONNAIRE

Section A: Biographical Data
(4 questions)

Section B: Politics and Morale
(11 questions)

Section C: Politics and the Culture of Learning and Teaching
(10 questions)

Section D: Politics and School Management / Administration
(17 questions)

Section E: Politics and Provisioning
(equitable distribution of resources)
(6 questions)

Total = **38** questions

THE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR EDUCTORS

NOTE WELL: Please put a cross (**X**) on the number of the item that describes your situation or the category of your response.

SECTION A: BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

A.1   Your work site

Junior Secondary School	1
Senior Secondary School	2

A.2   School situated in

Rural area	1
Semi-rural area	2
Urban area	3

A.3   Years of experience in your job

1 - 5 years	1
6 - 10 years	2
11 - 15 years	3
16 or more	4

A.4   Your job category

Educator	1
Head of Department	2
Deputy Principal	3
Principal	4

SECTION B: POLITICS AND MORALE

B.1   Would you say learners' participation in the political struggle were legitimate?

Yes, to a great extent	1
To some extent	2
Not at all	3
Uncertain	4

B.2   Do you think secondary schools operated successfully with political parties interference?

Yes, to a great extent	1
To some extent	2
Not at all	3
Uncertain	4

B.3   Political parties label their application of influence on school activities as "public interest".

Always	1
Often	2
Seldom	3
Uncertain	4
No	5

B.4   The culture of silence prevails in secondary schools because of fear of being labelled as political.

Definitely it is so	1
It usually happens	2
Rarely occurs	3
Uncertain	4
No	5

B.5 Would you say confrontation among political parties increased political tensions in secondary schools?

Yes	1
No	2
Uncertain	3

B.6 Would it be correct for educators to pronounce their political affiliation publicly?

| Yes | 1 |
| No | 2 |

B.7 State the reason(s) for your response in B.6 above.

_____

_____

_____

_____

B.8 Do you fear learners who are active in party politics feared by their educators?

| Yes | 1 |
| No | 2 |

B.9 State the reason(s) for your response in B.8 above.

_____

_____

_____

B.10 Would you say the political environment of the secondary school in which you work was uncertain?

| Yes | 1 |
| No | 2 |

B.11 In your opinion, how could assistance be provided for secondary schools with the political problem?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

SECTION C: POLITICS AND THE CULTURE OF LEARNING AND TEACHING

C.1   Would you say secondary schools where political activity is rife conducive to learning?

Yes	1
No	2

C.2   Would you say the exposure of secondary school learners to politics has any effect on their learning?

Yes	1
No	2

C.3   Have schools became battlefields as a result of party politics?

Fully agree	1
Agree to some extent	2
Disagree	3

C.4   Do you agree learners involved in political struggles used violence as "a problem solving tool"?

Yes	1
No	2

C.5   Do you think secondary schools were the worst affected by political violence?

Yes	1
No	2

C.6   Which of the following do you think were the political effects in your school? Kindly arrange any **5** in your preferred order of importance in the provided column (1-5).

1	Schooling stopped	
2	Chaos reigned	
3	Indiscipline reigned	
4	Disrespect of authority	
5	Strikes became the order	
6	Educators absented themselves	
7	Enrolment in schools dropped	
8	The avalance of displaced educators	
9	Keeping of dangerous arms at school	
10	The culture of political intolerance prevailed	
11	The culture of intolerance prevailed	
12	Lack of interest in extra mural activities	

C.7   Does your Teacher Union contribute to teaching and learning?

Greatly so	1
To some extent	2
To a lesser degree	3
Not at all	4

C.8 Give a response that shows how your union contribute. If the following are some of the reasons, kindly arrange them in your preferred order of importance.

1	Discipline	
2	Authority acknowledged	
3	Culture of teaching and learning	
4	Curriculum improvement and design	
5	Policy formulation	
6	School governance	
7	Staff development	

C.9 Are learners in the school where you teach aware of political problems affecting their school?

| Yes | 1 |
| No | 2 |

C.10 Would you say the pass rate is related to how the school is affected by political violence?

| Yes | 1 |
| No | 2 |

SECTION D: POLITICS AND SCHOOL MANAGEMENT/ ADMINISTRATION

D.1 Do you think the local leadership understands its role in education?

They certainly do	1
To a certain degree	2
To some extent	3
No at all	4

D.2 Do you have local political leaders that are members of your School Governing Body?

Yes	1
No	2

D.3 If it does happen, how is their attitude?

Supportive	1
Bossy	2
Behave like principal	3

D.4 How do you work with political leaders who are members of the governing body in your school?

Very well	1
A relationship of trust	2
Tension abound	3

D.5 How do the local leadership work with educators?

Harmoniously	1
Quarrel with them	2
Rejects them	3
Disapproves of them	4

D.6 What are your views on the participation of local political leadership in resolving political problems of their school, where you are? Indicate your response.

Very satisfied	1
Satisfied to a degree	2
No satisfied	3
Uncertain	4

D.7　Have parents lost control over their children in secondary school level?

Yes	1
No	2

SECTION E: POLITICS AND PROVISIONING (equitable distribution of resources)

E.1　Are secondary schools hardest hit by government policies of provisioning?

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Uncertain	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5

E.2　Do you think the government treats rural schools differently as opposed to urban schools?

Yes	1
No	2

E.3　Do you agree that shortages of required education material make it difficult for teaching and learning to proceed smoothly?

Fully agree	1
Agree to some extent	2
Disagree	3

E.4　Does shortage of staff make teaching and learning difficult?

Yes	1
No	2

E.5 Do you think communities have failed to provide significant support to secondary education?

Yes, to a great extent	1
To some extent	2
No at all	3
Uncertain	4

E.6 If you have additional comments or suggestions regarding the effects of politics, briefly state them in the provided space below.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for your co-operation