

THE METABOLIC NATURE OF THE AIM IN
EDUCATION FOR THE ZULU PEOPLE

by

PAULOS CHONO LUTHULI
B.A., U.E.D. (S.A.) B.Ed. (U.Z.)

Submitted in Fulfilment of the
Requirements for
the Degree of

MAGISTER EDUCATIONIS

in the

Department of Philosophy of Education

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P.C. LUTHULI

Kwa-Dlangezwa

Date: January 1977.

This work is dedicated
to my children, Nosipho,
Dolly, Tholakele and
S'busiso. May it be a
source of encouragement
throughout their life
time.

I hereby declare that this
dissertation represents my
own work both in conception
and execution.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'P.C. Luthuli', is written over a horizontal dotted line.

P.C. LUTHULI

January 1977 - Kwa-Dlangezwa

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CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM AND ITS ANALYSIS

1. INTRODUCTION

In the study of man's struggle for existence, throughout the history of humanity and in all parts of the world, two distinct phenomena emerge, that of society and that of culture. In an investigation of life of a people, it is necessary, therefore, to distinguish clearly between these two concepts. Herskovits (1, p. 29) while emphasizing the necessity for distinguishing the concept culture from its sister concept society, at the same time stresses their essential interrelatedness. Not only is man a social being who essentially lives in groups but every distinguishable human group is an organized aggregate of individuals who follow a given way of life.

Society, therefore, implies a specific or characteristic organization of individuals who live together while their way of life, that is, the way they behave, the various ways in which they inhabit the world and in which they organize their struggle for existence, constitutes their culture. In their inhabiting the world, that is, in their modification of the natural environment, societies and nations have created distinct bodies of traditions which, are handed down from generation to generation as social heritage. When the whole generation of human beings has passed away it leaves behind it its characteristic values and patterns of behaviour, which are carried on, albeit in modified form by each new generation. This transmission of the complex of customs and knowledge, that is, the carrying on of the traditional culture into the next generation, is in no society left to chance.

Though children acquire the culture informally from the numerous

experiences of their personal lives, the adult generation frequently organizes and supervises this "inheriting" of culture. In this way, (through education, each society ensures the perpetuation and the renewal of its way of life. Thus in the development of nations, education is always in the front line, for it is only through education that man can perpetuate himself and secure stability for his descendants.

In modern Africa, as in all other parts of the world, hopes of achieving higher standards of living and even of establishing independence in a viable form seem to depend almost directly upon the ability of the country concerned to adequately train the men and women it requires for service at all levels in the administration (2, p. 1). In this narrow sense, that is, of teaching and training the rising generation new ways in the form of knowledge and techniques, education is assigned a major role in the life of modern African communities. Burns (2, p. 1) points out that education has become a major concern of every independent country in Africa.

In this human existential struggle this continual modification, and cultivation of the natural and social environments, the Zulu people have naturally been no exception. Not only was their traditional way of life transmitted from generation to generation, with such modifications as were characteristic of its own dynamic nature, but events in the national history brought about a new dynamism and a complete transformation of the original patterns of living. The impact of Western culture, with which the Zulu people were forcefully brought into contact, has had its effects on them for over a century today.

Accordingly their cultural-historical existence may be viewed as a continuous period of adaptation to, and modification of the new adopted culture, which they came into contact with in the areas later known as Natal and Zululand. As a result of this continuous metamorphosis, re=

markable changes in their economical, social, religious and political systems took place. Their entire way of life became completely transformed in many respects. In particular, there were dramatic changes in their system of education, both in theory and practice. Perhaps the most important change of all was a change in the aim of education. Radical changes in all other aspects of the life of a society inevitably bring about changes in education, which in turn, is deliberately modified to satisfy new needs and to serve new aspirations.

In spite of the many and often very drastic and radical transformations of life patterns, and in spite of the effectiveness with which the modern techniques, modes of behaviour and various new beliefs and convictions were handed down from one generation to the other, the Zulu culture still exhibits a great degree of stability (3, p. 12) and the Zulu people have not lost their identity. It is this stability, this continuation of a unique identity which makes it still possible at this moment in history, to speak of a Zulu people. However, in this study attention will be focussed on the changes occurring in the life of the Zulu people rather than on their underlying stability.

The metamorphosis of the Zulu people's way of life is discernible in every fibre of their life pattern. Their philosophy of education, in particular, has as a result been completely transformed. Hansen, (4, p. 36) in this connection quotes James Russel Lovell, the great American Poet, who wrote a hundred or so years ago a very pertinent comment about the inevitability of change in philosophic orientation:

"new occasions teach new duties", he said;
"time makes ancient good uncouth".

Since each aspect of culture changes, education as one of the central enterprises of any culture, inevitably also changes. If education is thus subject to change, it is only reasonable to suggest that educational

philosophy likewise must be subjected to constant scrutiny and susceptible to constant renovation. However, as Grambs and McClure (5, p. 295) emphatically state, an educational philosophy, like a personal philosophy, is not something that is acquired over night. These authors are of the opinion that what we come to believe about education is closely related to our religious concepts and convictions and the philosophy of life we have evolved for ourselves. The degree to which these are consistent tends to identify the secure person, who has made a realistic adjustment between the world he finds and the world he wishes to help build.

It is necessary in this study, therefore, to consider the metamorphosis of the Zulu culture in its totality, and to examine to what extent their inherent philosophy of education, as reflected in theory and practice, has changed. The changes in theory and practice of education inevitably occur as a result of the changed objectives, for it is the objective, subservient to the ultimate aim, that determines the means and the activity in education.

In the final analysis, therefore, this study purports to investigate the educational aim and objectives of the Zulu people, for throughout the last century influences from both within and without have been in force among these people and they have found themselves in the balance between new and old forces. The extent to which such influences have been effective can be ascertained from the aim of education. Hence, this investigation intends to probe into the metabletic nature of the aim in education for the Zulu people. To put this investigation in perspective the above underlined terms, which formulate the title of this dissertation, will now be examined.

2. ANALYSIS OF THEME AND DEFINITION OF TERMS

2.1 Metabletic nature

The term "metabletic" is used in the title of this dissertation to emphasise and bring out clearly the radical and continuous change that manifests itself in the Zulu people's philosophy of education, a change more pronounced and more radical than the usual or normal dynamic nature of events inherent in all education (3, pp. 4,5). The phenomenon "change" takes on a different character with reference to the Zulu people's image of adulthood as aim of education because of the peculiar historical-cultural contact situation that marks their destiny. This problem will be fully discussed in chapter III. The life history of the Zulu community changed completely as a result of the coming together of the European culture and the traditional Zulu way of life.

The effect of this coming together of two cultures, the one of African and the other of European origin, was that the "normal" dynamics of Zulu life became "abnormal", in the sense that traditional ways were sometimes forcibly uprooted and replaced by new and alien ways and life patterns. This involved, and still involves, a radical change in the value system of the Zulu people. J.H. van den Berg uses Metabletica, of Leer der veranderingen, as the title of one of his books. In this publication he scrutinizes the phenomenon of change which assumes a radical form among adolescents.

The term metabletic derives from the Greek word metaballo, which means to undergo a change or to become changed. The Van Dale Groot Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal (6, p. 1 196) describes metabletica as "leer der veranderingen". The Shorter Oxford Dictionary (7, p. 1 240) refers to meta (prefix) as normally used before a vowel. It lists the chief senses involved in the word as; "sháring, action in common, pursuit or quest and especially change (of place, order, condition, or nature)". This word has some correspondence with the Latin word trans (7, p. 1 240).

"Metabolic" is used as an adjective in the title of this dissertation to emphasize the fact that in the final analysis it is a changing image of man that is under review and that in an educational perspective, thought should be concentrated on this transformed image of adulthood as an ultimate aim. Vilakazi (8, Title page) chooses the title Zulu Transformations for the book in which he describes the changes in the social system of the Zulus.

It must here be emphasised that the idea of change or transformation suggested by the term metabolic does not indicate a state of completeness, but involves dynamic continuity. Herskovits (3, pp. 4,5) when he discusses the nature of culture, draws attention to its dynamic nature. The point at issue then is what kind of changes have been brought about by the contact between the Zulu culture and the Western culture and the extent of these changes (9, p. 39).

It is clear then that the main concern of this study will be the examination of the changing aim in the education of the Zulu people. As the changes in the nation's life become "abnormal", as a result of the cross-cultural interaction, it is necessary first to have a close look at the historical period prior to this contact and then to examine the actual period of cultural contact (cf. chapter III).

As the primary concern of this study is the changing aim of the education of the Zulu people, the next step will be to clarify this concept.

2.2 The aim of education

Any human involvement or activity, or any worth while concern, derives its meaning from its implicit aim. Similarly in education, the inherent purpose is the moving spirit behind the driving force (10, p. 6). Nel (10, p. 6) emphasises that 'aims' determine the selection, the

appropriateness, and the sequence of human activities. The last and highest abstraction to consider, therefore, is the aim in the education of the Zulu people. It is this educational aim of the Zulu people which has, and still is undergoing change, and the central purpose in this study is to examine this changing image of adulthood. Changes in culture and in the life patterns of a people inevitably bring about changes in their educational activities.

Practical steps in education represent aim and objectives and it is exactly the central theme in this study to trace the transformation of the Zulu people's education in order to reveal the changing nature of the inherent aim. Perquin (11, p. 62) reflecting on the aim in education concludes that:

"het intrinsieke doel der opvoeding is
de ware volwassenheid het jeugdige leven
is een groei naar de volwassenheidwaaruit
vanzelf volgt dat de opvoeding niets ander
zijn kan dan de hulp in die groei naar de
volwassenheid".

The young generation grows towards adulthood. When we speak of the role of man in society we have an adult person in mind. When society changes, when life patterns change, when culture becomes transformed, it is finally the lives of individuals that become different. This means that in the last analysis a society of adults different from that of the previous generation emerges.

In a nutshell, then the aim of the present adult generation as educators in shaping, moulding, guiding, directing and encouraging the young, is to lead them towards their idea of adulthood. As educators they have in their minds, though only vaguely defined, an idea of the adult person which the society expects a child to become. This image of adulthood, or this collective idea of humanity, is in reality the implicit

aim in education. In a society undergoing an accelerated cultural transformation the role of the adult person, hence the image of man, is rapidly and constantly changing, hence the metabletic nature of the aim in education. Nel (12, p. 37) reiterates in this connection that the traditional Zulu culture is in a state of rapid transformation. The old characteristics are making way for a Westernized way of life, and it is the task of modern Zulu education to help the child to master the values and norms of a new mode of life. While the traditional tribal education aimed at initiating the rising generation into the age-old unchanged ceremonial ways, the task of education, with respect to the new image of adulthood in an open and Westernized society, is to bring the person to an awareness of his individual obligations, to make him conscious of the new demands of propriety, and finally to guide him towards the recognition of his responsibilities as a free person. Malie (13, p. 19) declares that only persons, parents and teachers have aims, and that an abstraction like education cannot have aims. This is undoubtedly true, but one may safely adhere to the traditional usage in pedagogic literature and speak of "the aim of education", for this term is used on the understanding that this aim is held in the minds of the persons involved in education. In this flux of the changing beliefs and values, Lawrence (14, p. 9) maintains that a confusion of thought cannot be escaped, hence the problem of what shall we believe, and what shall we teach our children?, are questions with which every Zulu adult is faced. Because it is the implicit aim which directs methods and procedures in education, it is necessary to survey the changes that occurred in these.

The aims, beliefs, concepts, that is, the abstract ideas, that underlie educational procedures and activities, are usually not overtly expressed and clearly articulated so that it is from the practical sphere that changes in theory have to be inferred. It is necessary at this stage to distinguish between aims and objectives in education. From a

phenomenological point of view there is one central and universal aim in all education - ADULTHOOD - for in reality every child's life is a progress towards adult life. This simple fact of human existence is that a child grows up and becomes a mature person. Accordingly, adulthood as the aim of education, represents an image of man, that is, it stands for the ideal adult person, parent, teacher as educator. This image of adulthood is a social value, a collective view of man, understood and defined in terms of the philosophy of life of the society concerned.

Whereas educational activity calls for practical steps to aid the realization of this vague and remote aim, in their pursuit of the desired end, educators set up more immediate goals and formulate short-term objectives. All these are subservient to the remote aim: the person the child ought to become. In this connection Malie, (13, p. 20) concludes that education has many objectives, for it is concerned with cultural and spiritual values as well as with the training and instruction that are necessary for the successful functioning of each society. He divides the objectives of education into the following categories:

- (1) immediate objectives;
- (2) secondary objectives; and
- (3) remote objectives.

He rightly maintains that

"philosophy should determine the proximate or secondary objectives essential for the attainment of the ultimate objectives or aim of education; one must also observe that the particularised proximate, secondary and ultimate objectives of education will differ according to the varied philosophies of life on education of the educators" (13, p. 53,54).

The entire educational endeavour through its objectives which are determined by the specific underlying philosophy of life aims to help every individual to become able to play his role as a responsible adult member of society. As the part an adult person has to play in his community changes, either as a result of internal developments or as a result of external factors, as in the case of the Zulu people, this aim of education changes. "Aims", "purposes", "goals" and "objectives" are used to indicate what it is that parents, schools, societies and individuals are trying to accomplish by the changes they wish to bring about in the human beings in their care. Their aims are according to Kane, (9, p. 39) those of "direction in education. As ends to be achieved, objectives offer guidance, objectives have much to say as to the value of those changes".

In the modern school situation, these objectives are embodied in the curriculum. In order to become what they ought to become, that is, the persons society needs and expects them to become, children are educated in the knowledge, skills, beliefs and attitudes of the culture of their society. All forms of education are culturally determined.

2.3 Education

Since the main emphasis in this study is on education, it becomes imperative at this stage to have a closer look at the concept education. As this concept is dealt with in fair detail in chapter II, the discussion here only serves to make the title of this dissertation clear. The word "education" is of Latin origin, and according to Fowler and Fowler (28, p. 256) it means to "bring up", or "train" or "provide schooling for". It must again be emphasised that in this study "Bringing

up" or "leading out the potentialities" of a child can, in the last analysis, only mean one thing - leading him towards adulthood (10, p. 2). Perquin (11, p. 104) agrees and emphasises that:

"Het licht, waaronder de pedagoog alles beschouwt, is dat van de groei naar de volwassenheid".

Authors like Phenix (27, p. 13), Monroe (15, p. 398), Dewey (24, p. 3) and Redden and Ryan (22, p. 23) have defined the concept education. What comes out clearly in these definitions is that this concept can be defined from various approaches. Redden and Ryan, (22, p. 23) in their definition mention the broad and restricted meanings of education, which approach is supported by Raymond (23, p. 22). Stenhouse (29, p. 3) adopts a cultural approach and declares that "education is primarily concerned with inducting individuals into culture".

Good (26, p. 191) and Price (25, p. 4), on the other hand, define education as a social enterprise by which people are subjected to the influence of a selected and controlled environment, so that they may attain social competence and optimum individual development.

However, what is common in all these definitions of education is that:

- (a) they all point towards a child who needs help and guidance on the basis of a society's needs, beliefs, aspirations and convictions;
- (b) the child is helped and guided or influenced towards adulthood in terms of a particular culture.

When the concept education is used in the title of this dissertation it is with the clear understanding that the Zulu child like

any other child, needs help or guidance on the basis of his society's conviction, beliefs and outlook on life as a whole. This means that when the convictions of the Zulu people change, either as a result of external forces or internal forces the education of the young will also change.

Whenever the concept education is mentioned, it is always mentioned either with reference to a certain people or is mentioned from a certain cultural standpoint. As the people who are involved in education in this study are the Zulus, the term "Zulu people" will now be defined.

2.4 The Zulu people

The people in question in this study are the Zulu people. Among the great number of Bantu tribes who migrated in their thousands down and across the African continent, were also those who later became known as the Zulus. These people emerged from a very small, insignificant tribe and became a fierce nation of warriors. Thus the term Zulu does not only refer to the small original Zulu clan as genealogically linked to their grand founder Zulu, this idea is further discussed in Chapter III, but also refers to the great nation which was developed from this small clan unit by King Shaka (see Chapter III). This nation today comprises approximately $4\frac{1}{2}$ million people who are resident in the province of Natal and elsewhere in the Republic of South Africa.

Their origin, their rise as a nation and their traditional patterns of behaviour before contact with Western culture are described in Chapter III. Here it suffices to mention that these people include all persons who claim descent from the Zulu genealogical line. They have their own language, customs and history, which differ considerably from

those of other tribes in Southern Africa. Though they are found scattered in the whole of the Republic of South Africa, they are mainly concentrated in Natal and Zululand. However, even those around the Reef and in many cities and towns of the Republic of South Africa are linked by Zulu consciousness to the Zulu nation. For the sake of completeness this study shall also refer to these urbanised Zulus.

People in this study refers to Blacks of Zulu stock (28, p. 588). The Zulu people then are members of the Zulu nation and have changed as a result of influences of the Western culture over the last century.

3. THE STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study intends to deal with the changes in the life patterns of the Zulu community which occurred as a result of this society's contact with Western culture (cf par. 4 in Chapter III). In order to reveal these changes, including the profound and complete transformation of Zulu education from its originally informal state to the modern formally instituted school system, it is necessary to reconstruct as accurately as possible the Zulu way of life in what may be termed the pre-contact period. Contact with Western culture has brought about a new and much more complex life pattern which naturally involves new ideas in educational theory and practice. Foster (16, p. 28) points out that acculturation studies have revealed that change does not take place in a quixotic and unpredictable manner. Like all social phenomena, the events of culture modification are patterned. The technological equipments, the economic system, the family kinship structure, the political system, the religious system, the language - in short, the entire way of life of these people has undergone a profound change. Above all, the main concern of this study is the change of the Zulu's image of man.

The purpose thus is to examine the factors that have caused change, the extent to which change has taken place, and the effect of all this on education. Nel (10, p. 18), for example, concludes in this respect that the fact remains that personal life under modern conditions cannot be directed by the traditional tribal ways any more, but must be governed and guided by the new objective value scheme. The only conclusion that one comes to which has been partially accepted by the Zulu people themselves, is that life can no longer be a matter of conforming to ceremonial customs. Adulthood has acquired a totally different character in terms of the situatedness of the Zulu people under present circumstances.

A practical problem for modern education which comes out in various literature is whether the African educator, who has intimate knowledge of the child's educational needs, and who, by virtue of his cultural background, is the only person who can enter into a meaningful educational relationship with the African child, has already come to fully appreciate the desired Western values. Has he so mastered the standards and principles of the new mode of life that he can meaningfully represent and define the new image of man? (10, p. 19).

If he is in a position to represent and define this new image of man, is he also in a position to lead the young towards this new image of adulthood? Nel (10, pp. 19, 20) points out that as the cardinal aspect of adulthood is responsibility, the real task of education in South Africa is to guide the young towards the interpretation of their essential human freedom as freedom to make responsible choices. Man is confronted with a situation in which he must choose, and, whether before his fellow men, or before himself, or before God, he stands alone with his humanity as his responsibility.

To reveal the transformation of the Zulu's image of adulthood from that of original tribal man to that of modern man in a technological society, then, is the central issue in this study.

Duminy (20, p. 1) in a paper entitled School Education and the Tides of change warns that as one looks at the available facts one gains the impression that minor changes and adjustments simply do not suffice. He further quotes Peter Drucker in The Age of Discontinuity who says that since education will in all likelihood be transformed within the next few decades by giant forces from without it is the educators' duty to retain as much control as possible over educational developments, if not in the initiation of change. He finally calls for the Black educationists to accept the challenge and to start working out their own salvation (20, p. 3).

The necessity for control of change mentioned by Duminy has long been felt by the African people. For more than a century now the outside factors have been at work and they have totally transformed people's lives with the result that adulthood has become something entirely different from what it had originally been. Clusters of factors like industrialization, urbanization, formal schooling, Christianization and many others have combined and totally changed the Zulu social and national life in every respect. Such a total metamorphosis of a people and their culture is naturally accompanied by a change in the inherent philosophy of life, which in turn underlies education and educational philosophy in terms of which the intrinsic aim and objectives are expressed.

Documents such as The Education Manifesto of Kwa-Zulu and many of the like prove that Zulu leaders in education and in other spheres are rising to the challenge of Duminy and others. The following sig-

nificant statement is worth considering:

"we need a Black-oriented education (in aim, content and organisation) designed to satisfy the genuine needs and aspirations of the African unless there is a clear aim of our education, our efforts will be in vain" (18, pp. 1, 2).

It has thus become imperative that the phenomenon of the changed aim in the education of the Zulu people be investigated, in order that subservient objectives may eventually be clearly defined to furnish guidelines for those involved in the task of leading the young generation towards the ideal image of man. It stands to reason that in the absence of a very clear aim all educational efforts will meet with little success and the whole nation may be like a ship without direction in the open sea. This study then undertakes to establish as clearly as possible the profound change that characterises the Zulu people's education, for only on the basis of a well defined aim can worthwhile activities be successfully implemented. Duminy (20, p. 1) in a paper read at the University of Fort Hare, states that:

"we are all aware that one of the main characteristics of the society in which and for which we will have to plan school education, is tremendously accelerated changeability".

In the light of this 'changeability' the vital importance of the quality of education will have to be considered. Duminy (20, p. 2) agrees and emphasises that when the educational level of all groups is lifted, the level and quality of the life of everyone in the country will be improved.

This study has also been necessitated by the urgent need for the Zulu people to accept responsibility for their school education. This

necessity has also been aired by leading educationists. Duminy (20, p. 2) makes this need very clear when he writes:

"I think it is time in South Africa that the Blacks more so than in the past, stand up, get going and come to grips with the educational problems and needs of their own people. The time for this is now because if this is delayed for too long we may experience a faltering of the essential 'belief of the people in themselves'".

Thus this study has become necessary, in the first place to examine the phenomenon of change with reference to the aim of education and in the second place to work towards a more clearly established and articulated philosophy of education for the Zulu people. Childs (19, p.3) emphasises that for man education is not a mere adornment, but a life necessity. The human infant, at birth, is not so nearly as resourceful as the offsprings of many animal forms. Human societies are entirely dependent upon their educational endeavour. The established modes of life and thought in human societies are not biologically transmitted, but they are acquired by each successive generation through the learning of the culture of the group concerned.

In order that education should fulfil its task of being 'a life necessity' the aim which directs this enterprise in the Zulu community should be clearly established. When some factors cause changes in the aim of education, it becomes essential that these changes be immediately identified so that this 'life necessity' may be conducted in such a way that every child is guided towards the desired end of responsible adulthood. In writing about the essential new emphasis in African education Nel, (10, p. 18) argues that, while in the custom-bound society education largely resulted in the person's remaining true to the static patterns of living the new code demands deliberate education

of the individual conscience, which represents an internalization of propriety, a consciousness of individual obligation, and an acute awareness of what ought to be. Arguments like this emphasise the vital necessity for the Zulu people to define very clearly their new aim of education. The role the adult person is to play, his status and quality in society will eventually be determined by the educational efforts of the society, and success of this is dependent upon the proper formulation of the relative objectives.

In conclusion, it is necessary to emphasise that education must fit into the pattern of society's present day plans and aspirations (13, p. 11). This means that educationists and education planners must take the new developments in the nation into account, in the political, the social and the economic spheres and above all in the sphere of religion. It is agreed that changing a system of education is a very difficult undertaking because of the natural resistance of vested interests and the long established attitudes of the general public. Any education system, however, which does not satisfy the needs and aspirations of the people at a particular time, in accordance with their cultural situatedness, becomes useless. A good understanding of this phenomenon of change requires a clear grasp of the new philosophy of life grounded in the hopes of freedom and self-realisation of the Zulu people. This means both the people and the leaders in education should have clearly defined objectives and a stable aim in education. This aim can only be defined in terms of the particular philosophy of life involved. The metabletic nature of the aim in education for the Zulu people is thus essentially the reflection of the changing character of the Zulu people's philosophy of life as philosophy of education.

4. THE METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

The information and data which form the foundation of this study

are derived from two main sources. As this is a study in the philosophy of education, a survey of the relevant literature has in the first place been undertaken. As the emphasis is on the Zulu people and their aim of education, it has been found necessary to pay special attention to papers read and documents published with reference to the education of the African and Zulu communities.

A second source of valuable information has been the interviews with leading educationists, both Black and White, administrators in the Department of Education and Culture of KwaZulu and also with inspectors and principals of schools.

Discussion of the problem in hand with leading education authorities in the neighbouring African states of Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland has also contributed to a better understanding of the vital issues in the education of the Zulu people.

The impression must, however, not be created that it is only among the Zulu people that the aim of education has acquired a meta-bletic nature. This phenomenon manifests itself in all countries of the world, as human life is dynamic and changes occur in all cultures. But it is revealed much more clearly in countries and among people where accelerated industrialization and urbanization are taking place, and especially in situations where the phenomenon of cultural contact accompanies these conditions. Ross (17, p. 21) holds that the modern revolution in educational theory and practice in Africa is largely due to the tide of nationalism which is sweeping over the continent. This may be so in the present decade, but long before this 'tide of nationalism' became a force of change in African communities, the Zulu people's contact with the British settlers, traders and missionaries began to bring about changes in the traditions of the Zulu society. It is necessary, therefore, to briefly examine the history of the Zulu people.

5. FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE PROGRAMME

Chapter I, as an introduction, sets out the scope and the objectives of this investigation stating the problem to be examined and emphasizes, the necessity for such an examination. As this is a study in education, Chapter II will of necessity exclusively deal with the phenomenon education - as a universal cultural phenomenon and as a specific form in which the universal idea is expressed by a specific people. Education, viewed as a universal phenomenon, is an abstraction. Educational activity is a specific practice in the life of a particular society. Special attention will then be given to a discussion of the idea of education as an integral part of society, and in the case of this study, as an activity that goes on within the Zulu society.

Having reached the fundamental conclusion that the aim of education is adulthood, it becomes necessary to look at Zulu adulthood against the background of the historical-cultural advance of the Zulu people.

Chapter III then will briefly describe the history of the people in question from their earliest origins to the present day conditions. The first period in Zulu history will, in the light of consequent events, be called the pre-contact period or the period of original culture. Furthermore the "rise and fall" and further history of the Zulu people will be examined. Because it is beyond the scope of this study to discuss every aspect of life in a complex society, the following seven "cultural universals" are selected for examination:

1. Technological equipment or material culture.
2. The economic system.
3. The extended family with its kinship structure.

4. The political organization, or system.
5. The religious system.
6. The language.
7. The education system.

These areas of experience are dealt with in turn because in all these spheres change did, and will progressively, manifest itself, and eventually result in the people adopting an entirely new value scheme as the basis for a new education with entirely different objectives and a completely transformed image of man as the intrinsic and ultimate aim. For this purpose and for the purpose of maintaining a uniform pattern, these seven paragraph headings are repeated throughout Chapters III, IV and V.

Having followed the Zulu people on their path through history in Chapter III, an attempt will be made in Chapter IV to abstract those factors which were responsible for specific changes in their culture, and then establish the particular effect of those changes on education. Changes in education were brought about by the acceptance of new objectives which indicated and reflected in turn the new role of the adult in society, because education in practice is preparation for adulthood, that is, for full membership in society. It is true that the philosophy of life, in terms of which the image of adulthood as ultimate aim of education is defined, is never properly articulated. Society at large does not philosophise, only individuals do, yet there is sufficient consensus to enable one to speak of a communal or national outlook. This is the very function of the philosopher-educationist or philosophy of education to objectively articulate the assumptions that are made and the views that are held in common in order that relevant education objectives may be formulated for and by society. The proper functioning of education in society is dependent on this translation and

articulation of the dormant philosophy of life as a philosophy for education by educators and educationists.

In Chapter V some conclusions will be drawn and on the basis of the findings in this study certain recommendations for the practice of education may be offered. Though it is not the function of this dissertation to discuss fully the philosophical foundations of the school curriculum for the Zulu people, certain recommendations with reference to the curriculum may be relevant. Frymier (21, p. 47) emphasises that the broad curriculum in the last analysis represents people's views. The curriculum represents a pattern of all the factors that relate to sentiment and expectations, to the national need and aspirations, to professional and manpower requirements - all interrelated in such a way that some sort of focus develops, embodying all component elements, making views with reference to the curriculum. All these underlie one central theme - adulthood. Though no school curriculum or education system is exhaustively based on a single idea as central philosophy, it is equally true that no school or education system can properly fulfil its function, unless the subservient activities and objectives are brought into line with the ultimate aim. If this aim is considered worthy, then it follows that it will, and must determine the educational system as activity.

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CHAPTER II

EDUCATION IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF SOCIETY

1. INTRODUCTION

It is fashionable at present to speak of "developing nations" when reference is made to those African, American or Asian communities whose ways of life are rapidly being transformed under the impact of industrialization, urbanization and "modernization" as a result of the new culture situations brought about by the aftermath of World War II. Among these developments, which ultimately are changes in the life-worlds of people, education is one of the aspects of the culture that becomes transformed, as it is inescapably part of the developments that take place. Though an integral and an essential function of every particular society, it is possible for the philosopher-educationist to view education also as a universal phenomenon as it manifests itself in the world of man generally. It is difficult, however, to be completely objective in an analysis of a phenomenon as the scientist himself is a subject with his personal roots in a personal life-world which is involved in the life of a specific society.

Lucas (1, p. 109), maintains that any philosophical inquiry commences from within some frame of reference or point of perspective. Hence it is the most difficult task to get into a frame of mind from which a presuppositionless standpoint would appear attractive. The sine qua non for a systematic philosophy of education, however, is to examine educational problems without the benefit of any a priori assumptions or beliefs.

It is true that in his quest for objective facts the researcher cannot be totally unbiased. A person's attitude is shaped by a preconceived idea of how things happen and how they are. On the other hand, it is also true that a person can cultivate a critical, scientific attitude and deliberately look at situations in an objective way without bringing personal presuppositions and subjective biases into play.

The term "education" has already been dealt with in a cursory way in the previous chapter. To make this discussion complete it is necessary to look into some other aspects of the phenomenon and examine a few definitions by representative authors. Ross (2, p. 16) defines education as the influence of an adult person who holds a vital belief brought to bear on a not-yet-adult person, with the object of making him also hold the same belief. Redden and Ryan (3, p. 24) have a similar emphasis and describe education as the deliberate and systematic influence exerted by the mature person upon the immature, through instruction, discipline and harmonious development of all the powers of the human being, physical, social, intellectual, moral, aesthetic and spiritual, according to their essential hierarchy, by and for their individual and social uses, and directed towards the union of the educand with his Creator as the final end.

From these and many other definitions by authors all over the world it may be concluded that in broad terms education involves the training of the young persons and the moulding of the youth of a nation with the aim of making them responsible adult members of their respective societies. There is always a dual emphasis in education: the personal and the social. Consequently educational endeavours, in the final analysis, involve the individual and also his society. These cannot be separated. A society wishes to perpetuate itself,

to preserve its values and to entrench its convictions and beliefs through education. Through the society's educational enterprise the young individuals are led to a specific idea of adulthood. The help and guidance of the young members towards adulthood in any given society naturally takes place on the basis of the inherent philosophy of life and is determined by the general circumstances as conditions for life in that society.

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

2. EDUCATION AS AN ACTIVITY OF SOCIETY

2.1 Man and society

When a number of people live together, they are said to be a society, but this refers to the fact that all of them are aware of the extent of their consciousness to their social mode of life. Society can be said to imply having something in common (4, p. 2), such as sharing the same language, similar beliefs and convictions, in short, the same culture or way of life. The term "community" is often confused with the term society. In the community everybody, that is, adult and children, are included. For instance, a mention could be made of a South African community, but it would be incorrect to speak of a South African society. A society is a kind of a group whose members are socially conscious of their mode of life and their

common aim which is adulthood, that unites them (4, p. 3).

Hence the term "Zulu society" in this discussion is more relevant a term to use than "Zulu community". It is with the understanding that when Zulu society is used it does not include the children. This society, like all others in the world is constituted by members who have a common set of aims and values. As children are still guided and moulded towards full adulthood, which constitutes the society's membership, they are thus not-yet-members of society. Man is, however, born a potential member of society and through education he progressively becomes conscious of the way of life of his society and of his rights and duties in the society. As man is born a potential member of society, it is one of the main tasks of society to mould, guide and direct this potential member to take his place in society. A youth becomes a full member of society when his behaviour is in accord with that of old members with full social consciousness (4, p. 3). It is then correct to conclude that there is a very close relationship between man, society, education and adulthood.

All societies cherish a set of aims and values which they wish their not-yet-members to learn and observe. It is a fact that societies have aims and values, but it is also a fact that societies are never static; their dynamic nature presupposes change in the guidance and direction of the not-yet-members. The aims may be uncertain, but to the extent to which adults are socially conscious they are always attempting to live together in some kind of organised way (4, p. 3).

When Monroe (5, p. 398) defines education, as one of the agents of society, he emphasises that the more primitive or savage or barbarous a society, the less important relatively is the function

of education. Hence the relative simplicity and meagerness of the social life of the Zulu people prior to the contact period meant that less was at stake socially and there was less need of the supervision of the growth of man from infancy to adulthood. As a result society delegated the task of education to the elder brothers and sisters of the child. But every advance in the depth and richness of social life marks an increase in the difference of level of social consciousness between the not-yet-member and the members of society. The constantly widening gap between these two types of members, after the contact-period among the Zulu society (cf. Chapter III), increased the necessity of education as a prime condition upon which the conservation of society itself depends (5, p. 398).

In the case of Zulu society it is possible to trace the progress that has been made from the state which Monroe labels 'primitive or savage or barbarous' to a more advanced society where there is a vast difference between the child or not-yet-member and the adult or member of society. The widening gap led to the necessity of formal education as informal education became inadequate.

2.2 Informal education

Informal education, as the result of random influences, is usually linked with the home as this is the cradle of all subsequent education. A child's life is a life of education and this is the place where it all begins. The function of the home education is to make the young child aware of norms, values and beliefs in the particular cultural context of that home. Perhaps the popular saying that a society is made up of individuals does not convey the

whole truth. One should rather emphasise that a society consists of homes. Fafunwa (6, p. 15) holds that education was generally for an immediate induction of children by the home into society. The principal "teacher" is the mother in this institution. The mother's influence is so profound that the psychologists and educationists are generally agreed that one's personality is determined largely in the first four or five years of life.

Deliberate teaching and learning and other forms of formal education are called in at later stages, but incidental learning and all the other forms of informal education, like the learning of language, behaviour towards the father and mother, constitute the major factor in a young person's upbringing. Grambs (7, p. 86) declares rightly that learning which is not the direct result of a teacher's action is far more common than that type of learning which is the result of a teacher's effort. In fact, most of the learning any individual has achieved has been this kind of informal learning, which can be described as quantitative rather than qualitative. It can be further said that each individual is, indeed, a "product" of his culture and his environment. After all, even the school is part of the environment of any individual-in-society.

The foregoing and many other pronouncements stress the importance of informal education in society. In simpler societies the child becomes assimilated to the social activities and aims of his society by sharing through play and work in a constantly widening series of activities in the life of those about him (5, p. 398). The child learns to do by doing and to share by sharing. The rules of society are enforced in his conduct by imitation, suggestion, injunction and even prohibition with accompanying rewards and punishments (5, p. 398). Particular social institutions

as found in very civilized societies are not required. The child's natural associates are at the same time his sole teachers.

In preliterate societies two forms of learning were mainly used - imitation and play. The Zulu child, for example, learnt by observing his older members at their daily chores; the mother shaping a clay pot or collecting and preparing food; the father making a spear or a shield.

On the other hand, at play boys would ngcweka (teach one another how to fight) and in this way they learnt to handle their sticks in preparation for adulthood.

It is clear that with reference to informal education the phenomenon of deliberate intervention by adult members of society does not always occur, though a child is always influenced indirectly by the situations in which he finds himself. In such early societies the only way of preserving history, religion, ideas and values was by oral transmission in the form of stories, songs and dances. Fafunwa (6, p. 19) describes how in some families the grandparents, uncles and aunts become involved in the education of the child. They tell him stories, teach him obedience and respect for elders, the code of behaviour, history of the family or even that of the ethnic group. It can thus be concluded that informal education is education by society at large and not through specific institutions.

In the history of nations this state of affairs steadily became inadequate as societies progressed towards more complex cultures. Many valuable assets vanished with the older members of the society, hence a more permanent form of recording was devised. The sound symbols of language also became graphic symbols, hence writing, and so teachers of grammar and literature began to appear (8, p. 49).

Informal education had to be supplemented by formal activities as the demands upon adulthood increased. This similar situation affected the Zulu society after contact with the Western cultures.

2.3 Formal education

Formal education generally means that an artificial situation is created where children are deliberately brought together with the aim of teaching them certain knowledge and skills by suitably qualified persons. The history of formal education is also the history of society. The education of the children of a specific human group is one of man's oldest concerns. Man and education, society and education cannot be separated. Curtis and Boultwood (8, p. 47) maintain that the intellectual training of the home did not pass beyond reading and writing, but emphasise that the merits of this home education lay in the physical and moral lessons it provided for the child. In the course of time smaller and larger groups of children were formed by educators. The education of such groups, in many instances, resulted in formal education. The general aim throughout was to make the young individual an acceptable and useful member of society, by passing on to him those values, ideas, knowledge, attitudes and skills which the older members had learned through long experience to be worth while.

At the time in history when it became imperative that the experiences of the society be preserved, in writing, it also became necessary that the people for whom these experiences were preserved should be able to exploit them. Monroe (5, p. 399) points out that the written symbols required special training for their mastery, yet their existence permitted and encouraged the accumulation of knowledge. Thus reading and writing became a vital necessity. Because

the task of teaching, reading and writing became too complicated for the mother to cope with, the help of formalised education was called in and schools in the modern sense of the term were established. These early schools were to develop into the formal institutions that revolutionised also the education of the Zulu people.

The need to teach young people the necessary knowledge and skills became so strong that the state or government in all modern societies became involved. Government schools, in which the content and methods of the curriculum were harmonized with the objectives of the societies in question, became the order of the day.

It is clear that formal education aims at the attainment of certain pre-established objectives as milestones on the child's way to adulthood, an adulthood defined in terms of the philosophy of life of the people concerned. The implicit purpose then of all education, formal and informal, is the human striving towards what ought to be. Accordingly, education, whatever its form, presupposes certain theories and views of man, and since these emanate from different philosophies of life, they differ greatly. Education is then inseparably connected with the philosophy of life of the society from which it derives and which in turn it proposes to serve. On this basis all adults participate in education directly or indirectly.

3. THE PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS OF EDUCATION

3.1 Philosophy of life is part of the social heritage

Brameld (9, p. 4) argues that philosophy is the supreme instrument man has fashioned by which, through ages, he comes to terms with himself as he struggles to organize his existence within

culture. It follows that because education is indispensable to that struggle, even within the simplest of cultures, the only way it can be hoped ultimately to understand education, whether formal or informal, is to subject it to philosophical scrutiny. The word "philosophy" comes from the Greek noun philosophia which literally means "love of wisdom". The word "wisdom" is somewhat "old-fashioned" nowadays and the expression "love of wisdom" causes perhaps as much uneasiness of mind as does the word philosophy itself. Schofield (10, p. 1) depicts this apprehension skilfully and points out that it (philosophy) suggests abstract and even other worldly ideas and that strange area of philosophical investigation - metaphysics. This word "metaphysics" comes from the Greek expression "a meta physica" which suggests things beyond the physical realm. The feeling is that philosophy is beyond human reach.

In spite of all this not only does a student of education become involved in philosophical thought with reference to education, but also in his daily task both the natural parent and the professional educator are involved in matters philosophical, because education in the ultimate analysis is concerned with the question: what is good for man? Every society answers this question for itself on the basis of its philosophy of life, so that it almost becomes a tautological exercise to argue about the connection between a philosophy of life and education.

Man, as distinct from animals, has a natural desire to know and in the satisfaction of this natural desire he develops certain attitudes to life as a whole. The struggle to know the meaning of his own existence leads him to certain beliefs and convictions. Thus his philosophy of life pivots around and develops from such struggles with man's own existence. Philosophy may then

be seen as that concern that guides the individual in the acquisition of a concrete outlook on life and its ultimate ends, the world and its origin, human conduct in general, man's role and place in society and in the universe, the idea of time and eternity, the natural and the supernatural. A philosophy of life then includes views on origin, the nature, and the destiny of the universe, that is, cosmology. It also includes views in connection with the origin and destiny of man, his role in society and on how man ought to live.

Though a philosophy of life is so comprehensive, no person is born with a view or an opinion on life. Opinions or views on life are not inherited, but are acquired from early childhood on the way to adulthood. The acquisition takes account of socio-cultural environment which influences the person educationally. Thus a philosophy of life is, therefore, an unconscious appropriation of certain conceptions of the universe, man, values, virtue and truth. It is in terms of this philosophy that education takes its direction. Any change in these basic beliefs will be reflected in education as in the case of the Zulu people. Hence when an educational philosophy is mentioned it is with the express understanding that it has its roots in the society's views. For every individual involved in education is an individual-in-society and an individual-in-society is in communication with other individuals. Thus his philosophy of education is a shared philosophy, for a philosophy of life is part of the social heritage. Nel (11, p. 10) is quite emphatic in this respect and argues that the totality of a person's views, beliefs and convictions in connection with life as a whole, is part of every child's social heritage and the principal motive underlying deliberate education is the handing on from generation to generation of the distinctive culture of a society as expressed in their language, literature, traditions, customs and collective philosophy.

It can be concluded that every system of education is in the last analysis based on the philosophy of life (11, p. 10). Education only attempts to transmit the society's philosophy of life to its young persons. Hence the way of life of the Zulu society, their beliefs, convictions and ideals collectively brought together will be reflected in their educational theory and practice in an attempt to influence the young generation. Thus the implicit educational aim will reveal some transformation of the philosophy of life as there is historical evidence of change of their way of life as a result of contact with the Western cultures.

3.2 Education and religion

When the phenomenon education, which is directed by the philosophy of life, which philosophy of life is rooted in culture, is examined, it is essential to consider in a preliminary way the relationship between this phenomenon and religion. Religion has to do with the ultimate concerns, that is, with matters that are of supreme importance to the person, such as his final destiny, his purpose in life as a whole. Religion is the pillar upon which the philosophy of life of a society is anchored. Education is designed to manage the ultimate concerns, to assist youth to pursue his vocation effectively and to live amicably with other fellow men. Since immediate aims are influenced by the ultimate concerns, education is necessarily affected by the religious factors of a society (12, p. 155). Therefore, when the framework or basis of the immediate aims change, the medium through which these are achieved also changes.

Education then as a basic human activity, engaged in directing the young towards adulthood, has a faith basis in the sense that its meaning and direction are set within the context of

certain fundamental persuasions about the ultimate purpose and worth of human life (12, p. 155). At the same time it must be understood that it is a fact that the experiences and the various expressive forms of religion comprise a major sector of human life and culture with which it is important that every member and would-be member of society be acquainted. The only way for the young generation to be acquainted with these is through education. Education then, is basically rooted in religion.

Education, religion, society and culture are so closely related that any efforts to educate are only efforts to reach the ultimate end of society - adulthood. This adulthood is only an ideal concept when it does not take its shape from religion as it manifests itself in culture. The ultimate ends of any society are rooted in the philosophy of life and religion plays a great role in the formation of the philosophy of life of a society. When education is said to take its direction from the philosophy of life this means it takes its direction from religion indirectly as those concerned with education are but concerned with the philosophy of life of a society and also with its religious life.

3.3 Philosophy of life, education and language

The adults concerned with the education of the future generations or members of society are mainly concerned with it in the light of their personal and collective views, regarding the destiny of man. Their concern has its basis on the philosophy of life. The role of man in society and ideals which are held in esteem depend entirely on the philosophy of life of that particular society.

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3.3 Philosophy of life, education and language

The adults concerned with the education of the future generations or members of society are mainly concerned with it in the light of their personal and collective views, regarding the destiny of man. Their concern has its basis on the philosophy of life. The role of man in society and ideals which are held in esteem depend entirely on the philosophy of life of that particular society.

The concern of adults and all their educational efforts find expression through communication. It can be said that communication is at the heart of civilization. Without which civilization comes to a standstill. Communication is perhaps the most useful instrument of all to acquire and it is built through the years of infancy on what the members of society teach or pass on to the young generations. Thus the habits of the home and society towards language are very likely to be the habits of the child (13, p. 69). The contents of human beings' consciousness are communicated to the young generation by means of a language. The language, as a social heritage and as a vehicle of thought and ideas, is also the medium through which philosophy of life is expressed. In the final analysis, therefore, every educational endeavour is permeated by a philosophy of life and finds expression through the medium of a language.

4. THE CULTURAL BASIS OF EDUCATION

4.1 The idea of culture

The concept culture has been defined by various authors like Herskovits, (14, p. 17) who declares that it is a man-made part of the environment, while Linton, (15, p. 21) defines it as ways of behaviour which are associated with any permanent need or function in a social life. Many other authors have made valuable contributions to the definition of culture. However, Tylor's definition as quoted by Stenhouse, (16, pp. 1, 2) that "culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, custom and other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society", has the implication that culture is a possession of a society, hence it is transmitted, learned and shared (16, p. 2). Ottaway (4, p. 22) agrees with this

idea and stresses that the important point to be noted from most definitions of culture is the need to share and to transmit its elements.

Behaviour only becomes a part of culture when it is accepted and shared by the members of a society and passed on to the non-members. The passing on of cultural patterns is one of the main functions of education (4, p. 22).

The idea that culture is transmitted or passed on calls in the idea of a medium, which is education. Thus a concern with culture with reference to a society suggests the idea of education and its aim - adulthood. Yet adulthood as an educational aim is a cultural universal and an ideal concept without any meaning except when it is culturally interpreted and given meaning in accordance with the value schemes of the particular society. Nel (11, p. 9) rightly maintains that when pedagogics (education) describes the aim of education as adulthood, it is always with the clear understanding that this concept may be variously interpreted in accordance with differing views of life and in terms of the particular culture. In reality, therefore, adulthood is a cultural concept as much as it is a social category.

When culture changes, education, as its vehicle, also changes. History shows that life has been interpreted and expressed in various ways during different times by different people. The Zulu people about whom this study is concerned provide an outstanding example of cultural changes, and consequently education and its aim have been undergoing constant change and are still doing so. The cultural transformations that manifested themselves over the past century are so profound that an almost new culture

may be said to have emerged. Yet, though these people have undergone so much cultural transformation, the static nature of culture still makes it possible to speak of the Zulu people up to this moment in history.

4.2 Some characteristics of culture

There are many characteristics of culture, but as this study is mainly motivated by change, it is necessary to examine this characteristic. Herskovits (17, p. 4) argues that culture is stable, yet it is also dynamic and manifests continuous and constant change. It is this change inherent in culture that has necessitated this investigation among the Zulu people.

The point that must be remembered is that culture persists from one generation to another and transcends any individual who lives in it. In the same fashion, no society is made up of the same people for very long. As new individuals progress and become members of society, the society is constantly subjected to change. Deaths and births change society. This means creative individuals are from time to time added into society. These creative individuals add fresh aspects into culture either by way of inventions or by way of behaviour patterns. However, when the whole generation has passed, all that remains is its culture (17, p. 15). In this way culture is static and is handed down from one generation to the other by means of education.

The effectiveness with which techniques are accepted, modes of behaviour and various beliefs and attitudes are handed down from one generation to the next gives culture the degree of stability. Yet every society allows for variations in the acceptance of any given mode of behaviour. Such variations are a primary

factor in cultural change. This means that in every culture there is room for choice (17, p. 12). Though a man's behaviour tends to be automatic because of cultural influence, it would be wrong to conclude that he is an automaton. Rules of conduct may be rigid, the strictest sanctions may be invoked to enforce the rules, acquiescence in them may be unquestioning, yet changes will be found to take place. They may be very minute but they will be there (14, p. 479).

Among the Zulus evidence of cultural change is overwhelming. As a result of cultural change, education which is the transmittal of culture has changed. A great deal of evidence of this characteristic of culture is discussed in Chapter III, and a change in culture is bound to have its effects on the personality of the individuals in society. Culture and personality then need to be examined.

4.3 Culture and personality

As indicated earlier by culture is generally meant the established and learned ways of doing things, the beliefs, the ideals, the convictions, the objects and the tools which a society uses (13, p. 107). Unless members of a society feel and act alike in many different situations culture cannot maintain itself. To bring about this conformity use of rewards and punishments is made during educational endeavours of individuals to form certain patterns of conduct and deter others (18, p. 51).

It is, however, education which is the vehicle of culture by which various kind of culturally required behaviour patterns are made to satisfy personal needs. Education is then the medium or bridge by which impersonal goals of culture are transmitted or passed

on into private goals of individuals.

Since each person embodies in the miniature much of his culture, many aspects of his behaviour must be explained in terms not only of the individual himself, but also of his culture. Thus as societies differ culturally, the personality norms differ in different societies. Members of any society will always show considerable variation in personality, yet much of the same range of variation and much of the same personality types are to be found in all societies (15, p. 82).

This means all educational endeavours can only be meaningful when they are culturally based. Kneller (18, p. 53) argues that those who educate the child may not even realize that the methods they use in nursing, dressing, feeding or putting him to sleep are all conditioning him to behave according to the values of his group and culture. Culture and personality are so interwoven that when culture is mentioned it is with certain types of personalities in mind.

When the not-yet-members of society are helped to adulthood it is in terms of a particular culture. Education is only a tool to bridge the gap between culture as a thing that exists by and of itself and culture as the total behaviour of individuals through whom it is manifest.

Through education an individual personality learns the forms of conduct acceptable to his group and makes them his own (14, p. 43).

Education in the last analysis then endeavours to guide children to grow up with a sense of continuity and tradition while

at the same time equipping them with a readiness to recognize the need for change which is inherent in culture. This enables society to have personalities who have an initiative to act and introduce cultural changes if possible. For to provide for cultural change is the creative function of education (4, p. 9).

4.4 Education and cultural change

It has been stated in the foregoing paragraph that education is a necessary medium of cultural continuity. Education is also an important means of coordinating skillfully this continuity of culture with cultural change. For a society to keep abreast of changes it must modify in each generation the heritage taught either informally or formally. To this end educators reinterpret old knowledge, values, convictions, and beliefs to meet new situations (18, p. 82). These new situations are brought about by cultural change which may be a result of creative individuals or contact with other cultures. A case in point, where education and cultural change are evident, is when the Zulu people came into contact with the Western cultures; they stopped educating their young to become warriors or carriers of spears and knobkieries.

The contact with Western cultures resulted in a cultural change and education adjusted immediately. As a result formal schools which teach new knowledge, values and attitudes, have come about. Nowadays, for instance, there is a growing need for vocational and technical schools for the Zulu youth. Education is already meeting cultural change.

A culture may also seek to anticipate the future by implanting in youth certain information attitudes and skills

designed to meet foreseen situations. In recent years, the Zulu people have contributed to the building of schools in order to meet the growing demand for formal education. The United States in recent years has increased its spending on scientific education in general and on the education of engineers in particular in order to surpass the Soviet Union in the exploration of space (18, p. 83).

In addition, education, may be an inadvertent source of cultural change. Each culture demands of its members to act, think and perceive. A child's understanding can never be limited by any human being, even the most extreme totalitarian states cannot do this (18, p. 83). Thus the discrepancy that lies between what the child must learn and what he actually learns is an important source of conflict and change within a culture. Many an authoritarian society is breeding rebellious spirits in children who later reform the educational system that offended them, thereby subjecting culture to change.

Finally, as education is based on culture, it is obvious that as culture changes so shall education also change. However, in all cultural change the general framework of life or what Herskovits (17, p. 5) prefers to call the "cultural universals", remains the same as will become clear in the ensuing Chapters III, IV and V which all follow a similar pattern, mentioning the same cultural universals, in the original society and in the transformed society. In all these aspects of culture, the educational aspects involved are considered.

4.5 Some universal aspects of culture

Every culture, everybody of tradition and every complex

whole of knowledge, beliefs and customs, is the cumulative result of the particular experiences of the society in question. However, all cultures, when viewed objectively, possess a restricted number of aspects into which they can be conveniently divided for study. Though the term culture refers to the ways of life of specific human groups, as in the case of education, it is possible for scholars to abstract for purposes of objective study the idea of CULTURE as a universal phenomenon. When viewed thus objectively, it is possible and necessary to divide the field of CULTURE into a number of separate aspects.

Herskovits (17, p. 5) argues that we find that all people have technological equipment, they have some way of distributing what they thus produce, they have an economic system, all give formal expression to the institution of the family, they have associations based on blood ties, they have some political control, all have a philosophy of life and they have a language.

These are some cultural aspects which are attributable to all human groups. Education as the transmission of culture only serves to influence the young into accepting these cultural universals as manifested and interpreted in their own societies. Though it is mentioned that all human groups have culture, each society has its own regional manifestation of culture. Thus when we speak of CULTURE, it is only an ideal concept, but when cultures are mentioned it is with the express idea that each society educates its youth in terms of its specific regional manifestation of CULTURE.

5. RESUME

What has been said about education, society and culture in

this chapter, in general, can also be said about education, society and culture of the Zulu people in particular. Education and culture are only realities when they refer to and are practised by a specific society. When education is mentioned, whether informal or formal, it is obvious that it is based on a philosophy of life. For who says 'society' says 'culture' and the theory and practice in transmitting culture to young members of society is determined by a philosophy of life. In this perspective education is the transmittal of the cultural norms, beliefs, customs, convictions and values of a given society to posterity. Thus it was necessary to pay attention to the relationship between education, society, philosophy of life and culture.

As in the culture of the people runs the thread of their history, Chapter III will of necessity deal with the historico-cultural perspective of the Zulu people.

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CHAPTER III

A HISTORICO-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE ZULU PEOPLE

1. INTRODUCTION

A study of the evolution of the educational endeavour of a people is essentially a study of historical and cultural change. Before Africa, and indeed Southern Africa, was touched by the civilization of Persia, Britain, Portugal, America, India, Arabia, Greece and Rome, its peoples led a life which today could be termed primitive (1, p. 7). Their education was basically informal. In the course of time the Dutch East India Company, the British Settlers and missionaries, the various explorers and the travellers, the hunters and naturalists mainly from Europe came to South Africa. From then on, South Africa was traversed extensively and its hitherto unknown interior was explored. These historical events led to the study of its people, its geography and its geology (1, p. 14). Since all the people who came to South Africa were representatives of Western culture, bringing different languages, a different economy, a different religious attitude, a different political system and many other different patterns of living, this meant that an entirely new culture was introduced in South Africa.

These Westerners looked for more and more land and the profit motive inherent in their economy led to the exploration and mining of gold and the exploitation of many other mineral resources in the country. It was in this context that most of the Zulu people came into close contact with Western culture. Pauw (2, p. 27) points out that among the Bantu in general a new social fabric started emerging which became more and more akin to the Western way

of living of the Whites in South Africa than to the traditional Bantu culture. Though this is also true of the Zulu people this is not to deny, of course, the persistence and continuity of traditional cultural values.

Thus the present state of the Zulu people and the KwaZulu homeland en route to political independence reveal a variety of forces that were and still are at work in the history of these people. These forces include, inter alia, the zeal of the missionaries and the impact of a Western capitalist economy and the momentum of Western culture as a whole.

Though there is reference to culture as a universal phenomenon, the fact is that culture is brought into existence by people acting, people behaving, people thinking and people living. Culture, therefore, constitutes the experiences of a group of individuals as they live history at a given time (3, p. 13). Hence it becomes necessary to formulate an historico-cultural perspective, for no people can be understood unless its past is taken into account.

It is the aim of this chapter to probe into the remote background of the modern Zulu society as well, for when generations have passed, all that link a society to the past are the transmitted patterns of behaviour and history of the people who now comprise it (3, pp. 15, 16).

The perpetuation of traditions is one of the chief functions of education in society. With the passing of time and the succession of events these patterns of life are subject to transformation under the impact of various influences. Human life is dynamic and the history of a people includes the story of various developments, the unfolding or evolution of their particular form of culture. The

changing patterns of living and of the life style of the individual person-in-society only implies a changing image of man. This means that as society and its life styles change, the image of adulthood, the implicit aim of education (4, pp. 6-11), is constantly being transformed. Thus the dynamic nature of culture and society involves the metabletic nature of the aim in education.

The mode of existence of any people at any given time is the outcome of a long historical change that has been brought about by both internal and external factors. Against this background the present state of the Zulu people will be investigated.

2. THE PRESENT STATE OF THE ZULU PEOPLE

Like education, history and culture become meaningful if and when these terms refer to a particular group of people. What has been described above only becomes meaningful when it refers to the historico-cultural perspective of a particular people and in this investigation these are the Zulu people. The method used to describe the present situation and to reconstruct the past of the Zulu people, derives from Herskovits (3, p. 5) where he discusses the idea of cultural universals. Within the universal framework of humanity, the Zulu people have given expression to a specific idea of man and their unique way of life will now be analysed.

2.1 Technological equipment

It is very difficult to write about the material culture of a people in an industrialised situation, because this is largely determined by the technological development of the whole country and also by the individual earning capacity of each family. Pauw (2,

pp. 27-60) in his study of the family among urbanized Bantu¹, divides the Bantu family into three groups. He points out that there is the upper class, the middle class and also the traditional class. As the technological equipment is part of the total culture of the people only the most basic and representative household equipment is referred to here.

In the upper and middle classes there is not much difference in technological equipment in the homes of the urban or "educated"² Zulu people which could be regarded as traditional, but there are many households of which the material culture is of a very simple nature, even though all the items are factory-made (2, p. 29).

The household equipment among the urban Zulu people comprises lounge, dining and bedroom suites and the basic kitchen units such as coal or in some cases electric stoves and refrigerators. The houses are made of bricks and have modern interior decorations (2, p. 35). Occasionally a home-made table or bench is found. Some homes make a very sophisticated impression with dining or sittingroom suites and here there is often a profuse display of ornamental objects including crockery and glassware (2, p. 35).

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1. Various Black groups of people in South Africa, the Zulus being one of them, are given the collective name Bantu - a term derived from the language form 'ntu - a stem common to all the languages of this group of Southern African peoples (33, pp. 18-4).
 2. This term is used to refer to Zulu people who have received school education.

On the other hand, the rural Zulu home has also advanced with a horse saddle, a bicycle, a sewing machine; and yet the whole homestead still bears a strong resemblance to a dwelling of the pre-contact period. The Zulu people in this area are still characterised by traditional equipment like shields and spears, and they use open fires on floors for cooking and heating. The circular designs which characterise Zulu homesteads are still found today.

Pauw (2, p. 36) rightly concludes that many Zulus nowadays buy new, modern furniture of the same design as would be found in many middle-class or industrialised communities. Yet the rural Zulus are not far removed at all from their traditional material culture.

It can be concluded that colonization, industrialization and finally urbanization brought a diversity of material culture to the Zulu people. This diversity has drastically affected the educational aim of these people.

2.2 Economy

The economy of a nation or a people is often evident in its material equipment. Thus the findings in the above paragraphs are also borne out by the economic situation of the Zulu people.

At present these people are becoming increasingly profit-oriented. Cattle which used to be reared for status and religious purposes only, are now sold at public auctions to the highest bidder. Enterprises like shops, agricultural undertakings and many more are motivated by profit.

In many families both the mother and the father are employed. In some cases the father is employed in a mine on a migratory basis. Mines, White farms, factories and domestic employment have absorbed a great majority of the Zulu population, with some disastrous effects on the education of children in many instances.

In rural areas the Western capitalistic economy is not yet fully established. Women are still responsible for small plots of land which they till for subsistence. Children are generally kept at home to look after cattle. Yet some go to school for a few years and then join their fathers as migrant workers in mines. Thus it is possible to conclude that in these areas two economic systems exist side by side, but it is clear that the Western money economy is gradually becoming the dominant one.

2.3 The Zulu family

The composition of the Zulu family has recently been greatly influenced by industrial development, the economic attitude of the Europeans and the impact of school education. As a result, it can today be divided roughly into three main categories, namely:-

- (a) the family which still lives in rural areas with husband, wife and children undisturbed by distant employment;
- (b) the family where the husband is housed by the employer on the employer's premises in the form of compounds or hostels, with the wife and children living in the rural area;

- (c) the family which lives in a township house provided by local municipal authorities. Hence, in contrast to the prevailing pattern, husband and wife live together (5, p. 15).

Longmore (5, p. 18) mentions another type of family which, he argues, represents the result of inadequate and precarious wages which make matrimony increasingly unfeasible. What follows is a loose or casual relationship between man and woman which keeps on adding to the ever-increasing flood of illegitimate children. However, these casual relationships do develop into some semblance of family life.

A kinship hierarchy is quite prevalent in the rural family and in some cases this family is polygamous. The man is the virtual head of the kraal. The only economy practised is that of subsistence, with a few head of cattle which are poorly reared. Children do go to school, but leave quite early, often on their own.

In the second type of family the man is the breadwinner, though the wife or wives may cultivate crops like maize. Children are entirely in the care of the wife or wives while the man is at work. They also go to school for a very short period generally.

There are many Zulu families among the Black population housed in townships or locations. These families come into close contact with the White man and are being profoundly influenced by this contact (5, p. 15). In most cases such a family is married according to Christian rites and is a member of a church. There are usually three to five children as this family is aware of family planning clinics. On the whole, both the father and the mother are employed and children are sent to school. The standard of living,

involving such factors as food, clothes, and furniture, compares favourably with that of any family in an industrialised community.

It is clear from the above discussion that on the whole the Zulu family has undergone tremendous changes and that the modern Zulu family is inclined to adopt a Western culture based on a money economy (5, p. 16).

There is also a marked diversity in the family life, and this diversity is also evident in the norms of education (cf. paragraph 2.7).

2.4 The political system

From the above discussion it could be deduced that the present political system of the Zulu people is the result of a dynamic transformation. The present state of affairs dates from 1970. According to the Report of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development (6, p. 101) the Zulu Territorial Authority was established in 1970 to minister to the political needs of the Zulu people.

In terms of the Bantu Homelands Act No. 21 of 1971 in the Government Gazette (7, p. 1) this territorial authority could through the Government be accorded legislative status by the State President. In 1972 this status was accorded to the territorial authority; and the Zulu people for the first time had an Executive government of their own.

Subject to the provisions of the act the Legislative Assembly is constituted from Zulu citizens in the manner determined by the State President by proclamation in the Government gazette.

The KwaZulu Government is now responsible for legislation, not inconsistent with the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act of 1971, yet may make different laws for different regions or places and different categories or groups of persons within its jurisdiction. Such laws can only be enforced after they have been approved of and signed by the State President of the Republic of South Africa.

Hence the Zulu people today are politically responsible for their own affairs, resorting under the Departments of Education and Culture, Authority Affairs and Finance, Justice, Agriculture and Forestry, Roads and Works, and Community Affairs.

In his opening address at the first KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and Education (Mr M C Botha) in 1973 pointed out that the Zulus find themselves at present in a period which can be likened to a melting pot (8, p. 2). He further stressed that the Zulus should not in the course of modern procedures of a modern government, completely disregard that which constitutes true tradition. Tradition is also adaptable to the modern (8, p. 2). In this address the Minister also announced that as from 1974 all the KwaZulu Government departments would be moved to its new capital, Ulundi, at Mahlabathini in Zululand (8, p. 3).

It is, therefore, obvious that the Western way of life has penetrated more than one aspect of the Zulu people's culture. Though the Zulu person still does refer to my chief, the stress today is on my government. It is clear that this political situation has important educational implications, which will be discussed at a later stage.

2.5 The religious system

A great majority of the Zulu people claim affiliation to one or the other of the many different churches in the country. West (9, p. 190) estimates the number of these Christian churches to be about three thousand. Some of the most popular and largest congregations are of older denominations established by White missionaries (2, p. 38). They represent the Methodist, the Anglican, the Presbyterian, the Roman Catholic and many other denominations. Such denominations are either integrated with the White membership or closely associated with White churches or leaders.

There are a number of small congregations of mission churches and still more of Bantu independent or separatist movements, but the influence of these is limited.

While a great number of the Zulu people are affiliated to churches, many maintain only a nominal connection (2, p. 40). West (9, p. 189) argues that evidence points to Christianity and ancestor worship existing side by side. While almost every Zulu today believes in the existence of God, this belief is combined with a strong belief in amadlozi (ancestors) (9, p. 189).

Among the Zulus, therefore, there are people with beliefs ranging from the traditional view of the importance of their ancestors to those of modern persuasion who reject the notion of the influence of ancestors upon the living (9, p. 190). It is obvious that although Zulu culture is in a transitional stage, the diversity of cultural elements is having a tremendous impact on education. In this connection the task of organized education is clearly that

of giving direction to the development of religious thought within the community. The task is set for the philosopher-educationist to articulate a positive Christian philosophy for education so that the image of Zulu man may truly become the image of Christian man. Not only must the educator and the educationist recognize that the Zulu's image of man is changing, but it is his duty to give clear guidance to the younger generation in this connection.

2.6 The language

Although it is true that the present culture of the Zulu people does not consist of selected elements or traits of traditional culture and Western culture respectively, which have been thrown together, it is, nonetheless, possible to discern certain patterns of behaviour which are obviously largely determined by the traditional indigenous culture. Not that these constitute unchanged elements of that culture, but it can be said that in most areas of activity referred to, present action is in some form based on traditional culture (2, p. 51).

Of importance in this respect is the area of language. The language, as one of the identifying factors, is dealt with in more detail in paragraph 4.7. Here it suffices to mention that the profound impact of the Western culture had its effects on the language spoken by the Zulus. This effect is more noticeable in urban areas where Anglicisms and Afrikanerisms abound. People employed in industry, in factories, in towns and cities, were circumstantially forced to become bilingual. In many cases they are even trilingual. Though this is the case, it is regionally determined as the language of the Zulus working in and around Durban is more influenced by English than those in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, whose

language is affected by Afrikaans.

The schools are also centres where the language is clearly showing signs of Western influence. Many foreign words are being incorporated into Zulu. What Pauw (2, p. 51), writes about the Xhosas is also true of the Zulus, namely that they are on the whole able to speak, read and write English and Afrikaans, but such languages are not used in their homes. Yet more and more conversation in English or Afrikaans is heard between Zulu persons in meetings, in which the urban or "educated" Zulu predominates.

The manner in which Zulu has been influenced by Afrikaans and English and even by other Bantu languages is a study in itself, but this language remains essentially Zulu (2, p. 51) and is mainly used by this society to transmit its cultural heritage to its future generations. In both the Westernised or "educated" and the traditional Zulu, this language plays an important role in education. Language is the medium of communication, the index of culture and naturally changes with culture and in the language forms is reflected the transformed thought system of the people. The new culture demands new forms of expression, new names for things and actions. New situations demand new responses and when man responds in word and thought and action, language is involved in one form or another. Also through language a new image of man is emerging and this phenomenon invariably reflects in education.

2.7 Education

Attending school is universally accepted as a normal part of the child's career (2, p. 37), also among the modern Zulu people. Sending the child to school is an important responsibility on the

part of the parent. Pauw (2, p. 37) in his investigation notes that a small proportion of the adult sector has enjoyed school education, very few have advanced beyond standard two while the parents with standard five to nine are found here and there and very few have gone through matriculation and university education.

Yet even among the most Westernized, urbanized and "educated" Zulu people many of the traditional customs are still in existence. A child for instance, would be taught to cup his hands when receiving something from a senior member. Striking enough, the same child is taught to say danki, which is a word derived from Afrikaans meaning thank you or in Zulu ngiyabonga.

In this case the informal education at home (cf. Chapter II paragraph 2.2) still exerts profound influence on the education of the young and is based on traditional ways. A culture is never completely replaced, but is only modified.

The formal school education naturally has its effects on the child as he grows into adulthood. It is designed with this end in view. According to the Annual Report issued by the Department of Bantu Education (10, p. 188), in 1975 KwaZulu had a school enrolment of 553 957 pupils in primary classes. In the post-primary there were 50 837 pupils. These figures do not include Zulu children enrolled in schools in White[¶] areas and on White-owned farms in Natal. Pupils in technical schools and various small institutions run by the Republic of South Africa are not included here though these institutions enrol Zulu children as well.

¶ These are areas that belong to the South African Whites and are controlled by the Republic of South Africa.

At the University of Zululand a total of 41 students were enrolled in 1960 and in 1975 this figure had rocketed to 1 118 (10, p. 118).

As a result of the present state of flux, or transition, in which the Zulu people find themselves, many children still do not go to school. Others leave school early, but it must be understood that this is still a transitional period. As becoming a competent adult is vitally dependent on formal school education in these days, it is obvious that there is truth in Hartshorne's claim that compulsory education for the African children should be a reality within five years (11, p. 24).

Although the total life pattern of the Zulu people as discussed above shows tremendous diversity, there is a clear inclination towards the Western way of life. This diversity is in every aspect of life characterised by a unity which remarkably identifies these people. Yet even then it is very difficult to define quite clearly their aim in education, which no doubt has undergone radical change through the years. This "melting pot", to which their present culture is likened, will become more clearly visible with the reconstruction of their past history.

It is clear at this stage that with reference to the economy, religious life, political involvement, and with reference to many other areas of human experience, the role of the Zulu adult in society is a vastly different one from that of the indigenous African tribal man whose personal life was dissolved in collective activity. An adult member of society today has a definite role to play in industry and his aim is profit as he is individually responsible for his family. In this transformed society even his role in politics is different from that of a traditional man. He is even

an individual member of one or the other Christian denominations. All this point to the new role of a member of society. This new role means a new image of man has come about in the Zulu society and consequently the new aim of education.

3. THE RISE OF THE NATION

3.1 African origin

Theal (12, pp. 181-236) has formulated quite an extensive hypothesis as to the origin of the Zulu people. He believes that the South Eastern Bantu came from some region on or near the west coast of Africa, so that their route of migration lay across that of the South-Central tribes on their southward journey down the central plateau.

However, Bryant's (13, Chapter I) theory about the route followed by the Nguni people and finally the Zulu people until their occupation of what later became known as Natal and Zululand is more generally accepted. Bryant holds that about A.D. 900 the Southern Bantu had become separated into three main branches or groups in central Africa, namely the Nguni, the Venda-Karanga and the Thonga. The Thonga moved down the East Coast, the Venda-Karanga went down the centre into a territory that today is known as Rhodesia, while the Nguni struck out west, first of all. As they crossed the Zambesi river near its sources, they dropped off a section who became Herero. From here they swung round into the area between Lake Ngami and the Upper Zambesi, adopting from the Bushmen, whom they met, the clicks that are so characteristic in the Nguni languages (13, p. 2).

They came to rest on the headwaters of the Limpopo from

where they dispersed in different directions. The first who left were the Ntungwa-Nguni who went south-east into the present south-eastern Transvaal where they sojourned for a while (13, pp. 1-3). These are the present Nguni from whom the Zulus of today are descended. The Zulu tribesmen moved down into the south-eastern part of Africa to what is today called Natal and Zululand. They became united into a small clan with a relatively insignificant early history (13, p. 3).

3.2 The Nguni people

At the end of the eighteenth century there were many tribes which had settled in the present Natal and Zululand. The term "tribe" refers to a number of clans which are grouped together, usually in one and the same geographical area under the control of a chief through various headmen. A clan, which when grouped together constitutes a tribe, is a group of individuals with a common ancestor (14, p. 137). In the case of the Zulus this group cannot intermarry and is partriarchally controlled. The most prominent of these clans in the history of the Zulus were the Mthethwas and the Ndwandwes.

The Ndwandwes were the first and militarily the most powerful, while the Zulus at that time were by far the weaker. However, this originally the most insignificant clan eventually united the other two (Mthethwas and Ndwandwes) into one powerful nation which, under the leadership of Shaka, developed into the Zulu empire (15, p. 8).

3.2.1 The Mthethwa clan

In order to understand the powerful growth and development of the Zulu people a brief description of the Mthethwa

and Ndwandwe clans is necessary.

By about 1790 the Mthethwa clan was headed by Chief Jobe. A smouldering plot by the chief's sons, Godongwana and Tana, was discovered by the chief. These two sons were planning to kill the chief. In return he ordered that they be killed. Tana died in the siege, but Godongwana escaped (15, pp. 7, 8). After the death of Jobe, Godongwana made his appearance on horseback and had an unknown weapon with him - a gun. As early as about 1800 the influence of alien things such as the horse and the gun began to affect the culture of what later became the Zulu people.

After Godongwana had identified himself to his father's people he was acclaimed the rightful chief of the Mthethwa clan. Henceforth he was addressed by the new name of Dingiswayo, meaning the Wanderer, a name by which he became known in history (15, p. 8). Dingiswayo's territory was surrounded by many clans, one of which was the Ndwandwes.

3.2.2 The Ndwandwe clan

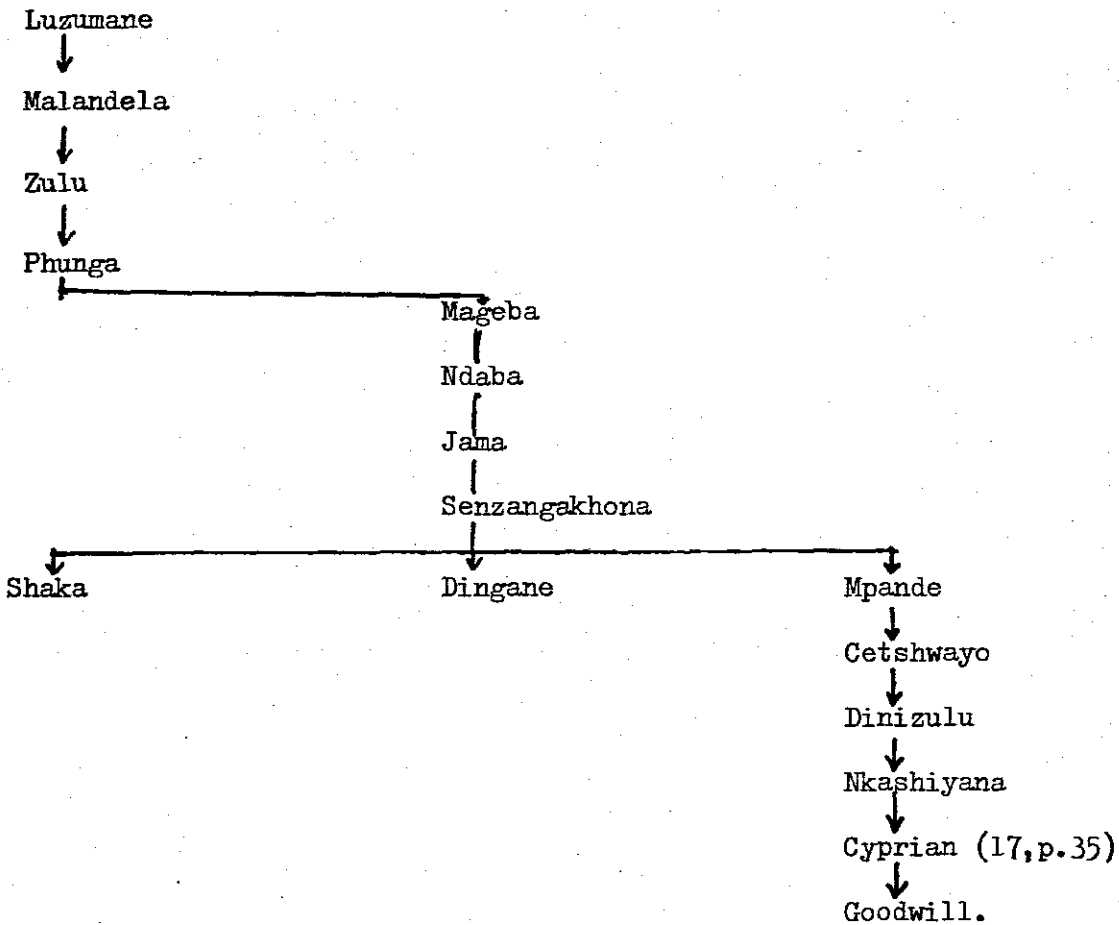
This clan was ruled by Chief Zwide whose domain was situated to the north-west of Dingiswayo's territory. This clan kept on enlarging its sphere of influence even beyond the Umfolozi. Zwide conquered many of the small clans and incorporated them into his ever growing Ndwandwe tribe. It became more and more apparent that this tribe would soon have to measure its strength against the Mthethwas, who were at the time the most powerful clan. The Mthethwas' military strength, in other words, was being threatened (16, p. 9).

Dingiswayo of the Mthethwas, feeling threatened,

attacked Zwide. The former was captured and killed. The Mthethwa tribe was left leaderless. Shaka who was then ruler of the small Zulu clan (refer to paragraph 3.3), took over the chieftainship of the Mthethwa and soon attacked and conquered Zwide who was killed in flight. Thus it came to pass that, by 1818 Shaka was already a ruler of the Mthethwas and the Ndwandwes as well as of his original small Zulu clan (15, pp. 10, 11).

3.2.3 The Zulu clan

As mentioned earlier, the Zulu people were the most insignificant of the three main clans then occupying the territory today known as Natal and Zululand. When Dingiswayo took over the Mthethwas he soon came into contact with a young, brilliant and brave man called Shaka (15, p. 10). Shaka had left his father's kraal at about the age of six and wandered with his mother. His father was Senzangakhona, the son of Jama. Jama's father was Ndaba, the son of Zulu, after whom the small uninfluential clan was named (17, p. 35). The following genealogical sketch supplied by Bryant (17, p. 35) shows the succession of Zulu chiefs.



The history of the Zulu genealogical chiefs dates back to Luzumane and Malandela (17, p. 35), but these two names have become lost in the midst of unwritten history. Hence there is very little known about them, except in legendary tales.

Zulu, who is believed to be the first of the Zulu people and of the Zulu chiefs has no known history (17, p. 36), except his name which was later inherited by the clan down the list of chiefs to the present day. This proud name was later extended to many tribes which were consolidated into the empire by Shaka.

Hence, in Southern Natal and Zululand and, indeed, in the whole of South Africa, the term "Zulu" is understood in the broadest sense. It covers all tribesfolk who claim descent from the Zulu genealogical line or from any Nguni tribe or clan which was resident in Zululand or Natal during Shaka's time.

3.3 Shaka

The name Shaka is held in esteem today. It is revered and honoured by both small and big, by both friends and enemies. Shaka's day the 24th September, has been declared a public holiday by the KwaZulu Government. On this day both young and old hold festivities all over Natal and Zululand in memory and in honour of Shaka.

Schools are closed on Shaka's day and children are involved in festivities in honour of Shaka. These children come under the influence of the speeches honouring their hero, and thus Shaka's image is today made a factor in education. He becomes an identification figure, a cultural hero to emulate. He had a tremendous influence during his life time, and today he is considered the national hero. His influence is thus perpetuated. In this respect he may be compared with Bismarck in Germany, with Napoleon in France and with Paul Kruger in South Africa.

As Shaka is the founder of the people with whom this study is concerned, it is fitting that mention be made of this illustrious name that links the modern Zulu man with the traditional Zulu of the past.

Shaka was the oldest son of Senzangakhona. For reasons, which are not the concern of this investigation, he and his mother

Nandi were forced to flee to Langeni-land where they lived until Shaka reached adolescence (18, p. 3).

Brookes and Webb (15, p. 9) maintain that Shaka was an illegitimate child, yet his mother subsequently became Senzangakhona's wife. These details, however, are not relevant here. The fact is that, upon the death of Senzangakhona in 1816, Shaka felt strong enough to solicit his patron, Dingiswayo, to establish him in the Zulu chieftainship (18, p. 4). According to Bryant, (13, p. 3) the youthful Shaka, observant, impressionable, thoughtful, imaginative, passed as an enthusiastic participating witness. He soon became skilled in all the arts of politics and warfare. He began his reign with characteristic energy. He soon formed a strong army and in a very short time his mother's people, who ill-treated him, were attacked, subjugated and incorporated into the growing Zulu clan.

With the Mthethwas, the Ndwandwes and many small clans which were merged into a formidable Zulu clan, the Zulu nation was born in about the 1820's under the leadership of Shaka.

Now that we have seen how the Zulu people have been "born", it is necessary to examine their way of life from "birth" to the time when they came into contact with the Western culture.

4. RECONSTRUCTING THE PAST: THE ZULU PEOPLE OF THE PRE-CONTACT PHASE

4.1 Introduction

In order to grasp fully the significance of the radical changes that occurred in the life of the Zulu society, it is necessary to look back into history at the times and circumstances that

prevailed before the "scramble for Africa" by the European colonial powers began in 1884-5 (19, p. 4). It is during the second half of the nineteenth century that Africa was, so to speak, "invaded" by Europe and that cultural contact situations occurred with far-reaching results for all the communities involved.

The fact of culture is that man inhabits the world in a specific way, which means that man-in-society creates a human way of life on the basis of what is considered good and valuable, that is, on the basis of an idea of humanity. Man's behaviour, unlike that of any other creature, is directed by a sense of value. Man in society develops certain patterns of living which reflect the way of life of a specific human community. This involves a unique philosophy of human existence. Though in a universal perspective all men and all culture are the same as they all express the idea of humanity, each society or community has its own particular manifestation of culture. In trying to make this point clear Herskovits, (3, p. 4) mentions seemingly paradoxical characteristics of human culture, namely that culture is universal in man's experience, yet each local or regional manifestation of it is unique. This distinguished anthropologist further remarks on two other seemingly contradictory qualities of human culture: the fact that it is stable, yet also dynamic, and manifests continuous and constant change (3, p. 4). It is this static yet dynamic nature of the Zulu culture that is of special interest in this investigation. While the Zulu people have always remained the Zulu people, they have, however, as a society, undergone profound changes through the years and they shall progressively continue to change their way of life without giving up their Zulu identity - their "Zuluness".

To examine the changes and the educational significance

of the changes that occurred in Zulu patterns it is essential that these people be viewed in their "pure" form, that is, to investigate their nature and traditional patterns as they existed before the period of contact with peoples of Western origin.

4.2 Technological equipment or material culture

Herskovits (3, p. 5) rightly declares that human culture is the result of the particular experiences of a particular population, its past and its present, and that every body of tradition must be regarded as a living embodiment of its past. It becomes evident then that the changing way of life of the Zulu people can only be understood if their past is reconstructed. This means that account should be taken of every available device including historic sources.

It is customary to speak of the present moment in man's history as the technological age, indicating that technological development has reached and is still rocketing towards great heights. There were times, however, when people employed tools and equipment which, when measured by today's standards, may rightly be called primitive.

In the case of the early Zulu people the most important tools and materials of their culture were the hoe used in agriculture; grass and mud used to build their circular houses; spears for hunting and fighting; wood used for spoons and stools; iron from which came the hoe and the spear and various kinds of knives. Clay pots were used to store beer and other forms of food; animal skins were used for clothing and bedding. Bark, roots and leaves formed a strong and very effective medicine.

On these cultural materials the livelihood of the people depended and, with these, children grew up and learned the techniques involved, mostly in an informal way. Even the wars, for which the Zulu people are very famous, were dependent on these artifacts.

4.3 A subsistence economy

A subsistence economy is generally practised by all underdeveloped communities. The term "subsistence" is self explanatory. The stress in such an economy falls on the supply of the daily economic needs of a people in order that they may survive. The profit motive as found in the Western capitalistic economy is unknown in a subsistence economy. There is no need for any "over"-production.

Vilakazi (20, p. 111) points out that among the Zulus the powers of control in the economy were vested in the kraal head who held these in trust for members of the kraal. Krige (16, p.185) describes the rearing of cattle as one of the most important items in tribal economy. Cattle are so important that they feature right through the lives of individuals. The "owner" in every kraal is the kraal head, who leads in and performs certain rituals in religious ceremonies when a cow is slaughtered. The cattle are so important that when death occurs, when marriage takes place, and when any other religious occurrence takes place, a cow is slaughtered by the kraal head on behalf of all members of the kraal. The cattle are such a valuable social commodity that the Zulus have various names to denote various characteristics of cattle (16, p. 187).

During the pre-contact period every married woman had her own piece of land where she was mistress (16, p. 190 and 20, p. 111).

Crops, cattle, goats and the land were never used for any profits or for any individual benefits. Profit-making was never an aspect of the Zulu economy. Food and stock were mainly produced for the common good within the family. The free competition principle found in a capitalist economy did not exist. There was never an idea of producing for a market. It was a collective economy designed to cater for the day-to-day needs of the group in which all shared equally.

The idea of sophisticated input and output, demand and supply in agriculture and in woodwork as well as in the pottery "industry" was unknown. This explains why the people never used the manure at their disposal to fertilize their fields. Their crops consisted mainly of maize, with a little corn, which were only produced in sufficient quantities to supply the family needs.

4.4 The Zulu family

In all societies the family distinguishes itself as that institution without which no society can exist. The extended family played an important role in Zulu society and it ramified through almost all aspects of their culture. Among the early Zulu people, the bonds of kinship were very extensive and served to bring together into a group people that in a Western society would not be regarded as related (16, p. 23). This complicated family structure had profound effects on the children. He who says family, says child, and he who says child, says education. So that as this study deals with education the situatedness of a child in the unique family structure of the Zulu people will have to be mentioned, as it is the child's situatedness with reference to the adult sector that determines the form of the education, as the child is on his way to adulthood in his society.

In terms of the early Zulu pattern of family ties, there were many fathers, mothers, sisters and brothers. This still prevails today though in a limited form. This kinship was so closely knit into a group that it even prevailed in marriages. The responsibility for the education of the young ones mainly fell on the elder brothers and sisters. The father was quite remote and had very little to do directly with the actual upbringing of the child. The mother, on the other hand, could be used as a liaison between the father and the son.

In some cases the mother's brother, umalume, was used as a go-between especially when the boy wanted to get married, as the latter could not approach his father directly himself. One could expect that as far as the couple was concerned, the behaviour patterns and the term "father", which applied to the real father's brothers would be extended to the spouse's father, that for the mother to the spouse and that contemporary generation in the family of the spouse would be designated as brothers and sisters (16, p. 29). Though logically this tendency should have been followed, there were however, other behaviour patterns which were adopted towards relatives-in-law. These were bound up with the hlonipha custom.

According to Bryant (21, p. 255), hlonipha means to show respect to, have respect for, as for one's parents or an elderly person. It can involve the covering of the breasts by way of modesty before certain classes of people as women do according to prescribed Bantu custom. This custom is widely distributed throughout the uncivilized world. Among the Zulus it touches mainly the married women. As a result this custom has a profound effect on the education of women. No adult woman in pre-contact period was not well versed in hlonipha. Hlonipha, then, is one of the aspects of education,

that is, the handing down of customs, traditions, established practices, beliefs and convictions from one generation to the other, inside and outside the family circles.

4.5 The political system

Generally among Africans the political organisation is not divorced from the principles of kinship and a true national unit appears to be the sib. This is a group of people who are blood related and possibly occupying the same geographical area. Before Shaka turned the Zulu people into a mighty military force (15, p. 11), Natal was inhabited by small exogamous sibs. These were groups in which inter-marriage was prohibited and for this reason inter-tribal love dances were organised by chiefs to encourage prospective couples to meet one another (16, p. 217). Such units grew and sub-divided and were gradually increased by people who were refugees for political or other reasons. This developed into what became known as a tribe - various clans, and sibs united under one common chief.

The Ndwandwes in Natal consisted largely of Ndwandwes and later a large unit of the Zulus and Mthethwas joined. The Zulus were at first a small unit and they considered themselves as descendants of Zulu, already dealt with in the foregoing paragraphs. With the size increasing other clans joined until the Zulu name spread over a large part of the population of Natal. Even those who were not genealogically connected with Zulu politically inherited this name.

Within any tribe there are political units. The smallest of these among the Zulu people was the government of the village, under the control of the umnumzane (headman). This man was the

head of a household who became prominent within his area and eventually took charge of the area. He kept order and dealt with minor disputes (16, p. 218).

These villages grouped together formed a larger area called isigodi (region) of which the induna (chief's councillor) was head. A number of izigodi formed the whole total area or isifunda (district), an area under the jurisdiction of a single chief.

The headship to these political units was often hereditary. The body of councillors consisted of headmen who were the heads of leading families and whose rights were hereditary. Normally the councillors were an effective force on the powers exercised by the chief. However, a powerful and feared king could easily rule without taking heed of the councillors. A good example of such a king was Shaka (16, p. 222). In no place does Brookes, for instance, refer to Shaka's councillors in his A History of Natal. The changes which occurred in the political system of the Zulus will be described in the following chapter.

4.6 The religious system

The importance of religion in Zulu life was demonstrated by the fact that there was hardly an aspect of life in which religion did not play its part. It was evident in war time and in different crises in the individual's life. Above all, the Zulu's concept of superior powers is very clear. Vilakazi (20, p. 87) states that the Zulu people speak of UNkulunkulu or UMvelingangi as a "Maker of the earth and everything that is in the world". This UNkulunkulu is the Creator of all things. He is the cause of the present order (16, p.281).

Though UNkulunkulu was regarded as Great, the Zulu people took much heed of the ancestors, their living depended on the dead. These ancestors could revisit the world of the living in the form of a snake (16, p. 285).

The snake would move about in the house without any fear (22, p. 217). When this snake was seen around the home there was always a happy feeling and usually a sacrifice had to be offered (22, p. 217) in the form of a goat or a cow. The ancestors might reveal themselves by causing illness in the home and the head of the household might either consult the diviner or just slaughter the cattle for the ancestors (16, p. 289). When a sacrifice was being made there was a definite procedure which had to be followed. Certain parts of the slaughtered cattle, like the gall, were vital in the sacrifice as such (16, p. 296).

The religious aspect of the Zulu culture shows very clearly the collective nature of their society. No individual was allowed to perform a ritual ceremony in a household except the head of the kraal who did this on behalf of the group. This collective idea of society was also evident in their economy, in their family structure and in their political system. The group was always more essential than an individual. This attitude was reflected in every aspect of the communal life. Possessions were group possessions. Morals and values were group determined, and ceremonial activities were group activities. Beliefs were group beliefs. There was little or no personal involvement with reference to religion. Thus in the very informal educational endeavour, the emphasis was on the initiation of the individual into the group.

4.7 The language

According to Ziervogel (23, p. 11) Zulu language was and still is the domain of the Northern Nguni as opposed to the Southern Nguni where Xhosa functions as the written language. He maintains that the standard version of Zulu as spoken today did not develop from Zulu spoken in Zululand. Missionaries who worked close to Dingane fled south of the Thukela after the murder of Retief. Zulu as a language was first recorded in 1849 by Bryant, when a thirteen-page article, The Zulu Language, was published in the journal of the Oriental Society (23, p. 11).

There are a few characteristics which distinguish Zulu from other related languages like Xhosa, Sotho and Swazi. Through characteristics like the use of tsh and sh sounds instead of the ty and tsh (t∫h) used in Xhosa, for example, utshwala (beer) - shesha (hurry) (23, p. 12), a Zulu was and is still immediately recognised.

Generally Zulu fricatives are not sharply pronounced as in inhloko (head), insimu (field) as compared with the Xhosa equivalents, which are actually pronounced quite sharply and written as follows, intloko and intsimi.

Even though the Zulus and the Swazis were and are still virtually speaking the same language, a difference has always been in existence. Compare the use of z, th and d in Zulu with Swazi sounds t, ts, and dz as in umuzi/umuti (homestead), thanda/tsandza (like or love).

Ziervogel (23, p. 10) concludes that Zulu was and is still the language of the Zulu tribe. Though the Zulus spread all over South Africa, in fear of Shaka, their original identifying

factor, language, still existed. Cultural practices like the cutting of the cheeks, ukugcaba, prevalent with Xhosas and a portion of the Zulus around the Port Shepstone and Harding districts, were and are still some factors which help in the identification.

Some of the effects the contact period has had on the language will be discussed in the following chapter. However, the language with which the traditional Zulu culture was transmitted from generation to generation was that which suited the patterns of the then existing culture. Language is the very index of culture, the vehicle of thought and of education. The whole way of life and world view of a people is contained in their language, and it stands to reason that as the culture and patterns of living of a people change, so will their language, the basis of their thought system, change.

4.8 Education

Though the above discussion differentiated between material culture, economic aspects, family life, the political system, religious practices, and language, it must be kept in mind that society is an indivisible whole, that all cultural aspects are integrated parts of the complex whole. The political, social, economical and religious systems are not independent institutions. It is only for convenience sake and for discussion purposes that they are individualised. They are inseparable components of a totality. With reference to the individual person this totality is consummated in ADULTHOOD. Hence in the traditional society the political head of a tribe was also the religious head. Every adult person became involved in all social systems.

The educational endeavour then, in pursuing the ultimate AIM which is ADULTHOOD, naturally takes into account that man is a totality. Under the original system, where education was mainly informal and almost an incidental occurrence, because of the close knit and collective nature of society, education for adulthood was never deliberated upon.

The education of children during the pre-contact period can almost be said to have been entirely informal. Most of what the child learnt was learnt through observing adults and other children, and he naturally fell in line. Dance and music in the form of play served as cultural vehicles, even encouraged team work. Imitative play, which consisted of the representation of adult life, was one major form of education. Competitive games usually indirectly tested and enhanced the physical, intellectual and social qualities of the individual. For that reason Fafunwa, (24, p. 21) rightly concludes that through play or games the African child developed physical assets which served him in good stead when he grew old. The education of children also of necessity took into account character development. Hence Fafunwa, (24, p. 21) rightly maintains that traditional African education places considerable emphasis on character training.

The teaching and training of children was not the responsibility of any specialised institution, but the parents, siblings and other members of the society, all participated in the education of the child. Everyone wanted a child to become sociable, honest, courageous, humble and persevering at all times (24, p. 21).

Education may in this light be described as the collective endeavour of the clan with reference to the bringing up of

children. Though there was no institutionalized formal school system, the society nevertheless had its grand design, its unwritten "curriculum" for education. The phenomenon education as a human attribute existed authentically.

In Zulu society, for instance, the younger group respected and learned from the older boys and girls. The latter, in turn, respected and learned from those higher up in the hierarchy, and eventually from parents and other adults. During Shaka's reign, for example, the whole nation submitted to his authority; it became obedient to the law and order and it exercised self restraint. Respect for all superiors was regarded with great esteem (15, p. 14).

Intellectual education, too, was also not neglected. By means of observation, imitation and participation in many learning activities, it was given the necessary emphasis. Local history, legends, songs of praise, folklores, proverbs and riddles all of which constituted a formidable intellectual exercise, were taught by elders mainly the grandparents in the various households. Thus, whatever knowledge, attitudes and skills that were deemed necessary for membership of society found their way to the younger generation through the various forms of education on the basis of the indigenous image of adulthood.

It is this indigenous image of adulthood which became transformed as a result of the interaction between Zulu culture and Western culture. The various life situations which became the focal points of contact of the two cultures are dealt with in the ensuing paragraphs.

5. THE FIRST CONTACT PHASE

5.1 Introduction

The term "acculturation" came into general use among anthropologists in the United States to describe what occurs when two or more previously separated cultures come into contact with each other to a degree sufficient to bring about significant changes in either or both (25, p. 25). Culture contact takes place at a certain place when two or more people with different cultures occupy one geographical area. One of the main conditions under which acculturation takes place is that, generally, the culture of the less developed people is more influenced and dominated by the developed people's culture.

In Africa, for instance, the indigenous cultures have accepted more of the Western culture, yet the Western culture has, though in a mild way, also been affected by the indigenous African cultures. In this dissertation, however, the emphasis is on the changes that occurred in the African, that is, the Zulu culture.

Before the 17th century, the Zulu people, with whom this study is concerned, were living in relative isolation and were not yet exposed to this "process of acculturation". However, with the coming of the Portuguese navigators, the Dutch East India Company crews, the shipwrecked mariners, all on the coast of Natal, though at different times, the Zulus began to make contact with the various European cultures and sub-cultures during the 1840's (26, p. 46). When people of different cultures come to live in close proximity, cultural interchange is bound to take place. The adoption of ideas and customs or the transformation of institutions does not, however, take place automatically. Foster (25, p. 25) maintains that of the major factors determining whether people will accept or reject

novelty across ethnic boundaries is how they perceive and interpret the new phenomenon.

It stands to reason that with the advanced technological skills, which were manifest in weapons, in medicine and above all in education, in the contact with Western culture, the Zulu people were to adopt many of the Western ways. Studies have shown that acculturation does not just take place in an unpredicted manner. The events of acculturation are patterned.

Cities have long been regarded as focal points of change. The major shifts in the economic basis of livelihood are always followed by significant changes in the nature of family organisation (25, pp. 29-31). Thus the nature of enculturation, or what in this study is referred to as education, within the same society is bound to change. The Zulus were later so involved in acculturation which took place in cities, as a result of socio-economic changes, and the changes in their religion, that the very nature and content of their indigenous education changed. Adulthood became something entirely different from what it was under traditional conditions.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century the Zulu people came into contact with a variety of European sub-cultures, some with very little impact, and others again with profound influence and far-reaching results, as will be indicated in the ensuing paragraphs.

5.2 The Portuguese navigators

Although the Zulu people first came into effective contact with Western culture in about 1849, their first acquaintance with foreigners dates back to 1497. Brookes (15, p. 3) notes that on

Christmas Day, 1497, the ships of Vasco da Gama, sailing from Portugal to India, sighted land to which they gave the name of Natal in honour of the birth (Natal) day of Our Lord. Some historians like Axelson (27, p. 37) believe that this was not what was later thought to be Durban today, but was the coast of what is now known as Pondoland.

Though the Portuguese had an opportunity equal to no other Western power as far as Natal was concerned, they did nothing except provide a name. The Zulu language itself has no trace of the Portuguese influence among the Natal Zulus. The Portuguese missionaries made no converts and their political influence is unknown (15, p. 4). However, the fact that the news of the new land (Natal) was spread all over the world by the Portuguese navigators was later to be of great significance in the history of the Zulus.

5.3 The shipwrecks

From the time of the voyage of Vasco da Gama to the time of permanent European settlers, the only foreigners who "visited" the present Natal were those unfortunate mariners who were shipwrecked (15, p. 4). The Good Hope, an English ship, which was driven ashore at Port Natal (the present Durban) on May 6, 1685, is one example of the Europeans who were from time to time seen and who were met by the Zulu people (15, p. 4). It is inevitable that during their search for fresh water and food into the interior these shipwrecked mariners carried with them artifacts, languages, and behaviour patterns which were new to the Zulu people. Some of these artifacts were exchanged for cattle. Thus some contact with the Zulu people was established and acculturation, though in a very small scale, began to take place.

New economic practices of barter which were completely unknown to the Zulu people were introduced. Many tales about the shipwrecked began to be told and these were based on new cultural behaviour patterns practised by the foreigners. One of them is that of iphumalimi, the one who walks out of the house upright.

It is contended that as a result of the nature of the short arch openings in the circular huts of the Zulu people, it became a cultural practice that when a Zulu walked out of or into the hut he would bend. The shipwrecked mariners, being used to the Western buildings with high open doors into the houses, often forgot to bend when they entered or went out of the Zulu huts. As a result they often hit themselves against the opening of the hut and this was quite remarkable to the Zulus. They soon gave the foreigners a name iphumalimi, as a result of this cultural practice.

The tale in this study is only important as far as it points to the changes that became manifest in the culture of the Zulus as a result of contact with Western culture. The language, new practices, new ideas and the whole "new knowledge" affected the lives of the Zulu people. For instance, as early as 1700 new thought systems became evident as a result of cultural interaction. The affected behaviour patterns of a people also become evident in the education of children.

5.4 The Dutch East India Company of the 17th century

The evidence and stories of the shipwrecks in the 17th century about the inhabitants of Natal led the Dutch East India Company to believe that it would be to its advantage to acquire this Natal (15, p. 5). In January 1689 the Company made attempts

to buy Port Natal. Though this was done nobody seems to have honoured the transaction (15, p. 5). All that the 18th century holds were repeated shipwrecks with the usual experiences of barter, courtesy and hospitality.

Brookes (15, p. 6) concludes that in the year 1800, these developments still lay in the future and Natal, named by the Portuguese and unsuccessfully claimed by the Dutch, still remained a relatively peaceful home of numbers of Nguni tribes, with occasional temporary settlements of shipwrecked mariners, English or Dutch, on the Bluff or at the Port.

5.5 The British traders

Of all the manifestations in the life of the Zulu people, particularly in their culture and consequently in their education, the coming of the European immigrants to Southern Africa was the most important. Hattersley, as stated in Brookes (15, p. 65), gives a very elaborate survey of these immigrants. He points out that between the 1st of January, 1849 and the 28th of June, 1852 nearly 5 000 immigrants entered into Natal. Selby (28, p. 115) records these migrations into Natal and refers to the foreign settlers as "Shaka's Heirs".

Their search for farming land made them explore the interior, and their distribution over the interior was varied. Some settled down and established what is now known as Durban while others went to establish Pietermaritzburg. A small number of these foreigners scattered over the country and founded villages like Richmond, Howick and Verulam (15, p. 65).

The biggest number of the immigrants were of English stock with a handful of Scots and Irish. As early as 1849 another people with a different way of life, a different language, a different religion, a different political system, in short, a different way and philosophy of life from that of the Zulu people, was already settled along the coast of Natal and also in its interior. Two cultures came to live side by side in the same geographical area. These settlements which were scattered in Natal afforded the Zulus employment as farm labourers. The Zulus bought what they required from European-owned shops and later the European administrators raised taxes which also Zulu people had to pay. All these contact areas brought about radical changes of the Zulus, changes which inevitably finally reflected in education.

5.6 The missionaries

During this early contact period the missionaries also played a major role. Dingane became more and more worried by the English settlement in Natal. The number of settlers increased steadily and this diminished the loyalty of his subjects (29, p. 43). People who ran away from him found a good hiding place in Port Natal where they became servants of the British settlers. Moreover, one of the officials of the British Settlers in Port Natal by the name of Jacob had warned Dingane that the White men would come at first in one's and two's, then more would follow and eventually an army would come to drive him from his kingdom (29, p. 43).

Thus, even prior to the active involvement of the missionaries among the Zulu people, trading stations and employment of the Zulu refugees as servants were a constant disturbance to Dingane's traditional system. His political power and the social

organization of the Zulus were greatly affected. As a result he first refused permission to the missionaries to work among his subjects.

However, Gardiner's efforts in trying to allay Dingane's fears about the Zulu refugees and about the constant threat of the British settlers earned him Dingane's respect (29, p. 43). Gardiner was an ex-naval captain who arrived in Natal to commence missionary work. When he found Dingane so bitter about the British settlers he promised to return the Zulu refugees to their ruler. This led to permission being granted to missionaries to commence missionary work among the Zulu people. The aim of the missionaries was to convert the Zulus into Christians; and for this to be successful it had to be done through education - hence the first missionary schools on the European pattern.

Omer-Cooper (29, p. 43), notes that in 1836 three American missionaries and one English missionary began to work among Dingane's people. This missionary endeavour to convert, though in some parts of Natal and Zululand it was prohibited, had great and permanent effects on the life patterns of the Zulu people and mission stations, which were established, formed one of the major contact areas, where the aim was nothing else, but to change the behaviour patterns, beliefs and convictions of these people.

Earlier on the American board of Commissioners for Foreign missions commissioned six missionaries and their wives for service in Africa. Of these six, Adams, Champion and Grout were to work among the Zulus (15, p. 27). Grout finally settled at Umvoti Mission Reserve; Adams became founder of Adams Mission Station. Lindley became famous with the Voortrekkers, though later he took up work

with the Zulu people and lived and laboured among them at Inanda until his retirement in 1873 (15, pp. 27,28).

Brookes' (15, p. 28) conclusions that missions undertaken by larger denominations have covered more extensive areas and that people of Natal have done an excellent work in introducing new culture patterns are evident in certain of these places which were renamed and became Adams, Groutville and many more. This was a symbol of new light brought by the missionaries. The original Zulu names like Umvoti were replaced by the new English names. This was the announcement of a new adulthood in every respect. Brookes (15, p. 28), further points out that the influence of the American Board was so important in the history of the Zulus and consequently in their education and political life, that even the first president of the African National Congress, John Dube, and its last president, Chief Albert J. Luthuli, were members of the church which was founded by the American Board of missionaries. Outstanding Zulu academics such as Dr. Donald Mthimkhulu, Prof. S.B. Ngcobo and the first Zulu to qualify as a medical doctor, Dr. Nembula, belonged to one of the churches of this Board.

Though a great variety of different Western peoples came into the country, they did not all contribute the same degree to the changes, that were brought about. For the purpose of this investigation mention has only been made of the Portuguese navigators, some shipwrecked mariners, the Dutch East India Company, some British traders and the various missionaries. These are the people who, more than any others, directly influenced the original Zulu patterns of life. These various groups of Europeans brought with them the dominant Western culture which was effectively at work in Natal and the Zulu people's way of life was bound to be affected by the various

cultural contact situations. Some of the contact areas were so ghastly that life was lost. In some cases the Zulu people came in to contact with the Western culture as servants and to a lesser extent as buyers and consumers. In other instances they were converts to a new religion. These various contact situations created new life situations for the Zulu people. There is no doubt that these contact situations also affected the European culture, though to a lesser degree. That, however, is a study on its own and not the theme of this dissertation, interesting though it may be.

It is, however, debatable whether any other form of contact had a more profound impact and brought a stronger force of change to bear upon the original Zulu patterns of behaviour than the work of the missionaries. Missionary work not only established a form of culture contact but it was an attempt, deliberately and intentionally directed towards changing the Zulu people. Here were "heathens" to be converted.

Thus in the first contact phase all the other forms of contact paled into insignificance in comparison with the impact of the missionaries. Other important changes in history were to bring about more elaborate contact situations which, in many areas, were to result in complete transformations.

6. THE SECOND CONTACT PHASE

6.1 Introduction

As early as the 19th century the stage was set for a prolonged period of contact between the Zulu and the Western cultures. British traders settled at Port Natal in 1842, the

Voortrekkers of Dutch origin first entered the territory in 1837 and various missionaries began their work in Natal in 1836. Thus by the middle of the 19th century a variety of communities were sharing the same geographical area, Natal, with the Zulu people (15, Chapter 1).

The main effective forms of contact became places of work. According to Brookes, (15, p. 32) Dingane could not foresee that the Zulu monarchy was to fall and that his subjects were for generations to be the servants of the White man. The evangelization centres naturally remained important places of contact.

Economic centres where barter was carried on, became meeting places. The conditions of cultural contact were, so to speak, fulfilled and the effects and implications of this situation will further be discussed in Chapter IV.

Though contact became widespread during the first phase the second phase was very dramatic. Industrialization, a system in which people are employed, diligently and habitually in productive work, or branch of trade or manufacture came about in South Africa and was so swift that towns and cities emerged all over the country. This led to the urbanization of the indigenous people. The indigenous people went to live either temporarily or permanently close to places of work, which were towns and cities. Industrialization and urbanization formed active areas of contact as people worked together, and lived not very far apart. Further cultural interaction took place.

Even today the urban Black people live in effective contact with the Western culture. The rural people were and are still affected more indirectly.

Thus acculturation, which means adopting or making one's

own the habits, the language, beliefs, convictions - in short, the ways of life - of another cultural group - either partially or in full became concentrated in industrial towns and cities.

6.2 Various cultural groups came to live together

Already by 1800 certain dates had become of historical significance in the life of the Zulu people. The year 1842 is associated with the arrival of the British settlers (26, p. 46) while the period 1865-1880 is associated with the discovery of gold and diamonds (30, p. 1). The years 1860-1900 saw the increased numbers of European emigrants entering Natal (30, p. 81), while 1879 saw one of the last Zulu wars (30, p. 143), except the very last one which was led by Bambatha in 1906 (15, pp. 222-226).

These historic events brought people together in common geographical areas. The discoveries of gold and diamonds and the need for additional income in order to pay their taxes and to pay for many other new needs, forced the indigenous people to seek work. This led to urbanization (31, p. 19). Prior to these historic events only periodic contact with the Western culture was experienced by the Zulu people. Thus during the first phase of contact it is hardly possible to speak of real contact, with the exception of the work of the zealous missionaries.

Real cultural interaction became manifest when times became settled and people began to meet daily at places of work. This is where acculturation began and continued. Already during the late 18th century the contact was being effectively felt and signs of change were already evident. So much so that Hattersley (30, p. 247) declares:

"Malia (Zulu housemaid) ought not to be a housemaid at all. She speaks, and reads three languages - Kaffir, English and Dutch".

As various cultural groups met in the gold and diamond mines in workshops, in offices, in domestic employment, on farms and in shopping centres, acculturation took place. This means that people learned each other's culture. The Zulu people, as labourers, learned to wake up at an exact time, to be at work at a certain hour; they learned to work habitually; they learned to operate a machine, to drive a tractor or a truck; they learned to understand the instructions of the employer; thus they learned the new language and acquired new ideas. Learning the new ways became a central issue. Both the informal and formal instruction at these various work situations resulted in "adult education", and this was naturally carried home, resulting in a changing ikhaya (home). As a result the traditional Zulus in the work situations began to value differently, to interpret differently, to understand differently and to believe differently. Thus a totally new adult was "born" in these contact situations. A new social philosophy began to emerge and would inevitably reflect in the education of the young generation.

One major area which intensified the situation described above is the effective mining of gold, which is described below.

6.3 The gold mines

According to Fowler and Smit (32, p. 379) an important result of the development of gold mining was the suddenly increased demand for skilled Bantu labour. Normally the employment on the gold and coal mines is less attractive to the Bantu in the rural areas of South Africa, but the changed economic conditions compelled

them to work there (32, p. 394). Those with permission to be in towns prefer to go into industries. The important point to emphasize here is that the compulsory nature of the new economic conditions created natural wants which could no more be satisfied out of the traditional economy (31, p. 19). These conditions have forced every Zulu to come into contact with the Western culture either directly or indirectly. Such is the impact of the profit motive of the Western capitalistic economy - a major force of change in Zulu culture.

Fowler and Smit (32, p. 394), conclude that the direct periodic contacts with Western civilization by the Bantu labourers, and indirectly by their families, are gradually changing the attitude of the Bantu towards tribal customs. Thus not only customs change, but attitudes of life change, and adult people's attitudes are major factors in the education of children as they permeate the pedagogic atmosphere.

6.4 Urbanization and "trekarbeid"

Before 1910 the Zulus who worked in mines were restricted to migratory labourers. These were in the main adult males. As South Africa became more and more industrialised, especially after the first World War, there came a mounting demand for unskilled labourers in factory towns (32, p. 531). Increasing numbers of Zulus and members of other ethnic groups settled in urban areas such as the rapidly industrialised Witwatersrand.

At first the contact with the Western culture was maintained through the adult men in the various work situations. The father, who worked periodically in towns and cities, represented a

different reality from the protective mother as he came back home. He became a personification of the dynamic Western culture, the adventurous and awesome aspects of a strange life. He brought back home foreign material objects, ideas, ideals, behaviour patterns and beliefs, representing an entirely new way of life which was different from the traditional one. He brought home from the outside world the glimpses that revealed flashes of a world the child of the new generation would have to conquer. Later, as the migratory labour system became increasingly unsatisfactory, both to the employer and to the family of the Zulu employee, the whole family of the latter moved to the place of his employment, bringing all the members of the household into culture contact situations.

The whole family now came into contact with a new way of life. The mother, from whom the child initially learns almost everything, in many cases was also employed in order to augment the father's wages as all natural needs now depended on the means of a money economy. Thus the new economic conditions, industrialization and urbanization together with the strong force of Christianization radically changed the indigenous patterns of living.

Education, which has through the centuries been informal and dependent on the role of the mother, inevitably had to change. Children had to wake up in time to go to school in preparation for their new role in society. Vilakazi (20, p. 122), points out that during this period all the school children who were questioned as to their future work, indicated that they would like to be teachers, nurses, builders, carpenters, bus drivers, or commercial travellers or ministers of religion; but none aspired to be induna (Chief's councillor) or chief which already was being considered as tribalistic

and belonging to the past. In the minds of children, adulthood assumed a new image.

6.5 Settling on European-owned farms

Not all the Zulus who left the rural areas of Natal and Zululand migrated to the gold mines or to the factories in the cities and towns, yet most of them came into contact with the ways of Western culture in one form or another. Women and children who remained in rural areas came into indirect contact with the new culture through the father and other male members of the family.

As a result of the taxes that were imposed by the European administration and also as a result of other factors that forced the subsistence economy to change into a money economy, some Zulus left Zululand to settle on European farms. This portion of the nation then lived as squatters and supplied the farmer with labour (32, p. 500).

Here too as in towns and cities, the central issue was to learn the new culture. Farming methods were learned, a new language was learned. New ideas and behaviour patterns rapidly replaced the traditional ones. Education aimed at a "new" adult in accordance with the new image of man.

7. RESUME

When the past was reconstructed in the foregoing paragraphs, it became clear that before the Zulu people came into contact with Western culture their way of life was simple and could, according to present Western technological standards, be termed primitive. It

was mainly based on a subsistence economy. Their material culture, the political and religious systems, revealed the simplicity which is mostly evident among preliterate societies. As a result of the simplicity of their culture their education also revealed little beyond informal education which is characteristic of a less developed people. Respect for elders, i.e. for tradition, featured as one of the most important aspects in these people's lives.

The Portuguese navigators, the shipwrecked mariners, the Dutch East India Company crews and the British traders with which the Zulus came into contact, marked the initial stages of the cultural changes that were to affect their whole way of life. Areas such as barter centres initially could hardly be called contact situations, but they contributed to the changes in this society's patterns of living. Though even at this early stage their material culture, their economy and their political and religious systems began to change, the work of the missionaries had the most effective influence in bringing about noticeable, effective and permanent transformations.

As the role and the involvement of the adult in society change with the transformation of living conditions, so does the image of man. The ideas of adulthood and all that "ought to be" became changed with the times. Changes in the adult world naturally reflect in every aspect of the life of the child. The discovery of gold intensified the forces at work in changing the life patterns of the Zulu people. When the Zulus became employed in gold mines, they were not only brought into direct day-to-day contact with Western culture, but they also came into contact with various other Bantu ethnic groups, like the Sothos, the Swazis, the Vendas, and many more. When they settled in urban areas and on European-

owned farms their traditional behaviour patterns were forcibly transformed, which in turn affected the education of the young generation.

Thus through the history described above runs the thread of the history of the Zulu child's situatedness. Changes in living conditions inevitably involve changes in a people's outlook in life and consequently in the aim of education.

In the following chapter an attempt will be made to investigate the effect that the Zulu people's contact with Western culture has had on their image of man - in a pedagogical perspective, also their aim of education.

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CHAPTER IV

THE ZULU SOCIETY'S NEW CULTURE INVOLVES A NEW IMAGE OF MAN AND THIS
IMPLIES A NEW AIM OF EDUCATION

1. INTRODUCTION

Though education as such may be viewed and described as a universal phenomenon, it must be re-emphasised that every particular human group gives it a specific form in accordance with its cultural needs, aspirations and social objectives. In the life of a given people, it is their beliefs, their convictions, their total outlook in life, in other words their collective, undefined image of adulthood, that determines their aim of education. The transformation of the Zulu society as a result of the historical and continued contact with Western culture which will be discussed in this chapter, forms the background against which the ultimate change in the aim of education must be viewed.

The new objectives of formal education which culminate in the new aim of education will also be considered, for the subservient objectives are significant only in the light of the ultimate aim. It must be kept in mind that life is a whole, that a society is an integral unit, that a people and its way of life are only observed in a particular area which is never isolated from the total life of the people. Changes in any specific aspect of culture are always accompanied by and related to changes in other spheres of the life of the society. When reference is made to the metabletic nature of the aim in education for the Zulu people, it must be emphasised that any example quoted is like the tip of an iceberg. That which

becomes revealed is only part of the much larger unseen and unmentioned portion. Thus any specific change discernible in the Zulu people's way of life is in the last analysis a change that is representative of the total way and philosophy of life of the people in question.

The conversion from the traditional religious beliefs to Christianity may serve here as an example of the ramifications of a change brought about in a particular area of human experience. Thus while the main aim of the missionaries was to evangelize the people, that is, to convert them to become members of a Christian Church, the result was not only a new religion or a new faith, but also a new material culture, a new economy, a new family structure, a new political system, a new social order, a new philosophy of life and a new philosophy for education, resulting in a new image of adulthood. These areas of human experience, for convenience sake referred to as cultural universals, became so radically transformed that all the patterns of life of the Zulu people became entirely changed.

The missionaries unintentionally initiated the complete transformation of the Zulu culture. Not only did they initiate the adoption of a new philosophy of life by the Zulu people, but they in fact initiated a change in the Zulu society's ground motive. The forward movement or the general direction of the life of the community, their collective aspirations and expectations, their view of life, reflects a central motive in the group life of a people. A change in religion is bound to result in a different ground motive. Hence a radical new motivation of society in all spheres of life; and these new motives converge into a new philosophy of life. The collective philosophy of life is a total outlook

in life, involving also views with reference to adulthood. It follows that when this outlook changes as a result of a different ground motive, education, the vehicle of culture, also becomes radically transformed, which involves a metamorphosis of the ultimate aim.

2. MATERIAL CULTURE

In the previous chapter it was described how weaving, basketry, woodwork, ivory and bone carving and ironwork formed the basis of the material culture. It was also pointed out that the material culture and the economy of a people are very closely related. The home industry which was completely self sufficient among the Zulu families was maintained until they came into contact with the Western culture with its capitalistic motive, materialism and money economy. As the Zulu men became involved in the new economic system in the gold mines, at trading centres, in the factories of the industrial areas, the idea of the traditional home industry gradually made way for a new image of industry. Instead of the old system of informal education in which children imitated their elders in the various arts of the home industry, under present conditions all material needs of the society are factory-made and bought from the West-oriented trading centres - farm stores or supermarkets.

As the material culture changed both in form and content, the Zulu adult was forced to change his role in society. Hence to satisfy many material needs he had to become a labourer in a European-owned factory, on a farm, in a gold mine, in a city or in a town. As the new culture was progressively adopted by the people the children had to be guided, directed and moulded with new objectives in view. This would enable them to take their places

in industry in order to produce the artifacts for commerce. These were now no longer produced in home industries, for they were no longer in demand to the extent that they used to be. The complexity of the modern culture and the demand for new equipment made it impossible for any person still to manufacture for his own household needs. Thus out of the new material culture, so to speak, a new adult was born, and this new adult could not emerge on the basis of the guidance afforded by the traditional home education any more. Hence schools in the Western tradition became imperative.

The Zulus today go to supermarkets where they buy all the household equipment. Even going to the market or to work is done by new means in the form of buses, trains, taxis, cars and bicycles, all of which are new artifacts, fast becoming part of their material culture. They have become commuters. The houses in which they live are products of their contributions in the form of labour in the various factories. Various township houses with very complicated Western styles abound today. A new architecture has been adopted.

Ottaway (1, p. 42) argues that the state of development of each society is often ascertained by answers to questions like how do they get food?, in what kind of houses do they live?, what tools or machines do they use? All these would be inquiries about the material culture which is the means by which members of a community satisfy their basic human needs for food, shelter, communication, artistic expression and in general the preservation and continuance of their culture. The development of such material culture, either as a result of inventions, discoveries or acculturation, results in the image of society being changed and the changes in society imply a new image of adulthood.

As a result of changes in material culture of the Zulu people

a child is now prepared for an adult role as an employee in modern industry, as a teacher at school, as a clerk in an office, in the Government service and in many other sophisticated Westernised roles. Thus the change in material culture has affected the life-world of the child in two ways:

- (a) he no longer sees adults weaving, carving or engaged in any self-sufficient home industry, but he sees that all supporting household artifacts are bought from some or other shop. His life-world is dominated by the idea of the new. His idea of an adult has changed as a result of the changes in material culture;
- (b) he must go to a formal school to prepare himself for a new form of adulthood. This will enable him to take his place in his society which has changed. (Children are, of course, not aware of this).

The extent of change in the material culture of the Zulu people had profound impact on the child who must be helped, guided, directed and moulded in accordance with the view to the new demands made upon the adult. Bantock (2, p. 119) emphasises that it is society which draws the portrait of the kind of person a man ought to be. Finally, of course, man will become an adult person imbued with what he has acquired through education from his society's culture (3, p. 45). Hence changes in any area of human experience are immediately reflected in the objectives of education.

However, since a society can be described only partially in terms of its material culture (1, p. 42) other aspects of culture will also be investigated.

3. THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

In Chapter III it became clear that what today is referred to as "economy" in the Western sense of the word the Zulu people did not practise and did not know in terms of their original culture. However, the Western economy which is characterised by such features as the motive of acquisition, progressive dynamics, individualism, considerable differentiation and individual control (4, p. 18), brought about enormous changes in the economic life of the Zulu people. The change has been so great that today the Zulus are involved in all areas of the South African industrial, commercial and banking economy. The Western profit motive in economy has led the Zulus into skilled, semi-skilled and professional positions throughout the Republic of South Africa.

As a result of the invasion of the Zulu culture by the profit motive as dynamic force inherent in the Western capitalistic economy, the Zulu society gradually made way for Westernised and Western ways. Though some of the Zulus are still living not very far removed from what it was under purely native or indigenous economic conditions, others have changed considerably, indeed. They have become divorced from tribal rule and historical patterns and approximate the "Europeans" in standards and styles of life, in occupations, conventions and outlooks (5, p. 11).

In most cases both men and women are engaged in various areas of the money economy. To obtain what used to be supplied by the home industry, money is used as an exchange commodity in Western trading centres. Clothing, food, house, rentals, children's school fees, transport, furniture and many other basic needs are today dependent on the adult's ability to earn money. A money economy has completely replaced the traditional subsistence or "cattle" economy.

The profit motive characteristic of Western economy has a tremendous effect on the Zulu people, and this, of necessity, reflects in their education. The universal underlying fact that "educated" people earn more money and that economic competence is an important objective in any society is evident among the Zulus today. Burns (6, p. 5), writing about the Bugandan society, points out that in one group of three hundred parents a majority considered education to be an economic investment. On the same subject Kazamias and Massialas (7, p. 177) also emphasise that formal education has been a factor in individual advancement. This view is shared by the Zulus today.

As a result of the new economic system now adopted by the Zulus certain criteria of adulthood have been evolved and these aspects become so many objectives of formal education. The realization of these objectives in education, though good in themselves, have in some cases resulted in social problems. Among these problems are those of classes like the traditionalists and the non-traditionalists or the "educated" class which tends to be individualistic.

These social problems constitute an important field for further investigation. For the purpose of this study it suffices to conclude that also with reference to economic issues, a new adulthood emerges in the Zulu society.

4. THE FAMILY

The Zulu family structure as described in the previous chapter has in many instances been completely transformed. Urbanization, Christianization and Western civilization have resulted in a new family structure. Even the physical appearance of the home has

been Westernized. The newly styled houses in the urban areas contrast sharply with the traditional circular structures in which many wives and children lived in the previous era. Western influence has even changed the family ties. Each modern household tends to be monogamous. This phenomenon has among many others also an economic dimension. Among many varied effects that monogamy has had on the family is to abolish, though partially, the beliefs like the hlonipha custom. Hlonipha means respect, normally displayed by married women to men. As a result of many influences, like that of Christianity, of economic conditions, of school education and many others the Zulu family today accepts modern Western ideas such as family planning. Hence the new Zulu family consists of four to six members. This makes a young member in a modern Zulu family, as a result of his new situatedness, to be completely different in attitude and behaviour patterns from the traditional rural child.

Whereas the child in the traditional Zulu family was the responsibility of all adults, irrespective of relationship, today the whole situation has changed. The child in the new family structure is the responsibility only of the individual family. Parents are compelled to bring up their children on their own. They even worry whether the grandparents or other relatives, who traditionally taught children all the behaviour patterns of a society, would treat children the way they (parents) would believe right (6, p. 7). The changes in the Zulu family inevitably made it claim its inalienable rights over the care and guidance of the child, including his school education (8, p. 347).

Burns (6, p. 6), brings out another new development of the modern Zulu family. It is the phenomenon of "educated" women who now demand equal status based on the Western pattern. This means

that while in the indigenous family the father was the sole bearer of authority, today the mother is his equal in the family. This equality of father and mother, which can be attributed to the Christian doctrine, to the capitalistic economy with all its demands on adults and to formal education which does not discriminate between sexes, brings about drastic transformations in the education of the future adults in society.

In some families both parents are similarly schooled for professional, skilled or semi-skilled occupations. Thus, as the father wakes up to go to his place of employment to earn the family's living, some mothers also go to work either as nurses in hospitals, as teachers in schools, as clerks and typists in offices and in many other forms of employment. Other mothers are employed as domestic servants, because today the family is more concerned with its modern artificial needs which can only be acquired by means of money. Unlike the traditional Zulu family of the pre-contact period, whose main concern was membership of the group, the present state of affairs has led to the individual family being responsible for itself. The traditional situation in which the tribe, group or community superceded the individual is vanishing.

The family is the point of departure for every child. Redden and Ryan (8, p. 348) clearly point out that the family as a social institution exists primarily for the purpose of assisting in the education of the child through the directive influence of the mature mind upon the immature. It is then only reasonable to assume that when this institution changes, that when the role of the father and that of the mother change, the primary purpose for which this institution is constituted will of necessity change.

Whereas in traditional society the father was for most of the time with the family, today he is for most of the time absent from home. His position of authority as the head of the family has changed. Today he only brings back home the glimpses of the unknown and challenging world which the child still has to conquer. Since in some cases, as described above, the mother is also not with the children, the school with a specially trained educator is becoming more and more the sole authority in the life of a child.

It can here be concluded that the capitalistic economy with its new demands had a destructive effect on the family. Many children cannot become what they ought to become because they lack a sound home background. This state of affairs demands that the school be adapted to meet the child on his way to adulthood. As an agency of education the school is instituted to supplement and complement the work of the family (8, p. 356). When the home falls short, the school must step in.

5. THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

Whereas the political power among the Zulu people during the pre-contact period was vested in the hands of the hereditary chief, who decided on practically all issues of the tribe, like the allocation of land to his subjects, the age group to get married, the type of punishment to impose on the offender, the time and people on whom to declare war - in short, to whom everybody was responsible, the contact with Western culture brought about radical and drastic changes. Compared with the tribal man and his collectivistic and communalistic life and cosmic views, the West-oriented personality in the new open society, demanding a rational-objective-individualistic attitude to life (5, p. 15), the modern Zulu now participates in

his political affairs through nominating his representative into a new West-oriented democratic government.

His place of abode is no longer determined by the chief, but by his place of employment. What is more significant is that the Western influence on Zulu politics has made it possible for both men and women to participate fully in their political affairs. This fact places a new responsibility upon the adult. It is not only his duty to qualify and register as a voter, but he must see to it that he is informed and capable to hold office when called upon.

In the original set-up the ordinary man had nothing to do with the political system or with the government. The individual became lost in the totality of relatively simple human affairs of a virtually static culture. In this original context education performed a conservative function only (1, p. 9). Today every person is a citizen of a specific government with duties and opportunities. The role of an adult has changed from that of being a faithful warrior or a good housewife to that of an active participant in politics.

The emphasis in the new culture is on personal responsibility and individual accountability because all worthwhile tasks are to be carried out in accordance with the demands of a competitive society.

6. THE RELIGIOUS SYSTEM

The missionary zeal brought about a completely new and different Zulu society. The traditional life, which was characterised by a strong belief in ancestors, has tended to be replaced by the new belief in Christ, though not completely as was pointed out in Chapter

III paragraph 2.5. The new religious society became characterised by the lack of ritual ceremonies and the absence of belief in ancestral power, though these are still being performed by many people in secrecy (9, p. 198). In the new set-up the Zulus are more inclined to conform to the I-Thou relationship which demands of the individual that he stands responsible, personal and solitary before God, the Creator, in this life and hereafter (5, p. 14).

A man marries one wife, as according to Western Christian faith it is a sin to marry more than one wife. This has resulted in the status of the Zulu woman being enhanced (10, p. 140). On Sundays these new religionists are clad in Western clothes and go to church where they pray, confess their belief in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, receive the holy communion and pay a tenth of their wealth. A great deal of uncertainty in the new religious society is clearly demonstrated by the various sectarian denominations like the African Apostolic Church, African Catholic Bantu Church, African Native Church, African Zulu Congregational Church, African Seventh Day Zulu Shaka Church of Christ, Zulu Ethiopian Church, Zulu Congregational Church (10, pp. 354-374).

Sundkler (10, pp. 354-374) does not make any attempt to exhaust the list of various religious sects which West (9, p. 190) claims to be over three thousand, yet he does mention about a thousand in his short list. Even the attire of Zulu churchgoers points to uncertainty. One group is clad in black and red, the other in blue and white, while many others use various different colours in their various churches.

Prior to the missionary "conquest" the Zulu society looked back to ancestors for its very existence, for its luck, for its

good health and for its progeny - in short, for all spiritual, physical and religious needs. Today the Zulu Christian looks forward to the union with his Creator. The old concepts about the ancestors and about the cosmological ideas have superficially disappeared in the new religious philosophy. The religious belief, not only in God Himself, but also in His human nature, bestowed by the Holy Spirit, has become the basis of a new philosophy of life.

People tend to group and distinguish themselves as "Christians" and "non-Christians" or as "educated" ones and "traditionalists". The "Christians" or the "educated" class constitutes, though severely criticised by the "non-Christians", a new community, which stimulates the general desire for formal school education even amongst the critics.

The new religious society has been established for as long as the missionaries started working among the Zulus with the result that the traditional religion has so thoroughly been disrupted that it cannot provide a basis for religious life any more, even for the traditionalists (18, p. 110). Today among the "Christians", children are no longer schooled in the ways of the traditional religion, where they were to emulate the father performing all ritual ceremonies. They are sent to Sunday schools on Sundays and to government or community schools on weekdays. Here they are taught to pray and to praise God through various Western hymns. Their religious leader is West-oriented, in training, in belief, in behaviour and even in attire.

The transformation of the religious life of the Zulu society has far-reaching effects on the adult-to-be. This means that the new beliefs, the new convictions and the new behaviour patterns of

society must be maintained for society to continue.

The transformation of the Zulu culture did not come about only as a result of the changes in the religious aspect of culture, but it can also be stated without fear of contradiction that a change in religion has a more profound impact on the life of a society than a change in any other aspect of culture.

7. THE LANGUAGE

The Zulu language as discussed in the foregoing chapter has through all history remained basically the same and is still one of the identifying factors of the Zulu people. This does not mean that the language remained static or dead. Work situations which became the focal points of culture contact have had an impact on the Zulu language.

The Zulus who became labourers in mines, on European-owned farms, in the industries of the European cities and towns and in various commercial areas, were forced by circumstances to learn Afrikaans and English, the languages of their new masters. The new objects which the Zulus encountered in these work situations led to many Afrikaans and English words becoming modified and incorporated into Zulu. Some examples are: itafula → table → tafel, ibhuku → book → boek, ipeni → pen → pen, isitulo → stool → stoel, ibhodlela → bottle → botel, iketela → kettle → ketel and many more may be cited.

Nkabinde (11, pp. 82-84) points out that the Zulu language has either accepted words from the other cultures in a modified nature or extended the existing word and meaning to cover the new idea or

thought. When an object or idea or thought did not exist in the traditional culture like a table , tafel, the foreign word is incorporated into Zulu together with its meaning. However, in the event where the idea or object or thought did exist in traditional society irrespective of its traditional nature, the existing word is extended in meaning as for example, in the case of "to write" ukuloba. The idea existed in traditional society in the form of "to draw" ukuloba. Thus today ukuloba, while originally had the meaning confined to "to draw", now has an extended meaning and includes the universal form "writing".

New words are not only borrowed from the European languages, but also from those of various other ethnic groups, which the Zulus meet at places of employment. These are carried home to the rural areas together with the objects of the material culture and so become part of the child's educational milieu. Today it is not uncommon to hear a Zulu and a European converse fluently in either English or Afrikaans. (The author of this study, is a born Zulu, but he is by the nature of circumstances obliged to write this document in English, hoping that through this medium a contribution will accrue to the education of Zulu children!) Many Zulu speaking persons are fully bilingual. Many are trilingual and a large number will easily pass as multi-lingual persons.

Southern Africa is a mini-world, a micro-cosmos, where many creeds and languages meet and it has become imperative for the adult to know, next to his native tongue, at least one of the official languages of the Republic of South Africa, depending on the part of the country and the nature of his personal industry and orientation whether it should be Afrikaans or English. In KwaZulu,

the homeland of the Zulu people, and in English speaking Natal, the choice is obviously English as second official language - one is tempted to say second "mother" tongue for the Zulus. With reference to the medium of instruction at community and state-aided schools, the KwaZulu Government passed the following Bill in 1973: KwaZulu Medium of Instruction and Languages Bill 1973. In this Bill it was promulgated that as from 1974 the medium of instruction in KwaZulu schools will be English as from Standard II upwards (21, p. 220).

With reference to language, therefore, the Zulu person on his way to adulthood is obliged to learn, master and make his own not only his native language, that is fast becoming the vehicle and index of a new culture, but at the same time also a second language, the conveyer of a foreign culture and an alien philosophy of life. As in the case of religion, the language issue in education is of major importance. The new adulthood demands a new Zulu language plus a South-African-Western means of communication. Thus also with reference to language, there is a new image of man.

8. EDUCATION

The present education system of the Zulus is an infusion of many changes in various cultural aspects, simple and complex alike. As society gradually became transformed, so its philosophy of life and its philosophy of education could also not escape this transformation (12, p. 19). When children are sent to school it is with the express purpose that they may learn as much as possible of what society upholds as good and desirable in order that they eventually may lead a good, useful, purposeful and happy life (13, p. 36). Though man will always be undergoing a metamorphosis, for he is

basically incomplete, (14, p. 7) the Zulu people's current education system represents more than the normal cultural dynamics.

Prior to the contact with Western civilization the need for the formal school, as it is conducted today, did not exist. Such an idea was totally unknown to the people of the preliterate society. The introduction of the West-oriented school with its virtually alien curriculum into the Zulu society is attributed to the missionaries who deemed it necessary, for their purpose of Christianization, to teach the new church members the three R's. Among the first schools established in Natal and Zululand were those at Groutville near Stanger and Adams near Durban and at St. Augustines in Northern Natal. Today mission or church schools for Zulu children are only of historical interest, for the changing role of the individual Zulu in society very soon demanded that school education be extended to serve a great variety of objectives together with the religious purpose. The new society - West-oriented, urbanized, industrialized and sophisticated in many ways - demands schooling and training for adult roles in all walks of life: industrial workers, artisans in every field, white collar workers of every description, entrepreneurs, lawyers and doctors, teachers and instructors in every possible field and at every possible level. The history of the Zulu education, from the inception of the first simple mission school to the present comprehensive system under the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture, clearly reveals the phenomenal changes in culture and living conditions.

As a result of the various new demands upon adulthood, the Bantu Education Act, which was based on an exhaustive study of the present and future educational needs of the South African Bantu brought the education system of all the Bantu tribes in the Republic of South

Africa, including that of the Zulus, under one central authority. This no doubt, had far-reaching changes in both theory and practice in the education of the Zulu people (15, p. 54). From 1954 the immediate control of schools came under parent supervision through the institution of school boards and school committees (16, pp. 34,35). Thus the new needs of society and the consequent new demands upon adulthood could immediately be reflected in the school curriculum (this is not to say that it did happen).

School education became properly differentiated into a modern 3-3-3-3 system (16, p. 36), which means that the child spends three years in each of the following levels: the lower primary, the higher primary, the junior secondary and the senior secondary. There is further provision for differentiation into technical, commercial and general academic high schools offering a variety of courses in languages and in the physical and social science as introduction to further studies. Schools need teachers, hence the establishment of teacher training colleges like Eshowe Bantu Training School, Madadeni Training School, Amanzimtoti Zulu Training College and many more. The University of Zululand was established in 1959 in order to provide university education for the Zulu national unit (20, p. 19).

The changes in the education have been in agreement with its essential nature and function in society - which is to transform and indoctrinate towards the new image of man (17, p. 168). At this stage it must already be emphasised that, in the light of the rapid changes occurring in the life-world of the Zulu child - changes so rapid and so radical that they frequently cause disruption and uncertainty over the society's values (1, pp. 41-59) - teachers, educationists and planners have the grave responsibility to formulate

objectives and articulate educational policy very clearly, for it is the purpose that determines the selection of contents and method. In the light of the total educational endeavour of a society, its school system, its curriculum and contents and its functioning in detail is the method.

9. RESUME

Kazamias and Massialas (7, pp. 121-122) emphasise that the problems of many African societies in their plans for educational change are bound up intricably with social, political, economic and cultural problems. In general terms these problems may be said to obtain in most African countries, especially those which had the influence of Europeans, with their capitalistic economy.

Likewise when the Western system of education became transplanted into the Zulu society the results were the breakdown of the traditional political, social and education systems. This has brought about a different social stratification within a changed society, mostly with Europeans acting as a reference group for the new Zulu society's aspirations. Malinowski (19, p. 60) paints a very clear picture of the present Zulu society when he argues that the African in transition finds himself in a no-man's land, where his old tribal stability, his security as to economic resources, which was safeguarded under the old regime by the solidarity of kinship have disappeared. The new culture, which have prompted him to give up tribalism, has promised to raise him by education to a standard of life worthy of an educated man. But it has not yet given him suitable and satisfactory equivalents.

Though there is uncertainty among the Zulu people the fact is

that in its new setting the Westernized Zulu society has acquired a new function (17, p. 122). The new function of society demands new education as direction for those on their way to adulthood. From the writings of many African leaders in education, in politics and in other spheres, and also from the pronouncements of prominent members of the Zulu society, it becomes apparent that the basic collective conviction is that school education is to be made the effective means of carrying the young members of the new society into adulthood. A warning must be sounded, however, that school education should not be regarded as a panacea, capable of solving all man's problems. Yet it is imperative that education shall be planned on the basis of society's needs (5, p. 11), and not only on the basis of the aspirations of idealistic leaders.

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CHAPTER V

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

1. INTRODUCTION

Thembela (1, p. 2), in a paper entitled African Education at the Dawn of a New Era warns against the possible confusion about culture, and maintains that the basic principles, beliefs and convictions from which educational objectives are derived must be clarified. One basic phenomenon about human beings is that they have and create CULTURE. He further points out that, according to Margaret Mead, culture can be defined as patterns of behaviour, methods of earning a living, forms of law and government, kinship and family structure, modes of thought and value systems. Citing Herskovits (2, p. 18), he emphasises that culture is a compound of elements, namely, ethnic, social, political, religious and economic.

Thus when change manifests itself in a people it is obvious that a "compound of elements" will change, i.e. culture will change, and consequently such a change will be reflected in education, the medium through which culture is transmitted from one generation to the other. It is the medium through which any group of individuals perpetuates itself as a distinct society. For the Zulu people to be able to perpetuate themselves this medium (education) should take into account the changes in various cultural areas.

2. MATERIAL CULTURE

In the previous two chapters it was pointed out how the material

culture of the Zulu people became completely transformed under the impact of a variety of Western influences. The original home industry with its basket weaving, pottery and other forms of handcraft were replaced under the impact of the profit motive of the capitalistic economy by the modern giants of industry. These industries produce all the material artifacts which are distributed by the various dealers of the new economy. The Zulu society has in its own way become part of this new economy with its profit motive as underlying economic philosophy.

This phenomenon is of profound educational significance. It means that the adult had changed his role in a society, which means that children will have to be prepared for membership of society accordingly. The Western way of life and the impact it had on the material culture of the Zulu society has re-oriented the Zulu adult with the emphasis on individual involvement. He is now fully responsible for himself and for his family, and for this he is dependent on a salary or wages, a value completely alien to traditional society.

As a result of the radical transformation of the traditional material culture and the resultant transformation of the role of the adult, society has delegated the task of guiding the young generation to the West-oriented formal school. The continuous change of society and its image of man demands that the school curriculum be constantly re-examined and adapted to accommodate changes in society.

It is now necessary that the school system provides for technical education for training in a new type of handcraft and knowledge of the corresponding materials and techniques. Society

still needs craftsmen, but now they are not weavers but bricklayers, electricians, plumbers, carpenters and many others. The school curriculum must provide the know-how for training in these various fields.

3. THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

As society proceeds and develops as a result of inventions, discoveries or borrowing from other societies, at the beginning of his life, the individual enters the reigning culture as a going concern. He can only take a mature part in the affairs of his society as a result of active learning as the basis of his education. Education viewed in this light is the internalization of culture. Through education, formal or informal, the person on his way to adulthood absorbs and makes his own the modes of thought, actions and feelings that constitute his culture (3, p. 42). When the 'modes of thought, actions and feelings that constitute his culture' change, education, as a vehicle of culture also changes. Hence the change in the economic aspect of the Zulu culture, from a simple indigenous subsistence economy to an active, dynamic, individualistic, modern capitalistic economy, means that education must take note of this and the new generation must be fully grounded in this new economy.

Not only is education an activity that goes on within a society, but it is also rather an activity of the whole community. Jeffreys emphasises that education is in fact nothing other than the whole life of a community viewed from the standpoint of learning to live that life (4, p. 7). When 'that life' changes, as in the case of the economic life of the Zulu people, society demands that children be re-oriented and be re-directed in accordance with the dictates

of the adult's new role in society. The only place capable of re-directing the adult-to-be in the changed society is the formal school. Thus as school education concerns itself with living, it cannot be thought of apart from the cultural changes in society.

It is necessary, therefore, that the curriculum and education planners popularize and place great emphasis on commercial subjects such as typewriting, business economics, mercantile law, accountancy and many other related subjects, in order that the Zulu child may become fully versed in the ways of the new economy.

4. THE FAMILY

Education is an endeavour and not a product, it is a development from within a family structure. What children grow to be is to a fair degree as a result of the role of the family. Redden and Ryan (5, p. 348) argue that by natural law the family is responsible for rearing, nourishing and educating children. According to these authors the inalienable right of the family to educate includes not only the right to impart instruction but also to determine the kind and manner of instruction. As families constitute a society, it stands to reason that changes in the family structure, in its role and in its behaviour patterns are essentially changes in society. Since the person whom education should realize in man is not the man such as Nature has made him, but as society wishes him to be (6, p. 119), it is clear that as the family becomes transformed, so is society.

When the family, which constitutes the society, is disintegrated, either by contact with other cultures as is the case with the Zulu family, or by new developments brought about by

creative individuals in society, it becomes necessary for leaders in education to take such changes into account. Whereas the Zulu child had up to the contact period been educated by various members of the family, the influences of the contact period broke down this traditional practice and the new Zulu society put the responsibility of education squarely on the shoulders of individual families, fortunately with the aid of the formal school system.

The influence of the family as an institution that begets the child is inviolable at school and cannot be usurped or destroyed by any agency (5, p. 349). Thus the Zulu parents' influence is exercised in the schools through bodies like the school boards, the school committees, and other associations of parents and teachers (7, p. 2). These are bodies which constantly endeavour to exert their influence in order that the man, which society wishes the child to become, will reflect the new image of man.

In the training of Zulu teachers, therefore, it is vital that a subject on sociology of education be included in their curriculum and that special attention be paid and research be undertaken into the needs of the child in the light of the new family structure.

5. THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

The hereditary chief, on whom converged the collectivity and communalism of the whole nation, to the extent of making him an absolute monarch, is now nominated by people into the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, which is administered on the Westminster pattern. All citizens, besides the hereditary chief, can now serve in their Government. Women also are able to exercise their votes.

As the role of the adult in society has so completely been transformed, the aim of education is a new one. The formal school, up to university level, is today training young Zulu men and women for their new role in society. These adults-to-be have a new world to conquer. As in all other areas of culture, changes in the political system of the people have important implications for education. The school curriculum today must constantly be adjusted in accordance with the new demands on the adult. The school curriculum represents the body of content properly selected to include subject matter, vital experiences and all other worth while activities of society. Thus the present curriculum of the Zulu schools should be a reflection of the new society which has emerged.

In the light of the new demands for citizenship - a political dimension alien to indigenous Zulu society - it is imperative that subject syllabi in use at present in Zulu schools be revised and enriched to provide for the experiences which every Zulu youth of the present generation needs, to help him acquire the knowledge, attitude, and orientation demanded by a progressive society. Training for citizenship should be made an important issue - even in adult circles, at colleges and universities. It is not enough to assume that education will automatically change with the culture of the society. Conscious planning is required and conscious schooling in the art of citizenship is necessary.

6. THE RELIGIOUS SYSTEM

It is clear from the previous chapter that the work started by the Christian missionaries in the nineteenth century is far from being complete. Confusion seems to reign in many areas where true religious conviction is still in the making. In combination with

the profit motive of the capitalistic economy, the Christian theology represents a force of change in modern Zulu society that demands a very clear direction from the leaders in religion and in education. It is surely possible at this stage in history to speak of a "religion in transition". It is one thing to teach a doctrine, but it is a different matter to change traditional convictions. It is not the task of the author of this study to prescribe for religious leaders, but the necessity to provide clear guidance through school education must be emphasised.

It has been stressed that it is the task of the educational philosopher to articulate a philosophy for education on the basis of what he discovers as dormant views in the heart of society. In the case of religious education it can safely be assumed that the modern Zulu society, with perhaps the exception of individuals here and there, would profess to a Christian philosophy which underlies the collective aspirations and progress.

If confusion and uncertainty with reference to religion are rife in society, it stands to reason that informal or home education in this respect is as inadequate as it is in the field of economic education. The task of the school is clear. In spite of the fact that literally thousands of "churches" exist representing a bewildering variety of doctrines and denominations, it is possible for the teacher-educator to extract and teach a common core of Christian belief and steer an interdenominational course at school. The doctrine of Christ is simple and the Bible is very clear on this point:

"For God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, that whoever believes in him should not perish but have eternal life" (23, p. 91 or John. 3:16).

There is only one way to combat confusion and uncertainty in the realm of religious values, and that is to base teaching on the original source of knowledge and authority - the Bible itself.

It is vital for religious education of the children of the present and future generations that the school curriculum should provide - at all levels - for Religious Instruction as well as for Biblical Studies in order that pupils may become acquainted with the authentic Christian doctrine as revealed in the Holy Scriptures and not as it is interpreted by zealous and emotional church leaders. The task of teacher-training institutions is likewise clear in this connection. The lack of a truly Christian spirit in many educational institutions may be the cause of many of the present day problems.

7. THE LANGUAGE

The transformation of the Zulu society and its culture is reflected in their language adapting itself to the new life and work situations. This phenomenon has far-reaching effects on the education of the new generation. Kneller (8, p. 275) argues that a concern with education implies an equal concern with the language in which thoughts, beliefs, convictions and ideals are expressed. It is thus pointless to look through language at thoughts or propositions if that language is opaque and blurred. This means that for a person to be regarded as fully adult and as an asset to society, his command of language must be adequate.

Psychologists and educationists agree that a child learns more effectively through the medium of his mother tongue. Dreyer (18, p. 12) argues this point clearly and states that:

"Taal en denke is nou aanmekaar verbonde, en denke kan nie ontwikkel as die denkinhoud en denkresultaat nie in taalvorm gegiet kan word nie".

Themabela (19, p. 2) is emphatic that there has never been any doubt in the minds of educationists that the mother tongue is the most suitable form of communication for effective learning. It stands to reason, therefore, that initially the mother tongue is the only child's link with the outside world, his only bond with those who provide his geborgenheid, those who make him feel that he is one of them.

Parents and education authorities are, however, faced with the reality of the necessity that the child learns a second language as soon as, and as effectively as possible. The Zulu language, though it has changed in many ways to accommodate the meanings, ideas, thoughts and views of the transformed culture, is at this stage in its history not yet an adequate medium that can fully meet the curriculum requirements of the formal West-oriented school at all levels and in all subjects. Language committees of the Bantu Education Department have done valuable work, enriching Zulu with new words and concepts and translating terms and subject contents. Thus the Department rightly stated in its 1962 Annual Report (20, p. 8) that the mother tongue instruction was in full force in the primary school and that the available terminology was beginning to bear fruit and was resulting in an improvement in the standard of work.

The demand in society is, however, not only for an adequate Zulu language to serve as education medium but for the knowledge of English, the language of commerce and industry where the school

children of today will be the employees of tomorrow. There is the belief (right or wrong) that the Zulu's general lack of progress, as compared to other South African communities, is attributable to the people's poor command of English. Whether this is true or not the point is that the new Zulu society has always expressed itself clearly in favour of English as a medium of instruction. At its 1973 Annual Conference the Natal African Teachers' Union adopted a resolution which read as follows:

"We do not dispute the pedagogical fact that the mother tongue is the one best understood by the child. But in our circumstances, we declare that after standard II, English is our undisputed choice for reasons stated in our memorandum prepared by the then General Secretary and dated 30-5-71 in answer to a questionnaire sent by the Advisory Board for Bantu Education" (19, p. 12).

Hence the KwaZulu Government, contrary to Bantu Education policy of mother tongue instruction, legislated that from standard II upwards the language medium in all schools must be English. The unproven assumption that underlie the demand for English as medium of instruction is that the child will through direct and indirect experience (9, p. 271) acquire the desired command of English.

The language medium issue has unfortunately become a political bone of contention, with its accompanying racial and emotional overtones - all which lie outside the scope of this investigation. From a pedagogical point of view, however, it must be emphasised that this is too important an issue to be approached emotionally or to be left in the hands of political authorities - laymen with reference to education - for arbitrary decisions and prescriptions.

The language medium question and the essential demand for a proper command of English set urgent research tasks for Zulu educators and psycho-educationists. These and many more questions call for immediate attention:

1. What is the most appropriate point in the child's school career at which the change over to the new medium of instruction must be effected?
2. What methods or what syllabus or what part of the curriculum (to the exclusion of what) are to be devoted to the objective of the command of the second language?
3. What is the place of Zulu language in the school curriculum after the introduction of the new medium of instruction?
4. Is knowledge of the third language necessary or desirable? At what stage must it be introduced?

Language as an index of culture is essentially also the vehicle of the philosophy of life and world view of the people who created and speak it. The Zulu child on his way to adulthood is inevitably confronted with the different and often conflicting worlds and life views inherent in the nature and in the foreign language. On the basis of his educational experiences the unfolding personality acquires a personal philosophy of life with rational and irrational dimensions. The Zulu's new image of (English speaking) man demands that the child's formal and informal educators provide clear guidance with reference to the new value scheme with its roots in the transitional and in the new culture.

8. EDUCATION

8.1 Introduction: A new philosophy of education

All the changes discernible in the life of the Zulu people are in the last analysis representative of changes of the total philosophy of life of the people in question. A transformed Zulu culture essentially includes a new philosophy of education, which is but the reflection of the inherent philosophy of life in educational theory and practice.

Ndaba (12, p. 4) in a paper entitled The Desirability of Articulating a Sound Philosophical Basis of Education in KwaZulu, emphasises that education, as a form of practice, has a theory or philosophy behind it, referred to as a philosophy of education which derives from one's philosophy of life. Since education is the business of learning how to live, the theory of education must be in accord with the accepted philosophy of life. The changing life patterns throughout the entire culture of the Zulu people, the changing educational, economic and religious philosophies, reveal a changing basic philosophy of life. New ideas replaced old ones and the traditional views were transformed. Likewise the image of man as the aim of education changed, for person, culture and society are one.

As compared with tribal man and his collectivistic and socialistic life and cosmic views, the West-oriented personality in a new open society demands a rational, objective and individualistic attitude to life (21, p. 15). Bantock (6, p. 119) expresses the idea that the aim of education is inherent in the philosophy of life. When he points out that the person whom education should realize in man is not the man such as nature has

made him (whatever this may mean), but as society wishes him to be. From the culture of the group, from the collective view of life that image of the desired or ideal person arises and in pedagogical perspective, this image is the aim of education.

What Redden and Ryan (5, p. 11) view as the guide for the individual in the acquisition of a concrete outlook on life, its values, its meaning, its approximate and ultimate ends, and on human conduct in general, is what was transformed among the Zulu people. It is thus obvious that the philosophy of education which is the application of the fundamental principles of a philosophy of life to the work of education must be clarified, thought through and articulated.

Transformation of the Zulu culture, changes in religion, in the political philosophy, in the family structure and in the language as a vehicle of education, create a new role for man in society. With particular reference to the new West-oriented idea of what ought to be, which the child, by virtue of his essential uninformedness cannot conceive, it is evident that the child is in need of help and guidance. He cannot identify himself with an image which is still invisible to him. The child is unable to give expression to his society's undefined idea of humanity; he needs clear guidance in this respect. He needs the help of adult persons to form an increasing worthy self ideal to give meaning to his existential struggle within his society. This help is the essence of education. This help in the form of education does not refer to the narrow meaning of teaching, instructing or of mere assistance to learn; it is an authoritative intervention on the basis of the new conventional morality, the Zulu society's new objective value scheme, and in accordance with the strenuous demands of the new culture upon the adult person.

In the light of all that is new and transformed and uncertain in the Zulu society, and in the light of the Christian philosophy of life, educators and educationists are faced with the formidable task of constructing a school curriculum that will provide the direct and the indirect experiences the Zulu child of today particularly needs in order that he may become a worthy member of the modern Zulu society. Learning and knowledge (of subjects for examination purposes) is not enough. The child of the transition period needs guidance of a different order.

8.2 The curriculum

Redden and Ryan (5, p. 324) define curriculum as a body of content properly selected and arranged in the broad sense to include subject matter, vital experiences and activities of the people concerned. The curriculum constitutes, therefore, another very important means in the educational endeavour of society and with the ultimate objective of education in view, it must be governed by the fundamental collective philosophy of life. The curriculum is, therefore, in fact the people's philosophy of life in practice. For what society needs, even more than a better house, is an elevated sense of its own possibilities and greater competence and confidence to match the challenge of its daily difficulties (22, p. 194). Thus to define adequately the performance to be expected of the school curriculum, it is not enough to agree that it should reflect the values of society it serves. Of course it should, but the curriculum inevitably reflects also the anxieties and pressures to which the whole community is subject and, if it is good, it also reflects the resources of knowledge and ideas available in that society (22, pp. 200, 201). Fischer (22, pp. 201, 202) further

argues that the four categories of objectives proposed by the Educational Policies Commission in 1938, self-realization, human relationships, civic responsibility and economic efficiency still summarise the goals of a good school curriculum.

Acculturation has been at work in the Zulu society for so long that in many cases very little is left of the old tradition. However, this must not be misconstrued to mean that the Zulu people of today have lost their values and are "Black Whites". They have today, as a result of historical developments, a new image of themselves, a changed existential situation. Thus the modern school curriculum objectives have been adapted to the new needs of culture. Dewey (9, p. 12) emphasises that a community or social group sustains itself through continuous self-renewal, and this renewal takes place by means of the educational growth of the immature members of the group. To ensure this renewal curriculum planners need the results of intensive research into the needs and views of the society-in-transition. The school curriculum represents society's grand design for the fostering and nurturing of the incoming generation, and this design must be kept up to date by research in education and related areas.

Ross (13, p. 194) points out that an extreme naturalism concentrates in school on the present experience, activities and interests of the child himself because it is these and these alone that may legitimately determine what he is to do in school. This is too narrow a view and must be rejected. The truth is that the philosophy of life of the people in question should determine what the child will do at school, i.e. what the curriculum will contain.

In answer to the question, how shall the Zulu people

determine the content of their curriculum? Ross (13, p. 194) argues that a study of different and alien philosophies of life will not supply the answer. Each society with its own unique manifestation of culture answers this question for itself through its educators and curriculum developers.

While throughout their history the Zulu people have borrowed quite generously, even in order to construct their school curriculum, the time has come for this to be done within the dictates of their unique basic needs. In the enrichment of the curriculum such objectives as the creation of a cultured man, who must acquire the highest moral and physical attributes through a thorough study of the disciplines as drawn out by the present education planners (14, p. 128), must not be overlooked. A study of the transformed Zulu culture revealing the metabletic nature of the aim in education, should be one of the goals of curriculum construction. More narrowly, the curriculum must aim at the training of every person who is committed to the Zulu language as well as the principles and policies of African advancement with particular reference to the Zulu people's ideals. In Whitehead's words (15, pp. 8,9), it may be concluded that for a curriculum to have significance it must not be a whetstone for honing the mind for later use, but it must provide nourishment to strengthen the learner's powers here and now. The learner is moving into the future and he needs knowledge, attitudes and skills to become a competent member of society. In a changing society the aim of education has a metabletic nature, and this phenomenon demands meticulous and skilful curriculum planning.

9. SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

In this investigation an attempt was made to probe into the

metabolic nature of the Zulu people's aim of education. It became evident that the invasion of the Zulu traditions by the Western patterns had far-reaching effects in many areas of Zulu culture. The political, religious, economic and kinship systems, hence the entire value scheme, became transformed, with the corresponding transformation of education on the basis of the adult's new role in society. The inherent uncertainty accompanying changes in culture resulted in the lack of clear definitions of value and a clear enunciation of the philosophy of life that underlie all educational activity. For this definition and articulation of a worthy philosophy, society appeals to its leaders in religion and in education.

The Zulu culture was initially forced into an accelerated and radical change, but the phenomenon of "unnatural" is of a temporary nature. Though the external forces of change have, so to speak, spent themselves, the inherent dynamic character of human culture will ensure continued change in the Zulu way of life. The living society desires progress - however vague their definition of this aspiration may be - and for this progress or the melioration of living conditions, society calls upon education, i.e. upon its teachers, educationists, education planners.

The curriculum as a practical reflection of the philosophy of life must be constantly adapted, or rather changed and enriched to serve a changing ideal, a shifting image of man. This depends on a clear enunciation of the new philosophy of life.

One factor, which leaders in education cannot ignore, is the existence of the traditionalistic or "non-Christian" and the "educated" or "Christian" groups of this society.

Though there was frequent mention in this study of a transformed society and a new culture, the transformation of Zulu traditions is by no means complete. Education, or the school curriculum at least, must provide for differentiation also with this fact in mind. Intensive research is required in this connection. No people can actualize their potentialities and settle down amicably in the enjoyment of life unless they are able to turn their ideals into realities. It is the function of education in society to guide people to set up worthy goals and to realize their ideals.

Opening the Annual Conference of the Natal African Teachers' Union at Pietermaritzburg in June, 1975, the Chief Executive Councillor of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly stated that after 27 years of rule by the South African Government, the Zulus need to look at themselves and to plan their educational development from their own perspectives, and not from "White" perspectives (16, p.14). He foreshadowed the findings of this study when he further pointed out that the goal of the Zulu society is to strive for the promotion of African patterns of thought and the achievement of African humanism (16, p. 14). This is a clarion call and a challenge to the Zulu educators and educationists.

The uncertainty over their values, which has characterised the Zulu people as the "winds of change" blew with gale force through their traditions, is prevalent in the whole of Africa. Zambia, for example, after twelve years of political independence from British rule (17, p. 8) has as recently as 1975 threatened to nationalise the cinemas as it is claimed that they are still reflecting views which are contrary to the Zambian values and interests. It was emphasised that Zambia is committed to develop a

cinema industry and raise the standards of decency which will reflect the national values and Zambia's certainty of purpose. The Zulu people have shifted from their original and traditional life patterns. In pedagogical perspective the ultimate result is a new aim of education, reflecting the Zulu's new image of man. However, this new aim of education can only be realised if this society discovers itself as a unique people. It may rightly be concluded that education is not for children, but for society.

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SUMMARY

This study had attempted to investigate the change in the aim of education for the Zulu people. It became clear that education, society and culture are one and these are abstracts and only realities when they refer to a specific people. Thus when the culture of such a people changes, its aim of education, which is adulthood also changes. In the case of the Zulu people their education, which prior to the contact period, was only informal, as a result of the static nature of their culture, was drastically changed by the Western impact on their traditional culture in South Africa.

Before the Zulu People's contact with the Europeans and their alien culture, with such inherent characteristics as the capitalistic economy, Christianity, democratic government, formal education, technological-know-how and many others, the Zulu culture was, so to speak, in its simple stage, which is mostly evident among preliterate societies. As a result of such simplicity there was nothing at stake and hence their education revealed nothing beyond informal education.

However, the Westerners with which the Zulus came into contact marked the initial stages of the cultural change. The effect of such cultural changes had far-reaching effects on the education of the Zulus. As the role of the individual in society changed with the transformation of living conditions, so did the image of man. The ideas of adulthood became transformed with the times and this became reflected in the guidance, moulding and upbringing of children. In short it became reflected in education.

The Zulu men and women became employed in various modern

industries, factories, offices and in many other productive circles. This situation became responsible for drastic changes in material culture, in political, religious, economic systems, in the language, and in the family structure. These changes in these and many other cultural aspects inevitably involved changes in a people's outlook in life and consequently in the aim of education.

The Western form of school education became transplanted into the new Zulu society in order to meet the new needs of adulthood. The new form of society was not without problems. Some of these problems were the breakdown of traditional political, social and education systems. What has emerged among the Zulus is a different society with mostly Europeans acting as a reference group. The new culture which emerged for the Zulu people, has only prompted them to give up tribalism and has promised to raise them, by Western form of education to the standard worthy of an educated man. However, satisfactory and suitable equivalents have not been attained. All that has come out clearly is uncertainty evident in every cultural aspect, particularly in religion, which for any people is one of the main basis of a philosophy of life. Yet in its new setting the Westernized Zulu society has acquired a new function, which demands new aim in education as a direction for the young on his way to adulthood.

It is then imperative that education should be planned in such a way that it meets the society's new needs.

In the light of the metabletic nature of the aim in education for the Zulu people, account needs be taken of their philosophy of life which is the driving force behind the intrinsic aim. Since the philosophy of life is only an abstract, the curriculum

as its practical reflection must be constantly adapted, i.e. be changed and enriched in order to serve the ideal, a shifting image of man. Since the philosophy of life of a people is like a compass to a ship, that is, it gives direction to education, it is obvious that for the curriculum to be meaningful it must be based on the clearly enunciated new philosophy of the Zulu society.

In enunciating the new philosophy of life of the Zulus and in the planning of the new curriculum, the fact that these people are in a state of transition and the existence of two classes, the traditionalists and the non-traditionalists classes cannot be ignored. A suitable curriculum will only depend on an intensive research which is required in this connection.

Finally this study revealed that in pedagogical perspective the ultimate result of all the changes in cultural aspects is a new aim of education, reflecting the Zulu's new image of man. It also became evident that this new aim of education can only be realised if the Zulu society discovers itself as a unique society. As education is not for children, but for society, all changes involved in the aim of education are only changes in adult role.

OPSOMMING

In hierdie studie word die metabletiese karakter van die opvoedingsdoel in die Zoeloegemeenskap nagegaan. Opvoeding, gemeenskap en kultuur vorm 'n onskeibare eenheid maar bly abstraksies totdat daar van 'n bepaalde gemeenskap sprake is. Verandering in die kultuur van 'n volk bring verandering in die opvoedingspraktyk, want die doel met die opvoeding en die uiteindelijke volwassenheidsbeeld verander. Die geskiedenis van die Zoeloevolk het so verloop dat hul statiese kultuur met sy hoofsaaklik informele opvoedingstelsel drasties verander het onder die inpak van die Westerse leefwyse in Suid-Afrika.

Voor die ontmoeting met die uitheemse Europese beskawing, dit is met die kapitalistiese ekonomie, die Christelike teologie, 'n demokratiese regering- en formele skoolstelsel, Westerse tegnologie en ander Westerse waardes, was die Zoeloe-kultuur relatief eenvoudig. Daarom kon die opvoeding op informele wyse aan die samelewingseise voldoen.

Aanraking met die Westerse leefwyse in die onderskeie historiese kontaksituasies, is die begin van 'n totale verandering in die Zoeloegemeenskap en -kultuur. Grondige verandering in die totale leefwyse beteken 'n verandering in die status en funksie van die volwassene in die gemeenskap. Die idee van volwassenheid, die intrinsieke opvoedingsdoel, word omvorm, en dit veronderstel 'n veranderde opvoedingstelsel en -filosofie.

In die nuwe kultuurperiode word die Zoeloe - man en vrou - in landbou-, industriële en klerklike werksituasies betrek. Radikale veranderinge tree in op sowel materiële as geestelike gebied, op alle terreine van die samelewing - in die politieke, religieuse en ekonomiese lewe, in die taal en in die waardesisteen. Dit beteken in die laaste instansie 'n verandering in lewensbeskouing, in wêreld- en mensbeskouing, die grondslag van 'n nuwe opvoedings= filosofie.

'n Formele skoolstelsel, totaal Westerse na inhoud en na vorm, word in die veranderde en veranderende Zoeloegemeenskap oorgeplant. Verandering as verwestering van die Zoeloeleefwyse bring die probleem van aanvanklike totale ontwrigting van die tradisionele lewensvorme en die vormsisteme van die Godsdiens, taal en politiek. Veral die tradisionele grootfamilie raak vervorm en die Westers lewens= patrone en materiële waardes word nagejaag. By 'n deel van die gemeenskap ontstaan die idee dat 'n Westers skoolopvoeding toegang tot al die "beter dinge in die lewe" sal verleen. Onsekerheid en verwarring heers egter nog op baie terreine. Hierdie onsekerheid is veral duidelik in die religie, die groot verskeidenheid kerke en geloofsrigtings. Dit is die taak van die opvoeding, met ander woorde van die leiers in hierdie verband, om so te beplan dat aan die nuwe eise deur die gemeenskap gestel, voldoen word.

Die metabletiese karakter van die opvoedingsdoel in die ge= meenskap - die veranderde en veranderende volwassenheidsbeeld - stel die eis dat onderwysleiers 'n duidelike opvoedingsfilosofie sal formuleer en dat die skoolkurrikulum verander en verryk word om 'n praktiese beslag aan die nuwe kollektiewe lewensbeskouing te gee.

Die kultuurmetamorfose van die Zoeloegemeenskap is nog nie volledig voltrek nie. 'n Deel van die gemeenskap leef nog volgens die tradisionele patrone, terwyl 'n ander deel totaal verwesters is, ook in lewensuitkyk. Tussen dié twee uiterstes is hulle wie se lewenswyse en lewens verskillende nuanses van die kultuuroorgang verteenwoordig. Diepgaande navorsing is dus noodsaaklik ten einde 'n skoolkurrikulum saam te stel wat in die behoeftes van die Zoeloevolk sal voorsien, wat die veranderde en die veranderende opvoedingsideaal sal dien.

Soos die status en verantwoordelikheid van die volwassene in die gemeenskap verander in die gang van die kultuurtransformasie, so verander die lewens- en mensbeskouing, die volwassenheidsbeeld, die opvoedingsdoel. Individu en gemeenskap, persoonlikheid en kultuur is een. Opvoeding is in die laaste instansie nie die opvoeding van kinders nie, maar opvoeding van die gemeenskap.