



EDUCATION IN TRANSITION

Education and Education Planning for a
Post-Apartheid-Society in South Africa
**REPORT OF THE
BERLIN CONFERENCE**

Arbeitsstelle Dritte Welt der Technischen Universität Berlin
Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft (GEW)
Institut für Interkulturelle Erziehung der Freien Universität Berlin
N o z i z w e
World University Service (WUS)

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19th - 24th November 1991

Compiled by Ethel Kriger

**Arbeitsstelle Dritte Welt der Technischen Universität
Berlin/**

**Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft (GEW)/
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1. PREFACE

by Wolfgang Karcher and Jürgen Zimmer

1. The government in South Africa came more and more under pressure as the liberation movement of the black population against the white Apartheid system gained more strength.

After the end of the East-West confrontation South Africa lost its strategic significance for the USA. The consequence was that the white government started abolishing the legal pillars of the apartheid system by setting Nelson Mandela free.

The World University Service (WUS) and the Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft (GEW) on the one hand, Novizwe, the Institute of Intercultural Education at the Freie Universität and the *Arbeitsstelle Dritte Welt* (Third World Study Group) at the Technische Universität on the other hand, therefore organized a conference to inform about the situation in South Africa, to give people from South Africa the opportunity to discuss their situation and to support the liberation movement in South Africa especially by informing the public.

These plans were pursued and realized as a conference in Berlin in November 1991.

2. Education planners in countries which had freed themselves from colonialism were, as a rule, acting under the pressure emanating from the necessity of a rapid quantitative expansion of the educational system. Despite the best intentions, the connections and contradictions between precolonial tradition, the colonial intervention and modernization and therefore also the strained relationship between strivings towards an "universal concept of education" and "socio-cultural self-reliance" could often only be insufficiently covered and solved. Pyrrhic victories were won in the field of education planning: instead of an orientation towards key internal problems and an organization of learning processes as part of the societal transformation, it was rather the case that rigid colonial education patterns were adopted and modernised, e.g. an educational

system steered by the centralised state, with the neglect of regional specificities; a self-incapacitating examination system; repetitive forms of teaching and learning; curricula fixed on "academics", with little relevance to the national reality; the orientation of vocational training to qualifications suiting employees and the neglect of qualifications for entrepreneurship.

Education planners in such countries often regret that the dialogue about such problems in South-South relations has hitherto been possible only with great difficulty, and that the North-South dialogue was often dominated by the naive modernization theories of the North.

3. The understanding of the organizers about the situation was the following:

In South Africa, the issue of implementation of principles of liberatory education applies to two areas in particular:

- to the reshaping of the formal education sector in orientation to the key problems of a post-apartheid society,
- to the networking of the formal and informal educational sectors while recognising and including existing initiatives in popular and community education.

Of particular importance in this respect is the process of transition: how can the experience, projects and initiatives of liberatory education be put into effect?

Representatives of South African people's education have stated an expressed interest in speaking to those educationists from Latin America and Asia who have been involved in efforts to decolonize the educational system and can report not only on the success of such attempts, but also on failures and wrong paths taken. They see a special opportunity in the delay of events; their liberation from the apartheid system is culminating years or decades after the decolonization processes in other countries of the Southern hemisphere, thus the possibility exists of taking the experiences of others into account. It is expected of the European participants that they deal critically with their own experiences in the field of education planning in and with the "Third World".

4. On the whole, the following aims were pursued with the conference in Berlin:

(1) Information about the process of change in South Africa - on the one hand for Germans organized in solidarity groups and the network "Städte gegen Apartheid" ("Cities against Apartheid") and on the other hand for South Africans living in Germany and adjoining countries, some of them students and some of them refugees.

(2) Clarification of the possibilities and the necessity of political solidarity with the South African people in a period of political and social change; active solidarity.

(3) Contribution to overcoming the present isolation of South Africans who are in opposition to the government as regards international discussions and experiences about the interrelation between education and society, especially with regard to the experiences with restructuring the educational system after the political liberation.

(4) Intensification of the international dialogue - especially of a South-South dialogue -, about the role of formal, non-formal and informal educational activities during the process of liberation.

(5) Politically active experts from South Africa, Namibia, Latin America and Germany, were invited to an intensive dialogue in order to realize these aims. The organizers tried to consider the wishes of the South African guests to discuss or to be informed as much as possible. This became apparent in the fact that the subjects of the working groups were modified on the second day of the conference on request of the South African participants. Such a drastic change of the programme demands a high degree of flexibility of all the people involved. Nevertheless, these changes could be realized without too many problems.

(6) Already at the Berlin Conference the idea of a South-South conference for South Africans and Latin Americans in Costa Rica by the end of 1992 was agreed upon.

Moverover, there are South African initiatives to organize thematically limited conferences that could contribute to a sort of "structural plan" for the restructuring of education in South Africa after the end of the apartheid system.

Eventually a mutual exchange of information was initiated, including invitations to international specialized conferences in the FRG.

(7) The results introduced here, represent only a small part of the many of subjects discussed in Berlin. A lot of the discussions could not and should not be documented; informal conversation was naturally prevailing in such a first exchange of opinions.

On the whole, however, the selection of the topics printed here gives a good survey of the plentitude of questions discussed in Berlin. Moreover, this documentary of the conference gives readers of the North and of other regions of the South an extensive insight into the problems, South Africa faces with regard to the restructuring of the educational system.

We hope, that for a lot of South Africans, this volume will help to spread and heighten the process of discussion inside the country. As far as we know, it was very difficult in South Africa in the past to get to know about other grassroot activities and thus to get an overall view of the problems and of alternative solutions.

2. THANKS AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are grateful to several organizations and institutions who contributed financially to the successful realisation of the conference. Thanks, too, to those individuals in these organizations who often assisted in dealing with many problems unbureaucratically.

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- Arbeitsstelle Dritte Welt, Technische Universität Berlin, Fachbereich 22 (Third World Study Group, Technical University Berlin)
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- **NOZIZWE, Berlin**
- **World University Service (WUS).**

Due to a lack of space, we can only name a few of the multitude of supporters:

- **We are especially grateful to the House of the Cultures of the World for making available a venue for the conference as well as the technical and organizational support connected with it.**
- **Mrs. Gabriele Binz was in charge of the organization and realization of the conference and contributed decisively to a successful outcome.**
- **Mrs. Gladwell Otieno helped organizing the conference during and in the months before the conference in a reliable and committed way.**
- **Mr. Mpahlwa Luyanda was in charge of the programme during the conference which gave it a special cultural note. In this context the conference party should not be forgotten.**

We thank all of them for their special contribution to the success of the conference.

Finally, we would like to thank the students of the Free University and Technical University, Berlin who looked after the South African guests so that they felt at home in Berlin.

3. WELCOME REMARKS

by Till Lieberz-Gross

Ladies and Gentlemen,
allow me to take this opportunity to welcome you here today in the name of all my fellow colleagues in the education sector in the Federal Republic of Germany and most cordially in the name of my fellow members of the GEW (Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft) and the GEW Executive Committee.

We are particularly pleased that Berlin has been chosen as the venue of the first of two conferences planned on the issue of "Education in Transition". No other place in Germany would have been more suited for a discussion of the changes currently occurring in education. More so than anywhere else in the country, two different worlds of education meet head-on in Berlin.

However, it is not as though both can cooperate or compete on equal terms. Teachers and pupils alike in the Eastern part of the city simply had the Western norms imposed on them. As of the beginning of the current school year, schools in the East were forced to adopt the Western school system; schools and groups of pupils were torn apart and had the Western curricula foisted upon them without the requisite teaching materials being on hand or the teaching staff having been adequately prepared for the switchover.

Fellow teachers and pupils in the other states in Eastern Germany admittedly faced the same problems: however, in Berlin, formerly divided East/West as we all know, the fissures created by the massive changes have been felt quite directly.

Undoubtedly, teachers and pupils in the Eastern part of the city have had to bear the full brunt of this violent transition. Nevertheless, colleagues in the Western part of the city have also felt the enormous impact of changes in the education sector, in schools, universities and extra curricular institutions, and it is felt at present more as a burden than as the opportunity to forge a new joint beginning.

Although this transition is occurring predominantly in Berlin and Eastern Germany, it also has an effect on Western Germany. A transi-

tion always involves disturbances and reorientation, and a lack of orientation can - and finding this out has been a painful experience - also unleash dangerously destructive energies in a public domain where emotions have been whipped up and are running high.

This has taken the shape in Eastern and in Western Germany both of an increasing willingness by adolescents to indulge in violence and of a greater intolerance towards anyone who is defined as foreign. Both political and pedagogic answers must be found as soon as possible for these problems. And they are problems with which many of you, who live in societies in a state of transition, are doubtlessly acquainted.

Changes, a transition in education - what does a trade union have to do with all this? Is a trade union even in a position to play a professional part in discussions on pedagogic issues? Should it not confine itself to negotiations with employers on working conditions?

On my last trip to South Africa in September 1991, as part of an IFFTU (International Federation of Free Teachers Unions) delegation, I repeatedly encountered what were presented as purported diametrical opposites, namely Unionism versus Professionalism. And I came across a similar situation in Nicaragua last year.

These opposites simply do not exist for an education sector "trade union". Who, if not trade unionists involved in the education sector, should understand themselves as a lobby acting on behalf of children and young people? Who should have a greater interest in pedagogic reforms than those who are confronted with the realities of education day-in/day-out and in defining the problems entailed as not just personal and private problems?

In my opinion, an organization for employees in the education sector that limits itself to representing its members in the narrow sense of the term, amounts to little more than an insurance company. A trade union, and the GEW has always understood itself in this way, must promote the interests of its members in the professional field in which they work, i.e. it must concern itself with the contents of teaching, in the knowledge that working conditions are not only determined by pay and working hours, but also strongly by the contents of what is taught. The one helps shape the other.

If we as employees in the education sector wish to influence overall conditions, then we must have a clear idea of the sort of approach to teaching, i.e. which contents we wish to stand up and if necessary fight for. Children and young people are at the centre of all such considerations.

What we want is a democratic, non-racist, non-sexist education for them, and also for us. What we want are education establishments in which young people enjoy the dedication of learning to be independent, learning to show solidarity; educational institutions in which knowledge and ability are as important as a capacity to act as a member of society; educational establishments, which offer a learning environment that encourages creativity and communicative competence as well as contributing to the development and emergence of self-aware and socially responsible persons, who can live tolerantly and openly with others who think differently in political terms or are members of cultures unlike the one into which he or she was born. Persons, who do not regard the colour of other people's skin, their religious affiliation or sex as criteria for judging them.

This means that we must not only concern ourselves with the structure of educational institutions and the contents of what is taught there, but also with shaping the afore-mentioned learning environment. Teachers must first have the opportunity to develop into persons who can ensure that learning is a favourable experience for children and young people. Indeed, in times of transition, the work of teachers is a factor to which exceptional importance must be attached. It is you, who will accompany these young people on their rocky ride through a period of transition. It is you, who will either help or hinder them. And, last but not least, it will be you, in fact all of us, who are responsible for making sure that there is a successful new beginning.

The GEW is endeavouring, with the admittedly far too scant funds at its disposal, to make its contribution to such a success:

We are providing support in the form of both personnel and financial resources for projects in so-called threshold countries, both in the Southern hemisphere, e.g. in South Africa, Namibia or Nicaragua, and in East European countries, above all in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The assistance ranges from seminars on education

policy, via training sessions on organizational policy and seminars on advanced trade union training, to support for model projects in the form of materials or financial aid for those employed in the projects, in certain cases even for the students.

This may in fact - in the case of Nicaragua, for example - mean something with such an exotic ring to it as co-financing a cafeteria, which contributes to guaranteeing the self-financing power of ANDEN - the teachers union there - while at the same time serving as a centre for trade union communications.

And, of course, it also means exercising political influence - something undertaken recently on a massive scale to secure the recognition of SADTU, the South African Teachers Union.

Work in education requires complete dedication by the individual. That requires energy. Only together will we generate the necessary energy, the energy to cooperate in a critical spirit, and it is such a form of cooperation, which I would like to encourage you all to engage in. Let us fully exploit the transitional period. We, that is academics, teachers, educationalists, politicians, trade unionists, from both South and North, East and West.

It is in the light of these last remarks that I wish us all here today a creative and productive conference, and that the forms of cooperation we establish here, continue for a long time thereafter.

Thank you for your attention.

4. EDUCATION in TRANSITION: THE CONTEXT

4.1 KEY PROBLEMS OF A SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW EDUCATIONAL ORDER

by Enver Motala

THE POLITICAL CONTEXT

In this address I deal with the key problems in the transformation of South African society and the challenge which faces educationists in the development of a new educational order. I must say - right at the beginning - that the conceptions which I advance here are mostly distilled from the discussions, debates and research that are taking place in South Africa. In particular I am indebted to COSATU and the ANC's Education Department, non-governmental service organizations especially in the education sector, and the research of NEPI and the Economic Trends Research Group all of which continue to make significant contributions to the policy debates within the organizations of the liberation movement as whole.

Rapid changes are unfolding in South Africa. What these changes represent and their likely direction is not easy to predict because of the many class and social forces which contest the terrain. We will need considerable organizational capacity, leadership, clear sighted policies, much more rigorous discussion and even disagreement to resist the potential for incorporation on the one hand and for political marginalisation on the other. A great responsibility lies, in my view, on the broad and representative leadership of the masses (especially of the working class in South Africa) to ensure that the revolution does not fail. That leadership and the oppressed as a whole continue to bear a wide range of political responsibilities.

SOME PROBLEMS WE FACE

The first of these is the responsibility to build upon and to defend the programme of the social movement as a whole in these critical times. We have to go beyond the rhetoric of the past, and the rhetoric of the present which describes "transformation" or transition only in the most general terms. What we need is much greater clarity on our policy objectives and the process of how we are to achieve these. Organizations

which represent the people have already begun this process - a wide ranging discourse about political economic and social goals and indeed about the processes which will drive us towards these objectives. The strategies we are now embarked upon include the continuation of mass action, the struggle to ensure maximum unity on the side of the oppressed and, of course, the defence of a set of fundamental social and political rights.

Secondly, there is the task of negating the real power of an intransigent and wholly illegitimate regime which continues to remain in power. The existing regime is not about to abdicate to popular will and is in fact developing a continuous stream of strategies to keep democracy at bay. The unfortunate truth of the matter is that despite the horrendous reality of INKATHAGATE (GATSHA-GATE) significant actors in the international community and the regime's backers at home continue to provide support for the regime.

This intransigence can be seen in its real behaviour, both in relation to the peace process and its inability to bring its armed forces to book, and in the cavalier way it continues to demand obedience to its dictatorial will over the restructuring of the tax system, the educational system, economic, environmental and other policies.

Thirdly, we are faced with the difficulty that the revolutionary project must not be emasculated by the considerable pressures of cooption and reform. The negotiation process unfolding is a complex and difficult one. We have set ourselves on a path whose outcome will depend on how our organizational leadership resolves the tension between leadership and mandate in ensuring that the interests of the majority are not compromised.

Fourthly, we too are the victims of the world-wide ascendancy, and arrogance even, of the ideology of market in the protection and the defence of the interests of the powerful. There are considerable pressures on us to succumb to profligate market forces. A host of national and international, social, governmental and educational agencies are busily engaged in that exercise. We must continue to build the organizational capacities and the skills of our leadership to protect us from being dragged into the social agenda of the ruling classes which now has little difficulty in assuming the symbols and the language of the oppressed.

We need to remind ourselves that at the core of these is the protection of bitter self-interest.

In addition to all these problems we are attempting to evolve policies against a set of historical realities. In that sense there are policy imperatives which place themselves before us on the basis of the historical imbalances which stare at us daily.

The existence of plentiful mineral deposits which was the basis for South Africa's industrialization gave rise to the evolution of a particular kind of labour force. That labour is characterized by structural rigidities and divisions which express themselves both in the social division and in the forms of the education and training system. The particular skills (or lack of them) implied in the early mining and agricultural economy, the strong controls regulating labour through legislation, socially institutionalized migrancy which ensured the cheapness of labour, and by a class of foremen separated from less skilled labour on the basis of colour are the historical basis for the rigidities in the forms of labour we now encounter. This is the real basis of the oppression of the vast majority of South Africa's people. In addition, there has been and continues to be a deep and systemic bond between successive regimes and the interest of conglomerate capital. That bond has ensured that the evolution of the Apartheid state was inevitable - a strong state committed to the regimentation of the forms of labour and careful controls over its allocation, movement and power of organization, subordinated to which was a particular and insidious system of education and training.

The Apartheid regime boasts an enormous expansion in educational capital and infrastructure - and there is no doubt about the growth of educational provision in gross terms. But that is so precisely because the Apartheid state was much more alive to the political manipulation of controls over labour through the educational system. That is the explanation for the expansion of education over the last forty years. But the naked manipulation of educational systems for its narrow political objectives is at the same time the cause of the events of Soweto and beyond. Apartheid education has never been accorded the legitimacy it demanded by force of arms.

THE CHALLENGES WE FACE FOR EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

Democracy

What we now face therefore is a society in which there has been a sustained attack upon, and the destruction of its human and productive potential, deep social divisions based on racial and class lines, divisions based on the inequality of access even in respect of the most limited resources available to the urban and rural poor, the rise of informal shack dwellings and a marginalised schooling population in these shack dwellings, the emergence of violent struggles over the political and territorial controls, a working class which has had no access to education, and the most pervasive erosion of the culture of learning. This latter has resulted from the sustained cynicism of the apartheid regime in the way in which it converted education into a direct instrument of control. The unmasking of that cynicism is the objective reason why learning has become such a contested terrain in popular culture.

For these reasons it is clear that the process of democratizing South Africa has not been put in place - what continues to be the reality is our need to struggle and to protest against the actions of the regime and it is only this and continued support from every source which is likely to put into place the political processes which will make the achievement of democracy irreversible. That is a project which is nowhere near completion. The oppressed have demonstrated all over again their determination not to be lulled into a false sense of security by the massive national stayaway of the 4th and 5th November and of course by the organizing and declaration of a Patriotic Front, whatever its immediate limitations.

We are sure that it is only the resolute action of a broad array of political groupings of the Patriotic Front which will eventually force this regime to see that there is no way in which it can postpone the realities of history. And it is clear to us also that organizations of the working class have a catalytic and central role in the definition of those goals.

Given these difficulties, we now face the task of constructing policy options. In the organizations of the oppressed there is a continuing awareness of the need to consult with the society at large in regard to matters of social policy. It is almost trite for those of us, who are con-

strained by the mandate of organization, that we do not see the development of policies in education as distinct either from the general process of popular consultation or as distinct from the development of other policies. The discussions now taking place in the organizations in the liberation movement about policies for economic reconstruction, land division, health issues, constitutional development, gender matters, local government, industrial policies and the like are concerned with coordinated and integrated policies. This is indeed a daunting task, but it must not be avoided. For instance educational policies which have no resonance with policies about the economy - and in particular the relationship between economic growth and educational development - would be crystalball gazing, at best. We need to be able to match the assumptions and goals of wide ranging policy matters with a broad and overarching set of social goals.

The challenge we face is therefore to evolve a system of education which reverses these historical imbalances, produces a legitimate educational system and makes learning meaningful and culturally acceptable as a social activity. We have to achieve this against the background of sustainable policies which emerge in the process of democratizing society and our organizations.

Popular participation

Secondly, we must continue to build and to develop the organizational capacities for democracy. If the lessons of Eastern Europe are to have any meaning for us they imply a warning against the inclination to consolidate power by a reduction of popular participation. Many countries have made the serious mistake of disarming the very social forces which placed social transformation on the agenda. Their mistake has been to assume that it was no longer necessary to ensure participation in the processes of social transformation once a new constitutional order which has the imprint of legitimacy is installed. It is that crucial mistake which has resulted in the degeneration and disempowering of democracy - the necessary and consonant increase in the power of leaders, the bureaucratization of that power, the inevitable decline in the legitimacy of newly established government and their conversion into militaristic autocracies which turn against the very social forces which put them into place. Our revolution must safeguard itself against its centralizing tendencies and ensure that there is a sustained and long term interest in the project of popular participation. This does not mean however, that

within the framework of the broad forums of popular participation no place exists for innovative thinking. In fact there is an even greater responsibility on the leadership to lead and to formulate its ideas for national policy discussions. But the growth of such a leadership is in that case an expression of popular growth; it feeds on it and sublimates its creativity to social construction. It is in this way that organic intellectualism is created.

Human Resource and Human Development

Thirdly, educational issues must be informed by a wider set of social goals which restore the human potential which has been destroyed by Apartheid and which deal with the basic social and economic demands of the majority. In this regard a major issue is the question of human resource development. Economic growth policies must themselves be directed by a set of social policies which are in turn the basis for sustained development. But one cannot deny the centrality of an economic growth strategy which must underly any development policy. Education is not by itself a generator of social growth. It is not the magical solution to the problems of underdevelopment nor is it the prime catalyst in the creation of employment and the conditions for economic stability. Education is one part of an intricate matrix of systemic institutions which can together generate or frustrate the development of societies. It is in this context that we confront some fundamental barriers to progress.

My argument here is that what is required concerns:

- a radical restructuring of the general social and economic goals of society;
- the development of a coherent relationship between the structure of labour and the education and training system, and
- the restructuring of that system.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC GOALS

The central elements of transformative socio-economic policies have been placed on the agenda for some time. These will have a profound effect on the capacity of the future state to provide education.

The main element of the package of policies now being advanced are:

- effective policies against discriminatory (racial and gender) practices,
- the satisfaction of basic needs,
- income and wealth redistributive policies,
- income generating employment,
- increases in productivity,
- responsible policies in respect of the environment.

The broad objectives are to be achieved by a set of policies which must aim to achieve:

- a redistribution of economic wealth and incomes linked to a democratic political process;
- a strategy by which the economy is given a kick start through investment in production of basic goods and services (including housing, electrification), the provision of health and educational infrastructure, transport and the production of consumer durables at lower cost;
- industrial restructuring to provide for employment and for higher wages;
- an export-oriented economy;
- targeted investment and the development of beneficiated products;
- technology which is efficient and which is not capital intensive, and production which is competitive;
- a land usage map which establishes clear parameters for the utilization of land as a resource, for the care of the environment and for different forms of ownership including for small-scale production supported by the state;
- a policy which deals with the structural limits which have been placed on new investment by the existence of powerful conglomerates having an influence in a multiplicity of financial, production and service sectors. We understand that the conglomerates exercise a virtual stranglehold on prices, employment levels, investment in productive employment, new technology and in taxation;
- policies to protect the rights of interest groups (which have been historically disempowered) through the rights of collective action of the organizations of civil society, their right of independence both from

the state and party politics and the protection of these rights through constitutional provisions;

- the establishment of a clear role for the state in providing an overarching framework for reconstructive policies and for making interventions where these are necessary.

THE ROLE OF THE STATE

In this perspective the state has a crucial role in mediating the profligacy of market forces. This role arises from the historical record and the power of South African conglomerates. The record of even the most developed market economies have shown considerable state activity in the regulation of economic life.

The question of human resource development cannot arbitrarily be separated from economic issues and there are implications across a range of matters for education and training. The strategy of industrial restructuring, for instance, is widely linked with the idea of the beneficiation of the raw materials which has been a pivotal element in the development of the South African economy. In particular ideas about the beneficiation of chrome, platinum and woollen textiles and for the development of the jewellery industry from the production of gold are strategies which will depend on major alterations in the structure of labour and in training for the development of flexible skills.

These issues will also affect the kinds of technology and equipment on which industrial restructuring must be based and demand new understandings and skills in the use of technology.

What we are concerned to develop therefore goes beyond the limits of productive labour. Human development must also address issues about the "quality of life", cultural participation and intellectual fulfillment as much as also decent housing and health care. We are concerned with the evolution of a broad set of policies which are directed to fulfill both the material intellectual/spiritual needs of society in the wholeness of life. In our view this broad set of social and economic policies are the imperatives which inform a general approach to educational reconstruction. It goes without saying that a restructuring of the social and economic goals must have a dramatic and pervasive impact on the nature of the educational system as a whole.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE LABOUR MARKET AND THE EDUCATION AND TRAINING SYSTEM. THE LACK OF COHERENCE

A CRITIQUE

I now come to the issue of the structure of the labour market in South Africa and its relationship to the education and training system. A great deal of what I have to say is drawn from research being done on behalf of NEPI and in particular by Andre Kraak.

1. A labour market is constituted by all those institutions which regulate the supply, purchase and sale of labour power. South African history is replete with a variety and complexity of institutions which have intervened in the shaping of the labour market in South Africa. Perhaps the best known of these is the migrancy system which in many ways persists to this day. Together with that system a wide battery of legislative measures, the education and training system, craft unionism, and class formation have given rise to a systemic form in the structure of the labour market. It is a form which is characterized by controlling and limiting occupational access, a particular set of conditions of work and remuneration levels. Although these have been counteracted by the pressure of trade union action and general opposition these have not changed the fundamental structure of labour.

2. A commonly held misconception is that the labour market is a given and that different forms of educational provision are either functional or dysfunctional to the demands of the labour market which is presumed to exist independently of education. The criticisms of South African capital in particular are that there has to be a smooth matching between the "the needs of labour" and the education system. Such a view does not recognize the systemic character of the labour market as an expression of particular kinds of educational provision or the absence of it. For instance, the absence of a coordinated and coherent vocational training system militates against the restructuring of the labour market. Kraak has argued that there are a set of "radical discontinuities between education and occupational systems". These "discontinuities" have resulted in structural rigidities in the character and shape of the labour market and has given it its distinctive form.

3. According to him, the South African labour force which is racially segmented evinces three types of labour which he calls the independent primary, subordinate primary and the secondary.

4. Each of these is characterized by the level of organization and relative levels of skills. Black urban labour is further characterized by researchers like Hinds as divided between:

- permanent urban workers,
- commuters from pre-urban centres to urban centres, and
- commuters to decentralized employment centres.

In reality the permanent urban workers are a minority while the majority face even greater limits on access to employment or is unemployed.

5. The segmentation of labour in South Africa is expressed in the development of similar divides in the education and training provision.

5.1. On the one hand capital's demands have consciously shaped particular forms of training while on the other craft based workers have demarcated limits to training through a combination of workplace and political pressures.

5.2. Race, class and gender privilege have also had the effect of limiting access to particular forms of education and "have tended to downgrade particular occupations and their associated educational delivery systems".

5.3. For blacks, who are in relatively permanent employment in industry, there is a highly selective industry-based training system. It is a system which is internal to a factory or industry and precludes the possibility of a general education outside the needs of specific employers. It is linked to particular reward systems, is focussed on the technology which is available and in use, is not transferable and does not develop broadly based competencies and conceptual or analytical skills. In this system there is no orientation to rapid changes in technology and it is therefore prone to retrenchment practices.

5.4. For those who are classifiable as independent and primary, higher qualifications are the basis of the employment and location. The limited

access which universities and similar institutions provide, reinforce the hierarchical rigidities of the labour market.

There are serious consequences for all of this. For example, the various levels of technical occupations are highly polarized in relation to each other. "The operator, artisan, technician and engineer all fall within three distinct labour markets segments and fragmented VET modes, each with distinct processes. There is therefore very little flow of workers between such occupations. This problem is made more acute by the demands of the new technologies, which require a more flexible mix of the mental/manual skills traditionally held by these differing levels of workers." (KRAAK 42)

For all these reasons it becomes impossible to "regulate and to coordinate" the diversity of educational and training provision, and new competencies in the development of skills cannot be achieved.

SOME IDEAS

It is obvious that there has to be a substantial restructuring of labour and of the VET system. COSATU in particular has begun to research and to outline some of the key principles of this restructuring which include:

1. A high level of general education to provide a basis for innovative industrial capacity by engaging the total potential of participants in production. It is also less costly than state-run-training schools. General education can also lead to portability and transferability of skills and lays a sound basis for further education.
2. An integrated academic and vocational curriculum. There are those who regard all vocational education with suspicion and that is justifiable. But in my opinion the question of vocational training must not be separated from that of social choices. There is nothing intrinsically good or bad about vocational or technical choices. Our task is to raise the quality of vocational education by not marginalising it and providing inferior training, (but by) incorporating an awareness of the world of work and of technological change within existing academic school disciplines.

3. To coordinate the fragmented modes of VET it is necessary to re-integrate them. This means, altering the limits on access and reorganizing work which will permit:

- broadly based career paths,
- modularisation of all education and training programs,
- multiple entry and exit points,
- the implementation of national qualifications and standards.

4. The other major challenge is to provide adult basic education (ABE) principles that

- the state and the private sector must provide general education and literacy for all to improve skills;
- ABE to be linked to VET;
- ABE to be accredited and recognized;
- trade unions as major, but not the only players.

These principles cannot of course be abstracted from the equally important issue of democratizing workplace practices and the labour process as a whole. Productivity and education are advanced or retarded by the organization of work.

In addition, the relationship between technology policy, productivity and VET is crucial. It is still not generally accepted that advances in technology require substantial improvements in educational and skills levels if technology is to be used as the basis of innovation.

The introduction of new technology has resulted in job losses. It need not be so - provided there is a general acceptance that technology policy cannot be unilaterally decided upon by employers.

RESTRUCTURING THE EDUCATION AND TRAINING SYSTEM

THE ACADEMIC/VOCATION EDUCATION DIVIDE

Most of us are aware of the criticisms of the education system in relation to such issues as the racially fragmented nature of provision, the question of unequal distribution, class room ratios, the lack of qualification, the high failure rate etc. What we are less familiar with is, that

the system of training in South Africa is equally bereft of any systematic ideas. COSATU has set out a series of criticisms which relate to

- minimal investment in training,
- no link between education and training,
- no career paths,
- no consultation with trade unions,
- race and gender discriminatory practices,
- no creation schemes which are meaningless,
- privatisation and market led forces will not lead to more jobs and will in fact exacerbate the enormity of the problem of unemployment.

We need to emphasize that the divide between education and training, and that between academic and vocational education can only be bridged by the provision of a sound general education.

NEW FORMS OF ACCREDITATION

The linking of economic and employment related goals will have consequences for our view of the relationship between formal and non-formal education and for a wider system of accreditation in relation to training and education and for community oriented educational provision.

In particular COSATU, the major trade union federation in South Africa, is developing a detailed set of proposals which is looking at industry based modular training. Its starting point is the issue of an adult basic education system which arises from an analysis of functional literacy in South Africa. According to COSATU's estimate South Africa has a 66 percent non-literate population, i.e. a population having less than six years of formal schooling. Its proposals which are directed at the policy forums of the state and industry and which are the substance of national negotiations are meant to provide fundamental education to its factory based constituency and to provide the basis for the extension of that access to communities. A major focus of this policy drive is the need to address gender and racial inequalities in the provision of education and training opportunities and jobs, the need to recognize the right to education, paid time off and the need to train adult educators. At the same time, this is linked to a national strategy for industry

reconstruction, employment creation and a moratorium on retrenchments.

It is indeed a wide ranging strategy which must inform all future policy development in regard to fundamental educational access. At the same time, these proposals are intended to address an industry-based training system which has various characteristics which are that

- it is national, portable and is linked to a grading system which is in turn linked to wages,
- it is based on broad general skills bands forming the basis of industry wide standards,
- it is recognized nationally,
- it caters for flexible combinations of modules which permit specialization,
- it recognizes prior learning,
- it accepts the need for different access and exit points linked to the formal education system, and which open career paths for adults,
- the institutions of accreditation are democratically constituted.

GENDER AND OTHER DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES

A further important policy issue in education is the question of gender discriminatory policies and the historical imbalances which pervade the educational system. There are, as far as I am aware for instance, no women apprentices in the engineering industry. Deeply entrenched and racist practices affect the availability of even the limited training opportunities for blacks (more generally) in industry and in the formal training state institutions. Women occupy the most disadvantaged positions in educational and employment terms and sexist practices are widespread throughout the education sector. For these reasons particular attention would have to be paid to the structural constraints on the participation of women in education, in the decision-making forums which entrench their educational disadvantages and in regard to the social values which inform the shaping of policy in education.

A NEW PEDAGOGICAL CADRE

New educational policies beg one further important question. Who are its new intellectual foot soldiers - its pedagogues? What role must be played by the cadre of educators in the future and what are the qualities which are presupposed by our policies? While we must not un-

derestimate the nature of the problem, we are also in the fortunate position of having been enriched by our recent experiences. In fact, the whole of our recent history has been an outstanding experience in mass social pedagogy - the conversion of society en masse through the general progress of its participation in self-emancipation. It is this which has been the pinnacle of our pedagogical experience - the translation of ideas into practices, the practices of mass democratic participation in the recreating of social institutions.

Our challenge in the evolution of policy would be to sustain and to extend this culture of participation, to ensure that the popular classes as a whole continue to act in the defence of their interests and to shape the outlines of our future society. This is the project of a democratic pedagogy which, if it is not sustained, will lead to the decline of our culture from its present highpoint. It implies that educational curricula, educational material and resources of every kind, and the methodology employed in the education system as a whole must be newly acculturated. It also means the employment of a variety of strategies for the growth of that cadre of pedagogues which our society will demand.

AN EDUCATIONAL BILL OF RIGHTS

Finally, we are also engaged in discussions about an educational "Bill of Rights". Because of the historical disparities which we have to overcome, nothing less than the entrenchment of a body of rights in education is likely to ensure that educational provision is a right available to all. There is no doubt about how important it would be to ensure both access and equity in the educational system at every level, and to ensure that such access is not left to expediency alone. Whatever the character of a future state it must be obliged to guarantee the right of all persons to education.

All this calls for a new institutional and national approach to VET and to the reconstituting of the national institutions: What are some of these changes?

A NEW INSTITUTIONAL FORM FOR EDUCATION NATIONALLY

As you probably know, there is a multiplicity of education ministries and departments in South Africa. Most South Africans are now unanimous about the need for a unitary and non-racial educational system.

The issue I am concerned with here is not simply a matter of a unitary education system.

In particular, I refer to those divisions in the provision of education, which have arisen from the racial and structural controls emerging from colonization, conquest and the industrialization of South Africa. A new institutional format would obviously imply a range of other considerations including questions about access and entry, and accreditation, which I referred to.

The restructuring proposals which are being discussed relate to some of the following:

1. A single national department for education and for training purpose of which would inter alia be to
 - develop a single non-racial authority,
 - deal with adult education, and
 - develop a coherence between education and training to eliminate differential streams.

This single national departmental structure could be divided into a National Education and a National Training Board which must however function in an integrated way. These bodies could represent sectoral interests including those of the state, employers, the community and of the institutions of education themselves. They must have different functions relating to a broad system of general education and skills, which also provides for multiple entry and exit points into and out of the formal system.

2. A joint qualification Board which links academic to vocational education.
3. An economic restructuring Council which has both national and regional components. Its function would be to revitalize industry, reshape financial capital markets, develop policies in respect of basic needs and job creation and to make the economy grow and be competitive.
4. A Labour Market Council which addresses the problems of a segmented labour market, reorganize workplace processes, developing links

between training, technology, job design, productivity, management planning and the like.

5. An interdepartmental Planning Commission which links education and training with economic planning and with labour market restructuring. Such an institution shall have more authority than its component parts and have legislative powers for the overall coordination of it.

A fundamental premise is the right of representation on statutory bodies of the interests of workers through their constituency organizations.

CONCLUSION

I will not pretend that these issues are easy matters. We lack a great deal of experience in many of the fundamentals which are necessary to the process of transformation. We are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of doing careful research about a range of issues in education. That too has to be done in a way which enhances our ability to advance our policies. There is a wealth of international experience on which we hope to draw and that is why we value the opportunity to participate in discussions such as these.

Our society has lived through what may be an incomparable experience because of the systematic brutalization we have been subjected to over the years. But the people as a whole have remained undaunted by that fact. There is a great deal more to be done before South Africa is transformed.

4.2 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN THE EDUCATIONAL TRANSFORMATION IN NAMIBIA

by Tuli Nghiywonanye

Shortly after independence, it became imperative that the first action required of the new Namibian Ministry of Education and Culture was to bring Namibian education into compliance with our constitution.

Our constitution provides a vision of education for all where Namibians will, for the first time, irrespective of their race, colour or creed, have the right to equal access to the education that our nation can offer.

Specific policy changes include measures such as

- (a) the integration of Namibian education from the former eleven segregated education divisions to a single unified national system;
- (b) the integration of educational facilities and resources to ensure equal access of Namibian children to meaningful education especially to those institutions formerly restricted to whites;
- (c) the development of a truly Namibianised curriculum which has already begun to take shape at the junior secondary level;
- (d) implementation of a participative approach to educational reform, to ensure consultation at the grass roots level and
- (e) direct, practical implementation of reform policies through existing channels.

The successful implementation of these major programme areas require specialised input in crucial areas such as teacher-training, in-service and pre-service teacher education, education planning and administration, then school management and administration.

Whilst we in Namibia can claim success in having structurally unified the previously segregated education administrations, integration at teacher-training colleges and school levels are yet to be realised, for disparities here are marked by a number of factors amongst which are:

- the difference in the content of curricula,
- teacher levels of qualification and competence,
- availability of learning and teaching material,
- the social and psychological environment of the schools,

- size vs capacity of classrooms and
- urban vs rural schools.

On the issue of curriculum reform, the document on reform process was introduced and intensively discussed among educationalists and administrators.

It was then agreed that a task force consisting of work groups be established to work out a definitive draft curriculum for junior secondary level using the guiding curriculum of the Namibia Secondary Technical School in Congo as a point of departure.

The groups, consisting of local subject specialists and teachers, were established and were able to produce the tentative plan within a period of three weeks. The draft curriculum proposals of the junior secondary levels were presented to the public for discussion and comments. The exercise was aimed at having the curriculum document available in schools' use and modification comments by February 1991.

This document is at present used in our junior secondary schools at the official curriculum for Grade 8, i.e. the first year at secondary level.

Language in education is another crucial task that our Ministry is currently addressing.

Before independence Afrikaans was the "official medium" of communication and since Independence, the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia ruled that English be the official language of communication and medium of instruction in government schools. Private schools using language media other than English are expected to design their syllabuses in such a way that the English language does not receive less than five lessons of 30 minutes each per week.

TRANSFORMING TEACHER EDUCATION

At present, teacher-training programmes are fragmented, disorganised and uncoordinated.

Out of the total teaching force of 13,708 - 8000 are said to be either uncertificated or underqualified. It is thus obvious that the reform of

curricular content and medium of instruction will require teachers with new vision, perspectives and commitment.

In this understanding, the Ministry of Education and Culture considers the improvement of teachers' personal and professional competence, which often means the retraining and upgrading in subject area skills and enhancement of communicative competence in English for those teachers who must change to a new medium of instruction.

Thus far, two major nationwide in-service training projects have been undertaken. One is to assist junior secondary teachers in the implementation of the new curriculum. The second is a broader programme, INSTANT-Inservice Training and Assistance for Namibian Teachers - undertaken with the assistance of the European Economic Community - of upgrading in the areas of mathematics and sciences. Another measure we have undertaken is the analysis of the pre-service training needs of teachers for the Namibian education-system. The goals here are both:

- a) to equalise access to the best existing teachers' education resources and
- b) to bring Namibian teacher-training to an internationally acceptable and modern approach to education.

Recently, at the request of the Minister of Education and Culture, a working group was established in the field of teacher in-service education. The progress in this field can be summarised as follows:

- (a) the development of a Five Year Plan for teacher improvement;
- (b) the survey of teachers in-service needs which was conducted countrywide in October of which the report will be available at the end of November 1991;
- (c) a project implementation unit was established to design, coordinate and monitor as well as manage, administer and supervise the activities of teacher education;
- (d) grade 8 implementation courses for the introduction of the new curriculum were also held throughout this year.

The constraints in this whole operation include:

1. The fragmented educational systems of the past have not become fully cohesive.
2. Together with the above goes the attitude of some teachers towards change and, as proved elsewhere, change and reform in education cannot really take place without the support and commitment of the teachers.
3. Financial constraints which led to shortage of personnel and equipment.
4. Regional offices are not staffed to full capacity yet, provision of the necessary continuous school-based support is desperately needed.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

Before Independence secondary schools in Namibia followed the South Africa run curriculum - the Cape syllabus which remains in force to this day at the senior secondary level.

The Ministry envisages that this syllabus will gradually be phased out over a period of six to seven years and be replaced by a new National General Certificate of Secondary Education which will be moderated by the Cambridge Examination Syndicate. An option for the General Certificate of Secondary Education, Advanced Level, is also being considered.

Whereas the Cape syllabus confined students to academic subjects and was characterised by high rates of failure and dropouts, the newly implemented curriculum at the junior secondary level provides core learning experience for all Namibian youth. The curriculum promotes choice and differentiation in subject offering within the area of pre-vocational skills.

The implementation of the new Junior Secondary Schools is planned to take three years in order to fully cover the Junior Secondary cycle.

To maintain a reasonable quality of teaching and learning, the following measures have been undertaken by the Ministry:

1. deployment of volunteer foreign teachers in rural schools especially in neglected areas of learning such as mathematics, sciences agricultural studies and English language;
2. targeted in-service training of teachers;
3. book-box donation;
4. monitoring committee for the new junior secondary school curriculum implementation.

In spite of the progress in this area, specific challenges remain to be met:

1. Development of the education information management system, especially at the regional levels where scholars of the old system continue to respond to problems in the same way;
2. establishment of a Namibian National Examination and Assessment Authority which will reform our examinations and assessment procedures;
3. construction of new classrooms which is to be matched to deployment of teachers in order to respond to overcrowding conditions in our rural schools especially with the current high rate of enrolment;
4. development of teacher housing in rural areas.

Developments and problems are also experienced in the areas of tertiary education, vocational, technical and primary education.

In the context of newly emerging Namibia, the constraints of human resources development are due to Apartheid educational practices, restricted participation of the majority in management and decision making processes as a result of job reservation practices; (a widespread suspicion and prejudice) against qualified black Namibians; and a host of other limitations.

This very situation calls for a coherent policy and programme for human resources development through tertiary education which encompasses teacher education, vocational and technical education, and other post-secondary education programmes. Vocational and technical education in Namibia are quite rudimentary in terms of organization, management and control.

However, the quality of existing vocational and technical education facilities appears to be generally of good standard.

Research indicates a shortage of skilled manpower and a surplus of unskilled labour, as described by Hultin a Swedish consultant; the quality of the current graduates and the relevance of their skills were more seldom seen as a problem by the employers, who under any circumstances often would provide additional in-service training of new appointees.

As recommended by the afore mentioned researcher,

- 1) Namibia needs to develop a vocational education training system based on non-discriminating policy with public and private vocational education training and training centres offering both formal and non-formal programmes of varying emphases.
- 2) There should be close cooperation between training institutions, the labour market and employers;
- 3) examinations need to be made relevant to Namibia's needs.

Higher education is at present being provided by the Academy of Higher Learning - the only institution that offered courses at tertiary level before Independence. Early this year a Presidential Commission on Higher Education was composed, consisting of Namibian members and an international team from Southern Africa, West Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

The report was presented and approved in September after which a joint committee was appointed to work out programmes and plans, addressing the recommendations arising in this report.

The overall goal is perceived to be the development of a Higher Education system, responsive to needs of individuals, the community and the country.

4.3 INSTITUTIONALIZED INTOLERANCE AND SOCIAL REPRESENTATION OF CHILDREN FROM POVERTY SCHOOLS IN BRAZIL*)

by Maria Stela Santos Graciani

Poverty in our society perplexes us in the face of so many absurdities which affect people and especially children in Brazil.

Both the families in the countryside and the ones in the towns do not find any more objective living conditions and the few concrete possibilities to survive and subsist, whether in the countryside or in the towns, have become more and more reduced: there is not enough employment, not enough space to live, there are not enough schools, health stations, nutrition, etc.; the low underemployment wages cannot sustain the members of the family; thus, people suffer from hunger and diseases, from misery and despair and, as a consequence, from the historic fatality.

Children - the ones who escaped from national genocide - are suffering from cruel violence. In order to resist they have become real premature adults; they lost their childhood and their dream of playing has been substituted by the hard and tragic weight of capital. They are

*) We understand by social representation: all forms how we internalize and assimilate all things with which we get into contact, whether through our body - concrete experienced relations - or through our thoughts - imaginary relations - and which we have to learn to estimate and valorize

excluded from the socializing process, no matter whether it be from family and community interactions, which are fragile today, or from school, which does not have almost anything to say to them. They are obliged to work since early childhood. Here we can see in the clearest way the social injustice of the capitalist society in which we are living.

It's true that school is a useful instrument for cultural and political participation in our society, as well as a popular aspiration towards improving social and material life. Why has school done little or almost nothing for the children from the popular classes?

A first point for reflection, among others, refers to the child's access to school. It is known that the large majority of the children of misery stay outside the public elementary school system for various reasons: lack of vacancies, no possibility to pay APM-fees, no possibility to buy necessary didactic material and/or complete school uniforms and not to forget about the "pedagogic proposal": it is imposed and defined to confirm motor, intellectual, emotional and learning incompetence of the few who manage to stay at school for a short time, in overcrowded classrooms and with a reduced timetable.

The institutional failure constituted by the destinies of thousands and thousands of pupils, children of the proletariat, has historic roots. Often it is attributed to psychological and social differences centralized on the characteristics of the personality and especially on "cultural lack". The child is blamed for school failure; victim of exams which are not part of its universe of representation. Still today many educators mention phrases as these: "the child is stupid, it doesn't learn"; "the environment where this child is living doesn't favour the learning process".

In this vision, school failure excludes school, educators and the education system as responsible for the developed pedagogic process. This position reinforces ideological stereotypes about the popular classes, thus justifying the established social order. When the child is not made responsible for school failure, school itself is placed into the centre of responsibility for bureaucracy, inadequate curriculum or teaching practices alienated from the impoverished child's reality.

Others blame the educator for the defeat of education. Without adequate preparation, he sees the child standardized within the idealized and typical middle class parameters. We must question the Brazilian education system, which is impregnated by the relicts of the authoritarian system after 1964, whose centralized legal and technocratic education - preparing the model of economic development - excludes the majority of the population, especially the popular classes, from lucid, realistic and consequent political participation. In this sense, school has

served the dominant interests, which give priority to education that privileges the "status quo", perpetuates the unequal structure of a social hierarchy through elitization and selection of its members, giving advantages to those already favoured by the system, widening even more the abyss between school and social reality.

Having discussed, from a broad point of view, general questions concerning the crisis of Brazilian education, without pretending to exhaust them, we shall now analyse some concerns of process order from the impoverished children's point of view and their representatives in relation to school.

Here children are considered as representatives of resistance groups. These children, still believing in a future with the possibilities of transformation, have had the courage to say "no" to school. However, instinctively they do not want to abandon life and even less school, although they have come to a limit, facing a threat and running the risk of paralysing their socialization process.

Therefore, reconstructing some of the children's representations about school is to discover the systems of reference which have been constituted and have served as a guide for their relations with the world, especially the institutional world of school; that means, how do they deal with this conflict, how do they perceive it, feel about it and question it?

Without pretending to impose the opinion of school dropouts, street-children in the city of São Paulo make us feel perplexed, when they express themselves, in a confidential environment of friendship, about school. Their gestures and verbalizations make us rethink all our pedagogic practice; examples:

"I don't like school. Why do they only ask what I don't know? Never do they ask what I know."

In this social representation of school, we find a fundamental question, currently widely discussed by educators. With competence, passion and a great deal of courage pupils have brought up this question: What kind of knowledge is it that they try to impose on me, without considering what I have already learnt in my life through challenges and conflicts; what life obliged me to learn, to invent in order to survive?

School, criticized by these children, is based on an empty reality without any meaning to them; it requires memorization and decorativism of a distant knowledge without any problematization; it does not require from the pupils the creation and recreation of this knowledge. The experience of interchange, dialogue, of doing and redoing and especially of widening one's knowledge and argue that school is the right place for formally transmitting systemized knowledge; they only focus contents.

Why say no to the receptivity and to the challenge of the new brought by the children? Which place should popular knowledge occupy at school?

Example:

"I hate going to school. There they oblige me to sit almost all day long, looking to the teacher and to the blackboard, without saying anything. And what is worse, in a row, one behind the other, just copying things."

We were very impressed by this second social representation of school, by an only 12-year-old child, who attended class two (2) of elementary school, and makes us look at various angles of a profound question, which goes beyond the current idea that education is one of the essential conditions for participation; it also shows the static and hermetic instruction to which the pupils are exposed, in contrast to their energetic and dynamic totality, castrating all the physical cartography of the human being; not to mention the annoying ritual routine with the objective to tame, without creativity, witnessed by those who are obliged to attend school today.

As long as the child's/pupil's participation is not a concrete expression experienced through action in the daily life at school, as active part in the decision-making process, breaking the hierarchical values of the structures of power which are implicit in all the relations within the teaching-learning process and its derivatives, we cannot extrapolate and even recover the deeper sense of being an active citizen, conscious and critical in what refers to the political order of any society. School could be a place for practising liberty and participation.

Example:

"I don't want to know that a duck can swim. Everybody knows that already. I want to know why they throw garbage into the river where I use to swim."

In this social representation, expressed with the words of a shoe-polisher at "Praça da Sé" in São Paulo, we question our pedagogic principles, our philosophy and above all our education practice; and lastly, our concept of education.

How is it possible to develop together with the pupil his identity, to support him in the acquisition of means and instruments of action which favour his growth and transforming involvement in society, when parameters are inverted and without any contents and the proposals do not make the children think and rethink about the reality where they live and/or survive? How can they be subject and active parts of their own history without having a critical consciousness of the real reasons which have caused all this injustice which we mentioned in the first part of this paper?

The revolution in our thinking about education will only be possible at the moment, when we, as historic beings, come to our own rupture, conversion and, above all, can have a totalizing vision of the reality in which we are living; this will happen exactly when we consider ourselves as human beings in constant movement of search and discovery with those who experience the learning process in the conflict of contradictory relations imposed by existence, at a certain time and place, within a given society.

Consequently we will find a coherent practice aiming at an authentic teaching process with attributes and values which facilitate new realizations and impel new searches, which create human beings conscious of their individual and collective possibilities and limitations. The reasons for that: it liberates and creates objective conditions for radical transformation of infame injustice imposed by the world of the oppressors.

It cannot be expected that an article - nor a series of articles, produces substantial changes of the grave situation in which we find education and especially school today; however, it wants to be one more instru-

ment for reflection and pedagogic action by educators who consider themselves as actors who transform their social reality.

Beyond any doubt, there has been progress in the discussion and comprehension of the relations between education and society during the last years. There has been a clarification of the political meaning of education through varied forms and of relative access to a great part of the educators, both in public and in private schools. The symposia, conferences, books and articles and especially an alternative teaching practice dedicated to transformation have clarified that education is not just a social phenomenon - social practice - but a political phenomenon, as it translates interests and objectives of socially and economically differentiated groups.

The multiple social, economic and cultural relations of a society are defined and regulated by the political organization which presides over them, according to the interests of the involved social classes, as we have already discussed. Thus education can be used both to reproduce the interests of the social groups in power or contribute to making the social relations more just and more balanced.

Having made these considerations, we dare to ask: In the service of whom is school in this society and with this analysed connotation? Of the poor and disadvantaged popular classes? Or of the ones with power, strength and knowledge?

Our experience with groups of street-children - expelled from school and oppressed by society - and with innumerable social street-workers - loud and critical - makes us believe that there are polemical situations at school today, which help us delineate positions we learnt participating in the debate on the political task of education in general and at school specifically.

4.4 EDUCATION IN TRANSITION - GENERAL REMARKS **by Dietrich Goldschmidt**

Let me begin by stating, that while you are attending this conference, you are actually on an "island". This house, the occupation with the topic of multiculturalism is not at all typical for Berlin or Germany. Germany today is concerned only with itself, not least because of the process of integration of the former GDR.

The collapse of the GDR has left many ruins. The educational system has to be reformed, because the educational system put people onto politically narrow rails. Security was guaranteed, but only when people consented to the demands of the system. This process is not taking place without arrogance from the West or without the people in the East being humiliated. There are huge gaps in marketable efficiency and experience.

There are similarities between South Africa and what is happening in Germany. The need for a reformation in the educational system would be such a similarity.

Because the Federal Republic of Germany comprises 16 federal states (so-called "Länder"), we have 16 centralized systems. Each federal state enjoys sovereignty in education. It is only at the level of tertiary education that the central government has a measure of influence. There are common regulations about compulsory school-going age, for example. However, there is academic autonomy at university level.

Cooperation between German and (South) African Universities takes place directly. This could lead to African students choosing between a German or African diploma, in so far as curricula and structural cooperation takes place, as is the case between the Technical University Berlin and the Engineering Department of the University of Kumasi, Ghana.

As a result of the student revolts of the late sixties, we have achieved a measure of permeability and flexibility in Germany's educational system. The children enjoy a high degree of academic mobility and also exposure to various kinds of schooling and skilling. The German system of educating people is sometimes criticized for being somewhat

cumbersome, but it does produce results. The polytechnics for example, emphasize practical training very much, without neglecting theory.

Such graduates are in greater demand on the market than are university graduates. Educational "reformists" have pushed for training that goes beyond narrow specialization. A civil engineer, for example, should know more than just the construction of bridges. He should be able to judge the implications of bridge-building on the ecology or social fabric of a region. So, the lower the level of industrialization in a country, the broader the education of its people has to be. No vocational training is possible without a broader education.

Because of the speed of industrial development there is a constant need for further training. Mass-media, especially the television, play a considerable role in the informal educational sector. Political problems are dealt with frankly.

With regard to exchange programmes, I would like to make one or two distinctions. Student exchange programmes should not include people who want to do basic training in Europe. Basic training is best done in one's own country. With basic training and a clear vocational goal, they are welcome in Germany. However, they should return to their countries to improve conditions there.

The second aspect of cooperation would be at an institutional level. The cooperation within South Africa between the various universities should be investigated more carefully. Of course, there could be cooperation between a German and a South African university to the benefit of the latter.

The South Africans mentioned democratization and participation as being a great concern. There have certainly been democratic accomplishments at German universities since the revolts of the sixties. However, the situation is far from satisfactory here. I happened to be chairman of the Board of the German-American school for seven years, where we had full-cooperation and a sharing of power between representatives of the parents, the teaching staff, the city administration and experts. This did not last very long because we were not toeing the political line of the Senate of the City of Berlin. The situation at the universities is similar. Despite the accomplishment of autonomy and co-

determination, the size of the universities has impeded the process of democratization. In Germany, we now have what are called "mass universities". The Free University of Berlin, the universities in Münster and Munich have over 50.000 students each, while the Technical University of Berlin has nearly 40.000 students and so on. As soon as institutions grow to that size they are no better than big enterprises having to be managed by managers. This is a warning to keep institutions small and, if growth of this nature is inevitable, then to work out strategies to decentralize the individual institutions within the university.

A great concern in Germany today still is curricula development. This is linked to vocational training on the one hand and to educational aims on the other. If I were to be asked what educational aims should be, I would give an international and ecumenical answer: justice, peace and the integrity of nature.

With regard to the didactics of education, I learned something very valuable in South Africa. The bridging year(s) for students from disadvantaged backgrounds is an excellent and encouraging attempt to equalize opportunity. Germany could learn from this. I had wanted to publish an article about these bridging years, but no German publisher wanted it.

There are other things that Germany could learn from South Africa. For one, that it is not the centre of the world. That Europe is in danger of isolating itself. With your participation at a conference of this nature, you are actually doing the German public a service. Your sharing your needs, concerns and courage with us is a sharing of your attempts to change an unacceptable situation.

5. SCHOOLING

CHAIRPERSON:

By way of introduction we could mention the key issues and problems which characterize the system of schooling in South Africa.

IAN MKHIZE:

In South Africa we are dealing with a highly autocratic system of schooling, which is facing great and increasing challenges from the broad masses. In this process the response of the state is an attempt to modernize oppression and "accommodate" the aspirations of the people by means of calculations like the "Education Renewal Strategy" or the "opening up" of so-called white schools.

THUTHU BHENGU:

The South African schooling system can also be characterized by the following dilemma: while the teaching and learning cultures have been destroyed, we are forced to continue with teaching.

SHEPARD MDLADLANE:

The system of control over schooling in South Africa is very problematical. At present 18 Education Departments, based on ethnicity and race, run schooling in South Africa. Whilst there are shouts about change in the country, the state is still coming up with models of schools, which entrench or even aggravate ethnic divisions. Nevertheless, the education system in South Africa is in a state of collapse and crisis. There is an incredible lack of resources, provision of school buildings in particularly the black schools. These factors have contributed to the destruction of learning and teaching. Officially, the teacher - pupil- ratio in white schools stands at 1:17, whereas the same ratio stands at 1:40 in black schools. These imbalances will have to be redressed in a future South Africa and will cause great problems. Millions of South African children of school-going age are not at school, because of a lack of accessibility and the physical lack of schools for black children. At the same time, white schools are closing down, because there are not sufficient pupils in the over-provided white schools. Now some schools are "opening up" and are termed "non-racial". But only very few black children can enter these schools because the schooling costs are very high.

NICK TAYLOR:

The models that Shephard referred to are termed "A", "B", "C". They are related to larger policy issues like reinstating a culture of learning in schools, expansion of provision and resources. One of the most pressing issues is that schools are not working at the moment, even when schools are in operation. These models are related to school governance, which, in turn is related to the culture of learning.

I would like to emphasize the following points with regards to technicalities. In September 1990 the government announced what it calls the additional models for schools. The announcement was made by the white minister, so it was related to white schools. He announced that he was giving parents a greater say in admission policies to white schools. White parents could vote for Models "A", "B" or "C".

Model A is privatization of schooling. The parents would buy the building from the state, hire the teachers, have some say over curriculum, but above all, they would determine who could enter the school.

Model B is a partial privatization. Schools would be highly subsidized by the state.

Model C is what 250 white schools have opted for. Provision, funding, employment of teaching personnel is the concern of the state, but parents decide on admission policies. However, the majority of children, i.e. 50 % + 1 must be white.

90 % of parents have to vote "yes" for these models, so it is difficult to change.

The politics of these models is phrased in decentralization and democracy. Parents have the say. But in effect, white parents use this to control who enters the schools. It is clear, that white parents have implemented a quota system, and the quota is law: there are only two or three black children per class.

Then they have undercover admission criteria like high fluency in English, a good scholastic record and the like. I would like to illustrate their admission criteria: Two journalists, one white and one black,

phoned a selection of schools to find out whether there was place for their children. Invariably the white journalist was told to come around for an interview, while the black journalist was told the school was already full!

My concluding statement is: be careful of decentralization. Thuthu Bhengu's example of the Phambili School is a very good example of an attempt to further democracy (for an account of the Phambili School see the annexure). Minister Klaase's "B" model is a brilliant example of how decentralization can be used to maintain relations of privilege or to establish new relations of privilege.

We have to be very careful about how we decentralize and at which levels decisions can be taken.

PARTICIPANT:

Five divisions play a formative role in our schooling. We have divisions of

- i) race
- ii) ethnicity
- iii) gender
- iv) religion and then there is a
- v) rural-urban divide, with phenomena like squatter or farm schools.

Curriculum design and change are also of importance because only the state has the prerogative to draw-up curricula and is the only instance of curricula control.

The state alone controls the examination board. This has an enormous impact on alternative models, because whatever people try to offer as an alternative, their exercise is faced with the question of who has control.

Our demand is a principled one: that of **o n e** department of education. We are saying that the educational system, in terms of its principles, has to be **non-racist, non-sexist and democratic**. We want active participation and collective work, developed and implemented by the people, to be guaranteed. The approach in our schools has to be pro-

blem-solving, and has to include self-study and critical thinking. These are crucial principles along which we shall measure alternatives.

GEORGE MASHAMBA:

The political struggle has taken on such vast dimensions that the schoolyard and the classrooms have become a battleground. We no longer have the demand for "equal education": the demand is for a different system of education altogether. The starting point has been the formulation of a demand for a "people's education". Both the military and the police have occupied the townships. People have been harassed at their jobs and in the schools. People are not exempt from harassment in their homes. Children have been taught at gunpoint and have taken examinations at gunpoint, after teachers who were politically unpopular with the state had been suspended or sacked. However, the children learned more about political history, society and politics in that period than what was in the syllabus.

This led to a crisis for the teacher, who lagged behind politically. Children lost respect for them and also rejected teachers and the attendant authority. It was at this stage that the demand for the realization a "people's power" was first heard.

The issue of education was side-lined as thousands of children were imprisoned. Education was rejected. Children were fighting for the dawn of a new South Africa. "Freedom now! Education later!" was the new catchword.

The nature of the struggle changed. Progressive elements said, that the struggle should be fought from the schoolyard; children would gain knowledge nonetheless. But it seemed to be too late, in the sense that the children would not return to the old school system. It was difficult to keep the children in the classroom. An aggravating factor in the eyes of the children was that their older brothers and sisters, who had completed schooling, could not find jobs and were loitering the streets. Crime has gained ground in the schools. Even teachers have fallen prey to it.

Now that negotiations are taking place, new problems have arisen, as parties are contesting for support.

CHAIRPERSON:

We have heard the story of the South African situation. I do not think that we need to go into more detail. It would be good, if the people from other countries would share their experiences, so that some solutions to specific issues may be gaged from these experiences and involvement.

TULI NGHIIWONANYE:

I would like to share one point with you, viz. the privatization of schools in Namibia.

Just before independence, the Administrator-General of Namibia, who represented the South African government, announced the privatization of white schools. This was an attempt to allow for further segregation in a post-independent Namibia. Immediately after independence the Cabinet had to make a ruling to reverse this, opening all schools to everyone. The tenets of education under South African rule had been Christian National Education, which isolated race as a privilege.

When parents took their children to these schools, they were subjected to white, middle-class-oriented I.Q.-tests. The lesson is, that one has to be careful when the state introduces privatization, because it only serves to entrench race and privilege.

JÜRGEN ZIMMER:

I worked in Nicaragua and I would like to share my experiences there with this group.

After the victory of the Sandinistas over Somoza, there was almost no schooling in Nicaragua, except in the wealthier city areas.

From the onset there were two opposing schools of thought. I call them "formalists" and "non-formalists". The basic position of the formalists was that there should be schools for all. The non-formalists saw in the situation the chance to learn by campaigning. They felt that a more intensive learning could take place because it would not be as artificial as that of a formal school, as participation and community development could be included.

The non-formalists then organized various campaigns, while the formalists built schools.

Teaching and learning contexts remained basically the same as before the revolution. An ongoing fight between the two factions took place.

The non-formalists began to organize in the spirit of Paolo Freire, with learning elements oriented towards key issues, like how to set up a co-operative. Even the transmission of key knowledge was focussed along these lines.

The non-formalists were given the freedom to work in the non-formal area. Should students want to enter the formal education sector, they would have to take an examination and this would be determined by the formalists.

However, by 1986 the tensions took on such alarming dimensions that a two-week conference between the opposing parties was convened. 60 members of the Ministry of Education took part.

At this conference the key problems of the country were identified as a lack of funds, a lack of land, flight of capital, an unequal distribution of wealth, etc. Basically, deficits were identified.

The need for a scientific explorative type of learning - learning by research - was identified as a possible answer to these problems. However, it was also clear that people's experiences and traditional knowledge would have to be included.

These insights were incorporated into the formal education sector, but the underlying principles were the Freiran principles of a situation-oriented curriculum.

I would like to end by giving a practical example of these attempts:

The Department for Adult Education did a brain-storming session with its pupils (50.000 adults) to find out what interests them. One problem that was mentioned was that of their small enterprises which were not working. One small factory, in which 150 women sewed dresses, was examined. They had been well organized with a high profit rate. But the

Nicaraguan government had decided that these small businesses should be protected by the community. This put an end to self-management. Instead they had to follow instructions from Managua, like making uniforms. After a while the city had no money left and so the small factory had to revert to self-management. However, the self-management skills were lost.

The experiences of similar factories and enterprises were compared and the Curriculum Department developed a "curriculum element", which would enable people to solve problems.

I will end here, because I think that this has got a lot to do with the culture of learning and teaching. If you have a difficult situation, forget academics and go directly to the point of your problem!

CHAIRPERSON:

It has been agreed upon that we should focus our attention on one basic complex of issues viz. the governance of schools or participative management and decision-making. This would include the very problematic area of the culture of learning and teaching. We need to be quite specific and therefore we should try and formulate what we think the facilitating structures for a participative management should be, as well as what kinds of decisions should be evolved.

CYRIL POSTER:

It's no good beginning with structures because they can be easily taken over by bureaucrats and the powers that be. What we need are schools that are open places, so that people in the community, and not just parents, would be willing to enter schools. The community as a whole would have a stake in the school.

Learning does not reside only in teaching. Teaching is the facilitation of bringing outside knowledge into the schools. It is only when the community is in the schools that democratic decision-making strategies and structures would become a reality. The community would have a stake in schools that would ensure bottom-up structures. One needs a framework to test bottom-up structures against. Open structures are adaptable from the top down.

THUTHU BHENGU:

These ideals are very good. But the idea of community schools are hardly possible in South Africa, because education is firmly in the hands of the state. It is also questionable - given the nature of South African society - whether people would want to go into the classroom situation. There is a very strong belief in formal schooling. But also that schools do not operate as a unit outside the community. One way of operation could be that children use the schools in the mornings as a part of formal education with parents involved in the running of the schools. In the afternoons adult education takes place.

GEORGE MASHAMBA:

I find these very exciting proposals, particularly that of a "mix". There have been such experiences of a "mix" in the political sphere. In the civic associations people from all social groups were represented at meetings, where decision-making took place. At this level, the concept of community education could be introduced. Issues of education could be shared by all. But formal education should still enjoy priority.

RAY TYWAKADI:

The idea of schooling is still a technical issue in South Africa. School is something that has do with experts. The understanding of what school entails is very conservative.

Taking our experiences with Parent Teacher and Student Associations (PTSAs) of the past two years into account, we have to agree that they have not functioned differently from the traditional school councils. They have dealt with money issues,, discipline, the expulsion of teachers and the like. But the PTSAs have not been able to determine curricula content or to influence direction of curricula development.

So, we need to examine an appropriate kind of participation and bring in the various communities around the issue of curricula in such a way that teachers and students are drawn into the process. One reason for the loss of a culture of learning and teaching is that the curricula contents were experienced as being alienating. How do we cope with the ensuing crisis? And expertise does not seem to be available. Redirection is an absolute necessity.

CYRIL POSTER:

I have got a question more than a statement. Are we all quite clear about the difference between the curriculum and the delivery of the curriculum? Because it takes time to actually change the contents? But provided one can reach the same ends, one can adopt other, more liberal paths to that end.

NICK TAYLOR:

That is absolutely correct. But the real problem is, as Ray mentioned, the level of expertise. Teachers have problems in teaching even the basics of the present maths curriculum. They are largely underqualified and inexperienced. A reorientation towards a kind of people's-oriented curriculum that Jürgen was talking about, would be a massive task!

RAY TYWAKADI:

We need to find out what can be done at this present moment in history, which would lay the foundations for the future. For example, in terms of policy options, we have to consider setting-up an independent examination board.

GEORGE MASHAMBA:

The idea of an Independent Examination Board (IEB) has been mooted in South Africa. Community organisations have formed the vanguard in this struggle.

NICK TAYLOR:

The IEB arose out of the private school movement. The Joint Matriculation Board (JMB) runs quite an elitist examination system for private schools. When the state put an end to that, the IEB idea was mooted as a substitute. Presently, a power struggle is taking place within the private schools between the more traditional and elitist schools on the one hand, and those aiming at genuine alternatives on the other. The latter group has taken control of the IEB. They have started with some interesting experiments, e.g. new forms of curriculum, assessment and certification. I shall not elaborate on this issue, because it brings us back to the main problem, viz. that it is one thing to innovate within the scope of small-scale projects, in the NGO sector or in the private sector. But it is quite another thing to address public schooling as a whole. We are not getting to grips with this issue. How do we generalize our innovative experiences outside of the mainstream to public schooling?

What Jürgen related about his experiences in Nicaragua in 1986 are certainly quite interesting. But I do know that in Nicaragua the state did include certain alternatives to academic contents within the official curriculum. They included streams which were commercially, technically, and agriculturally oriented. Regional specificities were taken into account. However, there was a return to a purely academic curriculum, because parents wanted academic schooling. Despite aversions to the opposite, the public employment sector employed people with academic certificates and not necessarily these who had done only vocational training.

MIRIAM CAETANO:

I want to talk about the education proposals of the Secretariate of Education of the city of São Paulo for the reform of formal schooling in the city.

In 1988 the Worker's Party won the elections in the city of São Paulo. They reorganised the administration of the city according to the will of the people. The Secretary of Education held discussions with representatives of the grassroots. The issue which crystallized out of these discussions was the setting up of a system of public education for the people. The working class wanted qualified schooling with a collective transmission of knowledge. The following priorities were formulated:

- i) access to schooling
- ii) democratic administration
- iii) improved quality of teaching and schooling
- iv) literacy campaigns for young adults.

Paolo Freire called this model a "new face of schooling".

The discussions that started at grassroot level centred around the question of how to "build a school with a happy face". This turned out to be the slogan.

The discussion were located within the broader school communities, i.e. students, parents, members of state, the community and the social movements. Proposals which arose out of these discussions were brought to the coordination area group of the administration of São

Paolo. São Paulo is divided into 10 areas. The discussion around the proposed educational project was progressive in that it was discussed at various levels before being taken to the top. In the Secretariate the proposal was systematized and tabled and then "returned", as it were, to the grassroots. This was certainly a very slow process, but it proved to be a very successful way of reaching consensus. The people involved in this new school are beginning to "have a happy face". Students and families participate. We have documented this project.

I would like to mention some of the priorities that are mentioned in the documentation:

ACCESS TO SCHOOLING

Democratizing the access to education is more than merely raising the number of places in the schools. It is also creating conditions which are conducive to learning so that students will stay until the end of the course. The Secretary of Education of Sao Paolo has been working in various areas to concretize this priority.

One area is raising the numbers of students. Student numbers increased between 1989 and 1990 by 5 %; between 1988 and 1989 by 6,4 %. Today this network represents 1/3 of all public schools in Sao Paolo.

THUTHU BHENGHU:

I would like to repeat that the situation in South Africa is particular. The state is in absolute control. And as far as the black community is concerned, academic schooling is the means to get on par with other racial groups.

My question is, therefore: Is it possible to apply the ideas and experiences that we have heard today to the situation in South Africa?

TULI NGHIIWONANYE:

So many different questions have been raised. The destruction of the learning and teaching culture has been identified as a particularly grave problem. Maybe we should tackle this problem from the perspective of the role that teachers' unions and student associations can play. How can it be brought into the classroom? Are extracurricular activities a possibility? This seems to me to be the only channel, because the edu-

cational system is examination-based. Everything else is state-controlled, as Thuthu has pointed out.

RAY TYWAKADI:

We need a double strategy. While learning in schools is essential, enterprise can change society in the long run in different ways. When we talk about the curriculum, we have to work out methods of learning that are self-directed. A sort of quality management self-responsibility is an important component of development. So space should be created within the school system for self-direction. This is, of course, a political issue.

There has been talk here of influencing the mainstream as if the state cannot be engaged in this task. We have examples of trade unions engaging the state quite successfully - negotiating the Legislature Act.

The point is, however, that our organisations do not grant education the priority it should enjoy. Tuli's plea for sector-based lobbying is very important to engage the state. Yet it is equally important that we define the role that political organisations have to play in this regard. We have to engage the state e.g. over the issues of provision.

There have been negotiations for years now. The state has made promises, but nothing has come about. The state is obviously pushing a political agenda and fighting a political war.

On the question of marginalized youth, the state has made it clear, that it will have nothing to do with this social group. Therefore, our point of departure needs to be a holistic approach. We should regard our situation as that of a war situation.

So, what kind of strategies and tactics should we employ? Our task is to negotiate an engaging tactic.

IAN MKHIZE:

I agree wholly with Ray. We need a strong organisation in the educational sector that could really push the agenda of our own political organisation and strengthen our lobby.

NICK TAYLOR:

It's not the question of whether we'll be engaging the state or not. We have no choice. There will be an interim government in 1992 (April 1992). If we do not prepare ourselves with a view to that date, we shall be beaten at negotiations as we have never been beaten on the battlefields.

I would endorse what was just said: we need strong organisations. Our hopes lie there: the National Educational Coordinating Committee (NECC) must organize itself. Beyond that, we need clear plans. If we negotiate in terms of curriculum - what are we going to say? Up to now it has been quite easy to discuss the state's plan, e.g. the Educational Renewal Plan of June - because the process leading up to it was regarded as illegitimate. Now that negotiations are taking place, we have got to deal with substantive issues, regardless of their geneses. The South African Democratic Teacher's Union (SADTU), as a matter of urgency, has got to set up subject, curricula commissions - and we only have six months to do so!

6. TEACHER TRAINING

CHAIRPERSON:

I hope that our African friends present will begin by voicing their particular areas of interests in which we can collectively find - if not answers - but some leads. So, whether it is in the form of a question or statement, please take the floor.

PARTICIPANT:

I think, that we have very high expectations of teacher training colleges in South Africa. We expect them to produce teachers that are agents of social change. Colleges have to produce a new type of teacher. But there is a dilemma. The teacher trainers and lecturers at these colleges have themselves been victims of colonialist education. How can they produce something new, when they themselves have to be decolonized? So there is a disparity between theory and praxis, viz. there is a recognition of the need for decolonization, but in practice the curricula are of an old mode. Another point is that the teachers produced have been rejected by students who have become politically aware, and who have, consequently, developed their own visions of society and their own expectations of the role and function of education.

W. NJOBE:

Just to add to that: Our educational system has been a deliberate engineering towards the status of the colonized mind. The vehicle was the philosophy of a so-called "Christian National Education", which was propagated as of 1948. So transformation and transition have to take this ideology, these "fundamental pedagogics" into account.

PARTICIPANT:

I am quite involved in teacher training. The issue of curricula, for instance, is central to ideas about change. Curricula have been designed extraneously and not by the people involved.

Secondly, the methodology is one of pure transmission - a situation where the teacher knows it all. This blocks critical thinking and learning.

Thirdly, forms of classroom management and control is another big problem. Forms of assessment evaluate only cognitive knowledge at the expense of experiential knowledge.

Fourthly, the breakdown of the culture of learning does not apply only to the students, but also to teachers. They are so demoralized that they only do the bare minimum. The system is structured in such a way that all that they have to do is to carry out instructions.

Bureaucracy is another impediment.

IAN MKHIZE:

For me, part of the problem lies in the access to the instruments of control. Our objective then should be to gain access to the instruments of control. Only then can we talk curriculum transformation, or ownership of these colleges. I agree with my colleagues that teacher training is a very critical area in national terms.

SORAYA JOHNSTONE:

Teacher training should not be seen in isolation of the pupil at primary school level. There is a barrier between pupils and teacher, a master-servant attitude and alienation prevail between the two. So, the science of teaching should entail a more holistic perspective. We should take community participation into account, for example.

PARTICIPANT:

There are a few questions that need to be raised. Do we want to educate teachers, or do we want to educate mathematicians, biologists, i.e. subject transmitters?

Then there is an additional problem. All European universities, the idea of which had been exported by the colonial powers to their colonies, operate on the basis of a dichotomy between theory and practice. This applies to all fields of higher learning: teacher training, medicine etc.

In Germany, the future medical doctor does not see a patient for years! He learns theory. These two problems are as yet unsolved.

THUTHU BHENGU:

An additional problem is who goes into teacher training and why. People enter the teaching profession, not because they feel called to the

profession, but because black people are structurally restricted to extremely few professions. Teaching students are allowed to pass examinations and qualify to teach. This poses problems for those "in the field", who are stuck with these teachers who are there, because teaching is one of the few job opportunities.

CYRIL POSTER:

Three levels of the problem have been identified:

- i) teacher trainer
- ii) those already trained and in the schools and
- iii) students for training.

Together they reveal different accentuations of the problem, but the focus is the same for all. It might be easy to say that the student in training might be the easiest group, in that they are dependent on the teacher trainers. Unless you get the problem of the teacher trainers right, you won't solve the problem of the new generation. Equally they will very often model themselves on the role of those that they see as teachers. The easiest escape from responsibility is to find a role model. I am not offering solutions, but I am suggesting the range of models as seen from the schools' side.

PARTICIPANT:

The question on what kind of education for teachers we want to transmit has been raised. The first thing would be an examination of curricula. We shall have to develop a policy around objectives for education in a future South Africa. Curricula development will tally with the objectives. Only then can we train new teachers. The old teachers will have to take refresher courses, which should ensure that they are not rejected by their politically aware students.

I want to direct my question to the South African participants. How do you deal with the economic situation? It seems to me that in the final analysis it is a question of how to deal with economic disparities. From the discussion I get the impression that teachers are responsible for subjects and, if they are progressive, then also for raising the consciousness of the students. But this is not sufficient. Even those social movements that got into power, e.g. in Vietnam, Nicaragua, faced economic disaster. I do not believe that the blame can only be placed on the

CIA, US-imperialism or the machinations of the transnational corporations. The destruction of the domestic economies of these countries is due to their own failure: a lack of understanding of how to empower the poor to get a share in the market and in the economy.

So, my question would be: how do you want to deal with the economic challenge within the scope of teacher training. There is a lack of concern about economic problems.

THUTHU BHENGU:

We progressives are aware of that. Education is not an autonomous process set apart from the socio-economic development of the country. The problem is matching the theoretical understanding with the practice. There are no easy answers. We are still grappling.

JÜRGEN ZIMMER:

I know of two examples where it was attempted to change the teacher. One case was in Nicaragua and one in the reform movement of Turkey in the 1940's.

In Turkey it was observed that teachers were leaving the rural areas for white-collar jobs in the cities. The teacher training colleges were then built in the rural areas. Students of teaching were recruited from the rural areas. For ten villages there was one so-called "village institute". The students had to generate their own income, i.e. they had to produce and to practise animal husbandry. They had to aim at creating small autark economics. The profits were invested in village development. After qualifying as teachers, they had to set up their own productive schools. This mode was very successful. At the beginning of the 1950's a political putsch put an end to the entire reform movement.

My second example is Nicaragua. There are several schools with teachers with "double qualifications". Teachers were involved in agricultural production. The first generation of teachers in these schools were very unhappy, probably as unhappy as teachers in Tanzania who had to run schools in conjunction with community development. But the next generation of students were highly motivated for this "double qualifications" strategy.

In both cases they changed the "being" of the teachers, not the consciousness.

PARTICIPANT:

We should not emphasize the curriculum too much, but focus on the children. Children should be the centre. They are eager to learn and research and to discover their surroundings. What the teachers should do is simply to help them develop their own ways and to manage their own lives. This includes the economic situation. This should be the underlying principle of teacher training.

STEVEN NYENGERA:

In Zimbabwe we decided to embark upon a programme of training teachers very rapidly. I was involved in the setting up of ZIMTEC - Zimbabwe Integrating National Teacher Training Course. I am involved in the training now.

Our intention was to produce a teacher, a revolutionary teacher. In the classroom he/she would be a teacher in the normal sense, but would try to be an activating agent for general economic development in the community. After the war of liberation, we were still filled with a revolutionary spirit, so we tried to emphasize in the philosophy for the teacher what his/her role was to be in terms of economic development for the country. The teacher was a central figure and his/her major role was to teach the children to see development in a particular way, that is to transform the economy in the area, involve the community and to help initiate development projects in the community.

The first group of people recruited were also filled with zeal after initial scepticism. But then they built small dams or initiated community agricultural projects. Such projects were thought out by the community. Interest was evoked and people started saying, "Now we have got a real teacher!" But such teachers were an absolute minority. The others remained traditional. They regarded working with the soil as degrading. This created conflict between the teacher trainee and the others. Conventional teacher training institutions looked down on our teacher trainees and regarded our approach as negative. This conflict continues today still.

CHAIRPERSON:

The various experiences related are very interesting and pertinent. However, it would be good now to set a focus for the discussion. So, we should outline what we regard as critical issues.

ENVER MOTALA:

Our concern stems from the fact that we are rapidly approaching a situation in the political arena that would place the initiative for educational reconstruction firmly in our hands. The processes and capacities that we develop between now and then will have to ensure that there is a new structure, form and content of education, else the danger of degenerating into new forms of oppression will be real. Given this context, we would like to hear from others

- i) what their experiences in view of reconstructive policies in a critical stage of transition were;
- ii) what are the essential elements to ensure that the process of reconstruction is identical with the process of democracy and does not turn against itself and become bureaucratic;
- iii) which barriers should be broken down in the evolution of a new ethicism about the new educator? Which institutional arrangements should be made to ensure that the new cadre of educator does develop and is not impeded in their work?

At this stage, I would like to throw out a challenge to our Companeros from Latin America:

We understand the kinds of issues Maria Estela was talking about, i.e. the importance of a conversion in the minds of educators, the democratizing of the self and the process of the empowerment of the self. Our real concern is about structural barriers which are Apartheid heritages.

We did not hear what you have done in Latin American countries about the structural barriers, or the progress you made in eradicating poverty, or about the relationship between your organisations and forms of political power in your state.

We cannot separate these things. We cannot set up a democratic pedagogy in an undemocratic state. So what are the lessons to be learnt?

MARIA STELA GRACIANI:

I do not know whether I have understood and can therefore answer each question. So I will respond by mentioning three points which inspired me during this session:

My first point is about teaching and learning. Schools are not only sites of learning, but are also important for the transmission of ideology. The main transmitters of ideology are the teachers and that's why it is so difficult to change them.

For example in Costa Rica they have made very good experiences with new models of schools with popular education in the formal schooling. The idea was good. The barriers, however, were the teachers. In Nicaragua while teachers did enjoy political support to effect these kinds of changes, they (the teachers) were not capable or qualified to carry this through. The NGO's promoted popular education in Nicaragua. Now we see the political results. It has been a high price that we have had to pay. We kept on teaching people using practical methods. With the exception of Brazil, progress has been made in this regard - however, only in theory and not in practice. We have been marginalized therefore. We are not touching the socio-political system. On the other hand, there have been positive experiences. The recent elections in Haiti revealed a level of consciousness that is related to popular education.

I would suggest that you do not look for answers in Latin America, because Latin America shows up grave political flaws: even where there is political support for processes of transformation in education there is not necessarily support by the masses for the initiatives.

7. HIGHER EDUCATION

CHAIRPERSON:

Dr. Njobe will start the ball rolling by making an introductory input which will determine the aspects of higher education that we need to tackle.

W. NJOBE:

I would like to kick off by delineating four (4) areas which I regard as essential for an interchange of ideas, with regard to tertiary education and institutions:

- i) democratization;
- ii) the development of indigenous staff in decision-making;
- iii) provision for financial self-sufficiency at black universities;
- iv) making university accessible to deprived black people.

I shall deal mainly with universities which serve the deprived black communities in South Africa, i.e. African universities. This is because when we speak about a new South Africa, we need to open the wound, clean out the dirt, before binding the wound. There is a need to look at the problems of black universities and work out how affirmative action could help.

My point of reference are the black universities in relation to the white universities. I have omitted the other communities (i.e. "coloured" and "Indian", Ed.), because they are in between the two.

For those of you who may not know it, there are 18 education departments in South Africa, which are supervised by the National Education Department (NED). It determines policies, subsidies, and even employment modalities. The Minister of the NED has general authority stretching across to the TBVC states, i.e. the nominally independent states, viz. Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda und Ciskei. On the point of the TBVC states this schematic representation is taken from official sources and therefore the authority of the Minister of the NED over them is omitted. This is policy. However, all states are controlled in

terms of funding and certification (done by white boards). The TBVC states have no say in committees which determine certification rules or criteria for allocating funds to balance their budgets.

CHAIRPERSON:

Are there any questions or comments from particularly the South African participants?

LATIN AMERICAN PARTICIPANT:

My question is about the relation between research and education. Are there special centres for research? Do teachers have the chance to do research, or are they mainly educators? In which fields has research been done so far? What is the relationship between the result obtained and more general political and social goals in South Africa? Do you have university extension programmes or community education? If so, what are the characteristics or general size?

W. NJOBE:

I would like to appeal to fellow South Africans to help answer these questions. I am a returned exile and have been at my university one year now.

My main concern about university is that it should play a key role in effecting change and a transformation of our society.

In South Africa we have two categories of universities. There are the old universities with old councils and senates, some of which parade as the saviour of the black people in terms of research. My view is that meaningful research has to be carried out by those universities that are enmeshed in poverty and social deprivation. But these universities do not have the capacity to do this. The reasons are twofold:

- i) There is no money. The system of the allocation of funds is based on criteria which choke these possibilities at black universities, because it includes factors like level of research and failure rates. If the development is negative, then grants are cut. The situation is one of a vicious circle.
- ii) Through the machinations of the Apartheid system these universities have never been able to train an adequate black

staff. For example, at the University of the Transkei only 33 % of the staff are black.

The rest - South Africans and expatriates - determine the course of research, amongst others. These people who are in control have no interest in sharing the control over knowledge.

In South Africa the struggle has moved from the bush to a new terrain, viz. that of knowledge, education, technical skills and money. In this new order black universities want control over knowledge on behalf of the oppressed majority.

For this reason, the homeland universities are deprived of funds necessary to develop their own staff and knowledge, so that they can participate in new knowledge in a new South Africa.

Knowledge goes hand in hand with control of skills. Colonial policy has consistently been a deprivation of knowledge and skills, lest the colonized gain power to liberate themselves. So it is clear that very little research is going on. Teaching is largely from foreign books. The results of research should actually be taught, or should contribute to solving life-problems of people.

The University of the Transkei does not have well-established extension units, but has embarked on good community-based projects, e.g. the Medical Faculty is unique in that it offers community-based training. We have embarked upon adult education. I teach research method once a week. For the rest, my task is to link up university and community projects.

ROBERT KRIGER:

I would like to take up Njobe's last point which is interlinking the university with the community at large. Certain universities which have been at the forefront of the political and community struggles have had their subsidies cut drastically. I shall mention the example of the University of the Western Cape, because I have followed its development. This university had its normal state subsidy cut by 52 % from one year to the next, although it is the fastest growing university in South Africa. These cuts were done primarily, because of its community-based involvement.

Two years ago, this university embarked on a special programme facilitating research skills among its staff. I would like to point out a particular problem pertinent to black universities, viz. an absolute dearth of technical capacities. Technical training, engineering and architecture have traditionally been denied to black universities. I think it needs to be stated quite categorically, that the African universities as well as the universities of the other black minorities have been designed by the state to talk shop only - that is, they traditionally have had facilities only for cultural studies, language, theology and the like. These structural inadequacies and the one-sidedness of academia at the black universities is state policy.

The University of the Western Cape has established a research institute which is examining ways to establish institutes of technical studies at black universities, while at the same time they are encouraging students to take the technical courses already available.

Of course, there are financial and other structural constraints. Therefore, it is clear, that as long as the national political question is not solved, nothing can be effectively changed. You are actually just putting plaster onto festering wounds.

GEORG MASHAMBA:

I would like to take up the last point of Robert's contribution. That is exactly the point. The efforts of the University of Western Cape and of the University of the Transkei are uncoordinated and isolated cases. Lots depend on local conditions. This is the case with the so-called "traditional" universities: there is a state bias towards the Afrikaans universities, while the English universities get very much support from big business and capital.

The black universities are Apartheid structures. This fact poses problems for the processes of democratization. For example,

- i) the majority of the council members are state appointees.
- ii) In the case of the African universities in the so-called "Homelands" there are representatives of these "Homeland" governments on the university councils. Democratization would entail sacking all these members and replace them with progressive people. This is not going to be easy.

- iii) The third point is that all these universities are geographically isolated from the communities. That's why they are called "bush colleges".
- iv) Afrikaans-speaking "rejects" from white academia were employed to teach through the medium of English at the black universities. These lecturers attempted to indoctrinate students with the tenets of the Apartheid "Christian National Education".

Research does take place, but the themes of research are just wonderful. In the main, cultural practices of local groups or "tribal" attitudes, are researched, e.g. breast-feeding and child-rearing in Sekhukuneland and the like. While this may sound abstruse, it is not useless. Industry has used the insights gained for their own purposes - the effective monitoring of the workforce.

The system has tried keeping the black elites loyal. The parity in salaries since 1976 has had the effect of further alienating these elites from their people. Quite a large proportion of black staff supports the system. Corruption is also the order of the day, with underqualified people holding high positions, because of their political leaning. In addition funds are sometimes maladministered and misappropriated. There have been cases of black lecturers running shebeens on campus, which in turn have led to crimes being committed. There is no way that these offences could be dealt with, because the culprits are protected.

Revolutionary change will entail people losing their jobs and others being put into prison for crimes perpetrated.

The campus of the University of the North has been occupied by the South African Defence Force for three years! Within these three years all "radical" members of staff as well as students were weeded out.

What we lack at present is a coordinated strategy for transforming higher education. In the final analysis, it is as Robert says, we have to solve the national political question.

ENVER MOTALA:

Research in the field of technology is being done in South Africa, but it is done mainly by the traditional white universities and state institutions, which often collaborate on scientific and technical research. Through

their research they shape technology, science and industrial policies in South Africa. There is a strong bond between state research institutions like the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), the Atomic Energy Board and universities like the University of Pretoria, Stellenbosch and others. These institutions, these white universities have enormous engineering and science resources.

One has to begin to understand this divide quite critically, because when dealing with issues of social transformation leading to economic goals and their relationships to industrial restructuring, financial capacity and know-how, then one has to remember that these are the institutions which have the capacity.

By example: there is only one black university (of 19 South African universities) which has an engineering faculty. It produces 8 - 10 engineers per year. The smallest white university, with an engineering department, produces about 300 per year! An enormous maldistribution of scientific resources and capacity is obvious. Research in science is directly linked to the needs of the CSIR, the Atomic Energy Board and big industrial parastatals like SASOL, ISCOR. These parastatals are in turn the direct funders of this research at the pertinent universities. There are no institutional links between them and the black universities. Research is neither generated by social forces. There is a new strategy being employed by the State called the "Education Renewal Strategy" (ERS). In essence it aims at perpetuating this divide. There has to be a concrete redistribution of past imbalances because of the nature of the capital infrastructure. For example, the capital capacity of one university is equal to the total capitalization of three to four black universities!

The state and capital are arguing, that the way to deal with this problem would be to create universities which are centres of excellence, thus reducing these to technical colleges, and therefore continuing the divide: The established universities have very high entrance requirements which are almost impossible for students of Bantu Education to achieve. It is more insidious than Apartheid, because it prolongs the historical disadvantaging. A major struggle is emerging to defend our universities against this new state strategy.

Along that path, we are beginning to strategize about research. As yet this is uncoordinated. One suggestion is to link our existing capacities at

an institutional level. Considerable research has been done on our side, e.g. in the field economics - for a new economic policy. The second area of research is centred around the creation of the National Educational Policy Investigation (NEPI). This is seen as an organ of the National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC). NEPI has ten commissions, covering several areas of education. Substantive research is being done. We hope, that the findings will be publishable by August 1992.

In the fields of science and technology we have very few skills, and it is almost impossible to break the stranglehold of state and capital here. The ANC has set up a Department of Science and Technology. It is beginning to define a series of commissions on environmental issues, local technology etc. We hope that it will be generative. A difficulty is finding researchers. It is more lucrative to work for big business or to do research overseas.

Planning and administration: five or six universities have established units for public administration policy.

Many universities are rewriting their admission schedules, because 10.000s of Blacks have no hope of entering university.

Then there is the question of systemic links between community and university. It is a question of the community involved in the definition of the role of the university as a whole, i.e. with regard to defining the role of teaching, of research and of curriculum development as a whole.

The final issue that I would like to touch upon is that of the generation of funding. An unhealthy competition is being carried on between the black universities. We need a collaborative approach for funding. However, the funding approach should be such that it attacks the state's criteria vis à vis student enrolment and numbers, research capacities, and the like.

PARTICIPANT:

What are the expectations or demands that South Africans have towards the countries of the Northern Hemisphere?

ENVER MOTALA:

A serious problem is the lack of capacity at the tertiary level of education. We are also concerned about the divisions between the universities, technical colleges and technikons*. The ANC has held discussions with the heads of the technikons and the technical colleges. The issue of the relationship between technical training and academic work was raised. So, the first area which requires assistance is that of the integration of academic and vocational educational concerns.

Assistance would be necessary in the field of concrete curriculum reconstruction, based on our own conceptions of economic growth. Trade unions have to be involved in defining these concepts. We also need a labour-intensive technology as opposed to capital-intensive technology.

We are confronted by capital which says that the cost-ratio of labour is high - believe it or not, but capital argues that labour is expensive in South Africa! - and therefore, if the economy is to be competitive, retrenchments are inevitable. But there are possibilities for developing scientific capacity based on a different approach to industry - restructuring, e.g. flexible specialisation.

There is also a base for the development of indigenous technology especially in the field of infrastructure.

Most important, however, would be the support for the building of institutions or research-capacity building.

*Technical colleges are industry service suppliers for very specific job-related skills. Technikons are tertiary institutions. Level is not as high as that of the universities. The training is not work-specific; it's basically technician training which is done there.

GERMAN PARTICIPANT:

I wonder, whether the technical colleges in South Africa have their equivalents in Germany. I work for a German "Fachhochschule" which I usually translate as "technical college". There are about 70 such institutions in the old Federal Republic of Germany. I do not have the figures for the new federal states, because their institutions are being re-structured presently. Graduates from the Fachhochschulen are in demand by industry, because they bring along more than just technical knowledge. 15 fields of technical study are possible; graduates from the Fachhochschulen could continue with university training if they so desire. During the course of study, students have to do practicals in a firm for a period of six months to a year. This may be a model for South Africa, but I would like to sound a warning, that you keep yourselves independent of big companies. In Germany they influence even the universities.

ROBERT KRIGER:

What Enver has said is based on the premise that we shall have a new government in South Africa and a new economic policy. This means that we presuppose an economic growth rate to ensure equitable development. But a fundamental problem with economic growth today is, that it seems that it can only be done in concert with the destruction of our natural base. The Northern countries - and this is the opinion of experts - have already expended so much of its natural resources in pursuit of economic and social growth, that regression has set in. We, in the Southern part of the world are in a terrible dilemma. My questions, therefore, are the following: What is implied by this analysis and concept of growth with regard to ecological imbalances? What are its effects on policy priorities in the field of education and technical research? What are NEPI's ideas with regard to the South-South dialogue? Are there plans of the South-South dialogue with regard to sustainable economics which are not inimical towards nature?

(These questions were not taken up in the discussion. Instead, the question of qualification equivalents was raised. In a word, it was felt that the solution was a political one. This entails that qualification equivalents be put onto the negotiations agenda.)

GEORGE MASHAMBA:

We have to take cognisance of the fact that black universities were at the forefront of political struggles. Our opinion is that financial assistance is

of considerable importance in assisting with the development of these universities, in order to strengthen them as agents of change.

The University of the North, where I teach, cannot enrol any more students. The idea of "community colleges" has been mooted. These are to be placed where people are living. The "community colleges" would be under the central authority and control of the university, which would set the examinations and so on. We would need financial assistance to realize this project and to make tertiary education more accessible to a larger number of people.

WOLFGANG KARCHER:

You raised the issue of the efficiency of the black universities. Efficiency will depend mainly on the success of staff development. This is not merely a South African problem, but one which is widespread on the African continent. Foreign donor agencies have considerable experience in this area. This problem has always been a sensitive issue. For the past years, the issue of staff development has really become a priority. The DSE has a very sophisticated programme for staff development at black universities. This problem can be solved relatively easily, because South Africa is coming out of its international isolation and its borders to African countries are becoming more permeable. There will be a run of qualified African university educators to the black universities. The remuneration is in any case higher in South Africa than in Tanzania.

W. NJOBE:

Affirmative action is a top priority: to bring help to black universities so that they can be competitive.

The entrance to white universities by black students was not motivated by their wanting to be in white institutions of learning. But it is part of a deep-going struggle in the field of education. We want the image of the oppressed people in South Africa to be reflected in its proper light in what universities teach, research on, and therefore, our problem goes much deeper. It will not be solved by researchers in the highly developed universities. They are protecting their own interests and structures.

Black people must be given the opportunity to prove their work in their own institutions. They should be given the chance to produce their own curricula which reflect their own historical experiences, value systems and so on.

In conclusion, I want to relate an experience, which would exemplify what I had said before:

At the University of the Transkei (UNITRA) I chaired the committee which established the School of Diplomacy. From certain quarters, e.g. the University of the Witwatersrand, we received letters which questioned our intention to school diplomats, saying that we did not have the necessary facilities. Also that there are universities training ongoing diplomats. We rejected these interventions, because we do not want the traditional kind of diplomat from the established white universities, who have been lying about South Africa internationally. We want a new South African - a just and democratic person.

As for the academics from the frontline countries: 50 % of UNITRA's staff are from frontline states. They do not want changes in the social and political status quo in South Africa. Their conditions of employment are protected by bantustan ("Homeland") policies. There is debate in South Africa on this issue.

FERNANDO ROSERO:

I want to talk about democratization and academia against the background of the Ecuadorian experience. In 1918 Ecuador achieved academic autonomy, a court decree ensured academic freedom and autonomy. In 1968 most Latin American countries admitted anyone with an "A" level to university without their having to pass admission examinations. To an extent this openness in administration regulations was progressive, but problems soon became evident. First of all, there were very low academic standards. University-trained people would not find jobs in certain fields, because what they had learnt was not at all job-related.

Now the government has cut the university budgets. Against the background of these experiences the following questions should be raised:

- i) the democratization of universities is not a problem, is not exclusive to these institutions. It stands in relation to what happens at schools and colleges. Preparatory courses before admission to university could circumvent standards dropping as a result of attempts at democratization. The number of enrolments should be controlled.
- ii) Because the costs for research are high, some Latin American universities train teachers in methodology and curricula. Exchange programmes are organized.
- iii) Special attention has to be paid to the development of appropriate technology. Research and training have always been very dependent on war technology; very often it is too academic and remote from reality. The attempts now are to relate technological research to the real needs of the people.
We have institutes of appropriate production methods.

We have a serious problem in Latin America with structural adjustments. On the one hand, money is looked for outside the ambit of the state, while at the same time, we have productive units inside the universities. The productive units are an expression of a relation between university and people, which is a result of the university extension programme.

In conclusion, I want to mention that the National Council of the universities and polytechnics have analysed the reality of the universities in relation to its economic and educational potential. National programmes for education have been developed, with legal and administrative aspects. These experiences may be of interest to South Africans.

8. ADULT EDUCATION

CHAIRPERSON:

ENVER MOTALA will begin by outlining the situation regarding adult education in South Africa.

ENVER MOTALA:

In South Africa, we are beginning to understand the reasons for the importance of adult education. We think it's important for five reasons:

- i) it's important for the processes of democratization and decision-making. Adults must participate in these processes;
- ii) in order for the full development of the human potential, the question of adult education takes on great significance;
- iii) adult education is necessary so that adults can control the products of their labour;
- iv) adult education is a provision for the integration of adults into educational systems who have been excluded from mainstream education;
- v) adult education is crucial for the promotion of a culture of enquiry, tolerance and debate. We think that it also meets the goal of producing a humane society.

Who are these adults?

Some are organized, others not; they are at workplaces; in the townships; they are in the rural areas; they are men and women; many are employed, but many are unemployed; they furnish unequal roles in society, particularly, because of gender divisions. About 66 % of South African adults are illiterate or innumerate. These factors constitute the sociological backdrop of our constituency. Adults range in age from 20 onwards.

The leading actors in our society or social factors are the following:

- i) the Apartheid state and its allies. This includes business whose function has always been to protect and nurture capital;
- ii) the institutions of the state and private capital in education;
- iii) organizations in the private sector;
- iv) non-governmental organizations.

There are fundamental differences in the perspectives and views amongst these social forces. This leads to a contest about the role of markets in the supply of educational provision as opposed to the role of an intervening state in the provision of education.

Now, there are broad proposals being developed in South Africa by an umbrella trade union organization called the "Congress of South African Trade Unions" (COSATU). One strategy is called the "Human Resources Development" and its integral approach to adult education. It is

linked to a strategy which starts off with a set of economic objectives to create employment and skills, the latter being the focus of COSATU's education strategy.

The proposals comprise basic adult education, skilling which is broad-based, flexible and valid across industry. A fundamental issue in this regard is national collective bargaining with industry to enforce these rights in adult education.

The rights in question are:

- the basic right to adult education,
- the right to pay the time off for education,
- the right to use factories as sites for education,
- the obligation of employers to pay for education,
- recognition of adult education qualifications,
- recognition of the right of workers to train educators on a full-time basis,
- more career mobility for both workers and their educators.

These are only some of the issues at stake.

Then there are proposals which are being tabled by leading liberation organizations for changing institutions of education. These include the formal educational institutions, the industry-based training institutions and the decision-making bodies for the restructuring of the economy. Intervention is also proposed with particular regard to the local, regional and national financing instances, as well as institutions of big capital.

LOUISE VALE:

I would like to point out one deficit, though. While COSATU is a broad-based organization, only 15 % of the South African workforce is unionized. That's the reality. I come from an NGO, that has been working in the field of adult education for the past 30 years, despite consistent state harassment. But there is a fear that both in a state of transition, as well as in a future state, adult education will be marginalized, because of economic limitations. An incredible amount of funds will have to be invested in addressing the massive inequalities in the formal education sector.

The question then is: how can we influence future national policy around the recognition of the problem of adult education and the distribution of resources into that particular arena, given that it is a fairly marginalized arena, in terms of people, organizations and so on. There is no institutionalized framework that we could use to organize a social movement around the need for adult education in South Africa.

The curricula that have been used for adult education are curricula that are actually designed for youth. We need to design a completely new adult education curricula that will articulate workplace education and grant access to the formal education system. We need to look at national accreditation as well.

Another problem is that of age. The definition of an adult is very difficult in our society. We have to actually cater for a lot of "youth"-adults - the marginalized youth.

W. NJOBE:

My experiences relate to the nearly 20.000 exiles.

Of the First Luthuli Detachment of Mandela in 1962, half of the trainees were young. Some of the young ones were able to study at university abroad. The older ones could not be taken abroad. I was then asked to develop an adult education programme for them in Dakawa.

One major problem which stifled the motivation was the fact that we had no houses to live in. Therefore, we tried a model of adult education which would focus on building and construction skills. We combined literacy, numeracy and practical skills training, e.g. bricklaying, carpentry, plumbing etc. We would commute between the classroom and the building - applying to the process of building that which we had learnt in the classroom. Using this model, the ANC was able to train a number of cadres with the help of modules of employable units from the International Labour Organization. The ANC received generous assistance from the Tanzanian Government and particularly from the Minister for Technical Education, who saw that standards were achieved and maintained.

My questions to the conference participants are:

- can this model be repatriated to South Africa and taken up as a national model? And:
- how can this model be made self-reliant?

GERMAN PARTICIPANT:

In the Federal Republic of Germany the system of adult education is basically private and therefore, similar to South Africa, although we do have a state institution called the Folk High School (Volkshochschule). The demand of the trade union movement is that particularly the state and the Folk High School be so well equipped with basic training materials and resources that everyone, who so wishes, has access to learning within the scope of the system of adult education.

As far as the trade unions are concerned, the objective of adult education should not be restricted to an improvement of professional qualifications, but should strive towards the creation of a personality with a social consciousness, someone who can get along with others and become involved in society as a whole. Adult education should enable people to assert their interests democratically, with perceptions of social solidarity ranking ahead of purely individual interests. We feel that social competence should be transmitted and not merely professional competencies.

The demands of the German Trade Union Federation are:

- the recognition and accreditation of achievement,
- a module system building up towards certification level,
- that recognition and accreditation take place within the Association of German Folk High Schools, because the Association does have educational units, e.g. language learning, computer science and other technical fields.

Other institutions of adult education would be distance-learning institutes which are privately sponsored. To some extent universities are also involved. They are able to grant accreditations.

A lot of adult education takes place in the large firms. The German trade union movement is for this kind of in-service professional training,

although the training is restricted to the needs of these large firms. These programmes are subject to a process of co-determination with the works' councils. The right to co-determination is sanctioned by law, so that the works' councils can participate in decision-making with regard to subject contents and who is allowed to participate in these programmes. However, the works' councils hardly ever take up these rights.

And as for in-service training it is usually qualified people who make use of these programmes, and not those who need these educational programmes.

Therefore, the German trade union movement stands for the passing of laws which would ensure the progression of education and training.

Germany is a federal state. So, laws have to be passed at federal level (not at national level) and only then will everyone have the legal right to paid educational leave of five days per year. This is the situation in only a few of the federal states like Nordrhein-Westphalia or Berlin. Employees have the freedom of choice in terms of training, i.e. the employers are not able to dictate the course of further education. The fact of the matter is, that only 4 % of all employees use this right.

There are reasons for this lack of interest. A lot depends upon the organizational strength of the union at a particular factory. About 31 % of the workforce is unionized.

Mass unemployment is another factor. This is related to the annexation - I do not want to call the process "unification" - of the former German Democratic Republic. Factually since 1991 unemployment figures stand at 5 million people, although some of the unemployed are forced into training programmes - not necessarily to improve their qualifications, but to remove them from the unemployment statistics.

INTERVENTION:

What are Germany's real unemployment figures?

ANSWER:

This is difficult to say. In West Germany about 1 million people are unemployed. In East Germany whose population is about 1/3 of the size of West Germany, there is also about 1 million unemployed.

Up to the end of 1991 a further million people were put into some kind of "training" courses, were paid, and therefore did not figure in the unemployment statistics. Then there are thousands whose jobs are going to be terminated within a year. They are also not regarded as unemployed. There are also thousands more who work short time. Real unemployment figures exceed 5 million people.

Does that answer the question? Good. This has led to a situation where people do not want to take up these training opportunities. They are also scared of being victimized or sacked, although training is not a reason for getting the sack. But bosses know how to circumvent the laws.

Some unemployed people are put into training programmes, others to further their qualifications or to learn new skills. In 1991, one billion German marks was spent in the federal state of Berlin-Brandenburg to promote qualifications by the Federal Labour Office. 80.000 people were involved in this programme, but for many, the training programme contained nothing that would be applicable in a work situation! Tax monies were appropriated. These were state subsidies, effectively paid to the private sector, without their managing to qualify the people. They simply profited from the whole exercise.

Contracts have been made between the German trade union movements and the universities, so that extended learning is effected through the universities. This includes both political and professional courses, whereby it is usually attempted to connect these two directions, an integrated model as it were. This should enable people who are extending their professional qualifications to be aware of the political implications of this step.

QUESTION:

Are there non-university correspondence courses?

ANSWER:

Oh yes, there are many such courses.

QUESTION:

Have the trade unions been able to influence the universities to redefine admission policy in such a way that workers can also study?

ANSWER:

Socialization, general education, as well as the usual entrance requirements are such that they effectively block the children of workers from the universities. In 1968/69 so-called "student revolts" took place. This led to change, i.e. more children of working class backgrounds were enrolled at universities.

We have various kinds of tertiary institutions. These have different admission criteria, also in terms of the number of school years. There is a measure of mobility within the scope of tertiary education, e.g. after completion of a number of courses at a technicon, a student is allowed to change to a university. The demands of the competitive professional world have led to already qualified people furthering their education.

CRUZ PRADO:

A basic problem of adult education in Latin America is that there are no special structures to facilitate it. This is not only a problem of accessibility to skilling programmes, but it is essentially a problem of democracy. Every adult should be entitled to adult education and professional qualification. But the interests are to ensure a regular supply of cheap and unskilled labour.

In Costa Rica, we have devised an alternative to the kind of training supplied by the state, viz. popular education. The popular education comprises technical education, literacy, skilling etc.

The groups which are organized around the issue of adult education, have tried to design new methods within which knowledge would not merely be transmitted, but which would enable the student to apply the knowledge which he or she has acquired practically. Attempts are being made to spread this popular education as widely as possible, e.g. in the trade unions, in remote areas, in homes of individuals, i.e. wherever possible. There are attempts, too, to develop away from large structures, because we do not want to institutionalize adult education. Instead, we want to keep it flexible.

The point of departure is the needs of the people. Cultural elements are an integral part of teaching contents.

In Latin America several methods have been devised, starting from an appreciation of reality which integrates both economics and education.

We have designed distance-learning courses because of financial constraints.

A problem of popular education, however, is that we work parallel to formal education. The state is, of course, stronger than anything alternative. It also has greater capacities.

I shall refer to concrete examples of this work during the discussion.

FERNANDO ROSERO:

I want to talk about literacy training and campaigns in Ecuador. In 1960 about 40 % of the Ecuadorian population was illiterate. These were mostly the indigenous people, living in remote rural areas. In 1990 only 10 % of the population is illiterate. What effected this change? Literacy campaigns were carried out by non-governmental organisations in the first place. The state got involved at a later stage.

In the case of Ecuador, we have the first example of bilingual and intercultural literacy programmes. This was done by a group of Indians, the Shoar, living in the Amazon region. In 1979 the state came under pressure from the Shoar. In that same year the first national and bilingual literacy campaign was started. This was directed at a particular group of indigenous people who live in the mountains of Ecuador.

The last campaign was launched in 1989 by the current social-democratic government.

Popular education is, nonetheless, still marginalized in Latin America, as Cruz has pointed out. However, since 1989, i.e. since the last campaign, the Ecuadorian government has taken responsibility for adult education in terms of proposals, personnel, material and the like as put forward by the popular education movement.

This campaign entails two elements:

- i) a three month intensive Spanish course,
- ii) a permanent bilingual and intercultural interaction, which is sponsored by the German Association of Technical Cooperation (GTZ).

What is new about this campaign? First of all, the state has adopted the principles and methods of the popular education movement, the starting point of which is an analysis of the social reality of the people and using the indigenous languages and dialects. There is an attempt to combine the particular with general interests. Human rights are given priority within the contents, as a common point of reference. But also to concretize human rights issues in every community.

A second important innovation was the participation of young adults in these campaigns. Pupils doing "A" levels were given the choice of completing their schooling either by writing their academic theses or by completing a course in literacy transmission, i.e. this opportunity was integrated into the school system. So young women and men of 17 or 18 years did the campaigning efficiently, producing excellent results. Within 3 months 200.000 were given access to literacy.

There were limitations as well. Post-literacy objectives were not achieved, in that people could not put their skills of reading and writing into practice. There should also have been an active long-term reflection process of the problems in the community.

The programme was not well-devised, so people left. We, therefore, have a new programme, at a reduced level and for fewer people.

A problem in Latin America is that results seem to be very positive, but there is no praxis. This happened in Nicaragua. The campaigns were also very expensive. Training programmes and awareness campaigns were costly. (Students were not paid.)

QUESTION:

A critical question for me is what happened to the relationship between the organizations which were the original catalysts, and the state which had taken over the initiatives. What is the roll of the organizations? Can they still shape programmes?

FERNANDO ROSERO:

In theory, Latin Americans and especially the Indians are very creative. They have an incredible political sense. In the 1960's state initiatives were rejected. Today it is different. The state also tries to employ all possible resources. Local political leaders have participated in the training of teachers. The indigenous organizations tried getting to know the state better, in order to communicate their priorities. On the other hand, the social democratic state tries to coopt the organizations, imposing its direction. In practice, the leaders of indigenous movements have certain interests in common with government. What happened in the last 20 years is that the social indigenous movement have insisted on their own programmes. There have been isolated cases of corruption.

ENVER MOTALA, directed to CRUZ PRADO:

It seems to me that there is a fundamental difference in the approach of the South Africans to that of the South Americans.

South Africans are keen to establish a national process by gaining control over the commanding institutions in the state. This is, because the state has control over all resources. Only such a national approach will entail gaining access to national mass-media, legislative power or the basis from which the bosses could be moved to pay for adult education.

The opposite is the case in Sao Paulo. There adult education groups see themselves as an alternative to the state. But small non-governmental organizations cannot meet the needs. Therefore, the ideology of NGO's should be to confront the central institutions of state. There is the danger of bureaucracy. So, nothing should be left to chance and commitment. We have to be the actors.

CRUZ PRADO:

We, as Costa Ricans, assisted the Nicaraguan revolution from the Ministry of Education. Now, we are assisting one person in the Ministry of Education in Mexico with adult education. They are trying to implement and incorporate some elements of popular education in the global

education policy. In Costa Rica this method was employed in five schools, but the state put an end to it.

Which steps should be taken?

Firstly, the curricula should be restructured in discussion with the communities. The communities should articulate what they feel they need to know. It is not clear, whether this proposal will work - whether in Costa Rica or in Mexico. Till now the following has been done: a comprehensive questionnaire was designed to be filled out by members of the communities, students and teachers. The basic question was: what do Mexicans need to know in order to have economic success in the Mexican society? All the answers were summarized.

In Mexico there are 32 different ethnic groups. The particular ethnic elements had to be taken into consideration. The general elements, common to all, formed the basis for a national curriculum.

When the information was prepared, they asked the university professors and teachers what they thought should not be admitted in the learning process. Then both sides were confronted with the ideas and sets of answers of the other. Out of this, the curriculum was developed.

Then we chose a team of teachers, who were trained in the new methodology, so that they could develop the new textbooks.

The main problem was that the teachers were not in agreement and wanted to stick to their own methodology. The administration also did not want to change its method.

It is easier to hold examinations in the traditional way, than to evaluate a process of learning. We work in small groups. We do not aim at large categories or at institutionalization. Popular education in Costa Rica is supported by the popular movement. With regard to funding, the intention is to receive funds from both the international community as well as from the state. This method of working is advantageous for acts of international cooperation, as is the case with Mexico.

However, a larger organization could be of advantage to consolidate the various attempts at popular education.

On the question of the advantages or disadvantages of institutionalisation, post-revolutionary Nicaragua was analysed.

After the Sandinistas took power in Nicaragua, they had to institutionalize everything. But institutionalization has to entail democratic participation. Once the democratic government took control, there was the problem of obtaining resources. We did get the material, but it was the old stuff. You can see the results in the way the last elections went. Because in day-to-day living, there were no democratic practices or participation. Western education is based on reason. In Latin America, we emphasize sentiment or feelings quite strongly. Therefore, we need a different method to analyse reality. Emotive knowledge is an aspect of our pedagogics. We are trying to use the structures we find ourselves in, but we have not questioned their origins as such. This is very complex.

9. LITERACY AND POPULAR EDUCATION

CHAIRPERSON:

I would suggest that we ask BRIAN COOPER to give us an overview of what's happening in this field in South Africa currently.

BRIAN COOPER:

The first thing that I would like to say is that illiteracy is very high in South Africa. We do not have the actual figures, because there have been very few attempts to find out exactly how high illiteracy is. Two studies have been done - both in the 1980's and both of which worked with official government census figures. Those figures come from very rudimentary questions like, "Can you read or write?". These figures exclude the so-called "Homelands", thereby excluding a large percentage of the South African population. General consensus puts the illiteracy rate at over 50%.

Against this background, you have the additional problem of a very limited provision. The state does attempt to make provision through the Department of Education and Training (DET). Then there is the private sector of capital within the scope of their factories. We also have the non-governmental organizations, the NGO's. Together, they reach approximately 1 % (!) of the illiterate population. Given that, it is quite

clear then, that the actual number of people which emerges as literate is much smaller.

I would like to talk about the National Literacy Cooperation, a non-governmental organization, which goes back to the early seventies. As is the case with most of the adult literacy projects in South Africa, the NLC has been influenced by Paolo Freire's thought. This is not surprising as the biggest single preoccupation of South Africans has been the struggle against Apartheid. The issue of political education has always been a large one. Paolo Freire's approach and methodology have lent themselves to that particular struggle.

There have been problems. For example, people, who were into these programmes, came out politically educated, but not necessarily literate.

A second problem is that Freire has never given indications as to how one scales up from the dialogue situation to mass-provision at a national level. Graciani told us in her presentation, that Freire is a visionary and not an administrator. That has been revealed in this work and has indeed impacted on the work in South Africa.

With regard to the current shift in the political ground in South Africa, i.e. away from opposition to a more development-based way of working, literacy organizations have had to examine themselves, the work they do and their orientation, in order to effect the same shift. In the process, there has been something of a backlash, a reaction to Freire. The emphases are becoming efficiency, delivery, accountability and looking at the end product.

We hope, that this reaction is not one that will cut us off from our past or delete the aspect of a social movement. Our hand has been forced, in a sense. The private sector and capital are interested in literacy.

Secondly, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) is also entering the field as a major player. Most organizations in the literacy network applaud the entry of COSATU into the area of literacy. Indeed, we have hoped, worked for and persuaded major political organizations or trade unions to become actively involved. There is, however, a fear, because COSATU represents only a particular sector within South Africa, and theirs is an entirely legitimated interest that

they pursue, i.e. the interest of organized labour. The majority of people who need literacy skills are impoverished and live in the rural areas. So, we hope to play a role in shaping whatever programme COSATU comes out with, because at a national level, COSATU's word is likely to be very influential.

Our concerns as a network are twofold: to collaborate and to make more effective use of resources. We are also very conscious of not falling into the trap of welfarism. This demands strategizing and has shaped our work. We have played an advocacy role, raising the issue of literacy and pinpointing certain organizations like COSATU or the National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC). The other aspect of our work is attempting to become more "professional" - I hate to use this word! - in terms of our services. This we attempt through participatory research, looking at provision, for example, with an eye to mass-provision.

A programme has been initiated at a national level to look at issues like

- curriculum development
- teacher training and
- methodology.

JEAN PEASE:

I would like to round off what Brian has said. I think that the difficulty with trying to find accurate figures on illiteracy in South Africa is that a refusal to participate in the census is a political act. So, the state does not have the real numbers.

Then there is the mushrooming of squatter communities, and officials simply do not go into these areas. In any case, people in such communities will not give details, because they are there "illegally" by South African law.

A second point is that part of the problems of provision by NGO's and the non-formal sector has been done mainly by political activists. That is why Freire's approach became so relevant. But also because of financial underprovision, with literacy-workers working for next to nothing.

Thirdly, with regard to provision on the ground: there has been an initiative in the Western Cape to set up a teaching institute, a formal

structure. A curriculum development group will provide a curriculum that could be used nationally. SACHED Trust has assisted the NLC in the provision of the basic literacy programme. But SACHED sees its role in providing an alternative curriculum for taking people with basic literacy skills further, up to Matric level, whereby this will be an alternative Matric. The curriculum will be devised in 1992.

So, attempts are coming together, also with COSATU and there is a more systematic and united approach at addressing the problem.

On the issue of certification, I think COSATU's particular input is to find equivalencies between the formal and the non-formal areas, to enable people to enter the market with their certificates.

My particular field of interest is child literacy. We have to add to the figure of 9 - 11 million adult illiterates, the 40 % of African children who are not provided with schooling. Then we have a drop-out rate of about 200.000 children in the first four years of schooling. This schooling takes place in the mother-tongue, which is not an official language of the country. So even if these children are literate in their mother tongue, they are effectively illiterate, because they cannot read or write in an official language.

TREVOR ABRAHAMS:

Two issues are being debated separately in South Africa. One is management and delivery of literacy, i.e. how to professionalize this, but also how to make a career out of it. A second issue is that of equivalency. It relates to developing an education system that has multiple entry and exit points. So that people, who start within literacy or popular education programmes, can switch over to formal education.

I would be very interested in hearing from Latin American experiences - how they have tackled these two issues.

Finally, we have the product. What does it leave the people with? How are problems of certification dealt with? Are these certificates generally accepted?

CHAIRPERSON:

Thank you. So we have indentified the following issues:

- i) who should be doing literacy programmes and which roles can they perform?
- ii) Professionalism;
- iii) equivalency; certification;
- iv) who it should be for?
- v) Content and the
- vi) democratization of the process with a view to the learner-co-determinant relationship.

JEAN PEASE:

I have been engaged in an experimental project for the past two years, training people as literacy workers in marginalized communities. Our idea was to find people from those communities to teach literacy to children, who have absolutely no access to schooling whatsoever. We target the 9 - 10 year olds, i.e. children, who are already too old to enter the first grade. Our emphasis is training, training in order to empower people to do something concrete about their situation. So, we do not only have the problem of illiteracy among children, but the adults who came to us enjoyed only a minimal education. We, therefore, have to deal with imparting literacy and numeracy skills as well as grappling with the deficiencies in the general system.

This brings me to the question of language. We have deliberately brought people from different language backgrounds together, e.g. Nama-speakers from Namibia, Xhosa-speakers from the Eastern Cape, Sesotho-speakers from the Transvaal etc. The problem that we addressed was: as long as the mother tongue was phonetic, we would use an adapted form of Freire's method of instruction, while being open to any other viable methods. We trained 15 people over a period of five months. They were empowered to organize, because they had to start with virtually nothing. They were sent out for two months into the field, to speak to the communities, see whether they could organize resources and target future students. Over a period of three months they were introduced to methodology. They were given skills on conducting interviews, doing drama, in oral history and photography. This was done in conjunction with the people of the communities. The methodology was then based on the life experiences of the people.

Language became quite an issue, because people said that they wanted English literacy, even though we had started off in the mother-tongue.

This is a legacy of Apartheid: because English and Afrikaans are the official languages, the indigenous languages have no market value. How does one address the stereotypes of media, for example?

A second problem with regard to language is that there are almost no books in indigenous languages, except for the few textbooks which were prepared for the schools.

So, we had to address a host of problems:

- i) finding a training programme which would empower people to put programmes into action with almost no resources;
- ii) the problem that no funding agency was prepared to pay the literacy workers a salary;
- iii) how to raise the value of indigenous languages to a status of equality with the official languages, as well as recognizing the necessity of a linking language (English);
- iv) the creation of resources in the indigenous languages.

Upgrading is our next step. Fieldwork will be done soon, to assess the practical problems, which will then be addressed. Presently, the literacy workers are in a month long workshop addressing the problem of changing to English. They are doing a programme on English reading.

On the issue of certification: At the moment, we are talking to training colleges and educational authorities, while at the same time trying to link up with a woman in Natal who has had some success in forcing the hand of educational authorities there.

Another objective in the collaboration with the training colleges is, to convert this pilot-project into a distance-education training programme. We would continue to have face-to-face workshops. We think, that we will be able to target 6.000 - 8.000 people. If this works, it could be a programme on a national scale, also in terms of policy or development replication.

TREVOR ABRAHAMS:

We have many experiences and initiatives in South Africa on the micro level, but they are completely inadequate for the demands of a national level. It seems to me that the imperative of today would be to consolidate those experiences. Namibia is such a point in case, where there are attempts to forge various micro initiatives to impact on policy-making on a national level. Micro experiences are very valuable, but there is a national dilemma.

GATTER:

In Namibia a new project is being launched, called the "Small-Scale Resources Centres". The attempt is to put up small centres in rural areas and in villages. These centres are something like community libraries, where books and other teaching aids are stocked.

VUSI MCHUNU:

It is very important for us to consider networking with the arts. The experiences of what people go through are important.

This brings us to the question of orality and language which could be future-oriented. I think, the Sotho-Tswana-Nguni cluster of languages would be relevant for development. There is a measure of education, of explaining things, which is already taking place in the homes of the marginalized African people in oral form. This has to be taken cognisance of.

Books were mentioned. Maybe in an African village cassettes would be more appropriate.

BRIAN COOPER:

The central question is still - who provides literacy. It is the NGO's, which are small organizations and which do not have the capacity to move forward and to provide the numbers of people who need literacy. In a future South Africa possibly part of the responsibility will have to be carried by the State together with NGO's. The State has to be the prime mover for literacy on the scale that we need.

ABDURAGIEM JOHNSTONE:

We have to rationalize skills and equipment to project towards a national movement.

The other question is, whether the literacy movement is autonomous or part of the State. If it is part of the State, we would have to ask how the State utilizes it to implement its own political programme.

A national movement would facilitate management and certification. The literacy movement could negotiate with the new government to retain its autonomy. The State could make provisions like television. Finally, we have to move away from sectarian literacy projects.

JEAN PEASE:

In the next phase of our discussion, we shall look at two basic themes. First, there is the issue of language: how do we begin to resolve the problem of the presence of a dominant language, which is legitimate in the country, but which is not the mother tongue of the majority of South Africans? Here the question would be one of approach to this problem and also one of methodology. This theme should include the aspect of stereotypes in media and in teaching and learning contents and materials.

The second issue will try to formulate answers on how to move from a micro to a macro level, taking into consideration the fundamental issue of this passage, as it were, viz. democratization.

JOHN GATTER:

There is a dominance of literacy-learning in English. Very often mother-tongue literacy is devalued by the pupils themselves. Can one become effective in literacy if one neglects the mother-tongue? Of course, the problem is one of the different statuses of the various languages in society - a question of power, so to speak. So, one should search for possibilities to reevaluate the mother-tongues, giving it a status in society, an identity with power. Have there been attempts to coordinate the literacy between an official language and a mother tongue.

PARTICIPANT:

I would like to use the example of Tanzania's attempts to deal with language problems. Since Tanzania has so many languages (about 150), one language has been set aside and developed into a national language.

This language was the medium for the alphabetization and literacy campaigns. The coastal language, Kiswaheli, was deployed for this purpose.

However, the legitimacy of such a decision by the Tanzanian state was questioned in view of the multi-lingual nature of Tanzania. Should there not be many national languages? This was particularly pertinent to the question of relationship of the languages to one another. Some were very diverse.

PARTICIPANT:

This is precisely the problem. We have such a mono-cultural and mono-lingual mode of thinking in post-colonial societies. It simply is not enough to replace English with another, new, dominant language, but we have to replace the structure. Seeing that our societies are multi-cultural, are multi-ethnic, are multi-lingual. That is the structure we have to find. We cannot say that what we are criticizing the colonisers for, is that they are dominating us with a mode of thinking, a mode of structure, and a language, and then we say, "Fine, but we'll choose one language of our own". This is the basic issue that we have to get rid of the structures.

VUSI MCHUNU:

The number of different languages in Africa is a myth, because many languages form a family, e.g. the Nguni cluster of languages. The geographic spread of these language is quite vast. This means that millions of people understand each other. This fact has to be recognized and utilized as a tool in literacy campaigns.

JEAN PEASE:

I would like to intervene at this point and bring people up to date on this particular issue. There is a National Language Project, where people like Neville Alexander have been doing some research on the possibilities of a unified Nguni. This view is that we need a standard received Nguni in the schools, but that the dialects continue to be spoken in the various regions. Professor Ndebele challenges this view. I am afraid that I am not acquainted with his views, but the point is that a public debate is taking place around this particular language issue vis à vis literacy, for example. But there is consensus that English remains a linking language. However, it should not be a national language.

PATRICK DIAS:

We have to include the international dimension. The policies of UNESCO, for example, are generally apolitical, because they emphasize cultural aspects exclusively; their premises are cultural. What we have to do, is to continuously destroy myths of cultural, imperialist domination, which claim that multilingualism is an obstacle towards cultural creativity. In many countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America the children grow up speaking at least two languages.

The other myth is that only European languages can be made into "literate" languages. But there are other languages, e.g. African languages that can be made "literate". Shona, for example, is at least taught at the Zimbabwean university.

Within the language debate, we have the concepts of "nations" and "national". These are in reality concepts of the elites and not of the people. People think in terms of their communities, because that is the source of their livelihood. A critique of colonialism must, therefore, include a critique of the elites. Because they think in terms of "nation" and work out what is viable for development.

The next question is one of methodology. Out of the experiences of, for example, Mali, Peru or Mocambique or Mexico even, we must find a methodology of re-evaluating the own language whilst making people literate, say in English or Spanish. How do we have to give a new value content to mother tongue, while making people literate in the dominant language.

MARIA STELA GRACIANI:

I have the impression that there are differences in the problem of language between South Africa and Latin America. It is only in a few Latin American countries like Peru, Ecuador or Guatemala, which have a significant indigenous population, that we have similar problems to South Africa. The situation in Brazil is very different. It is not so much a question of one or two languages, but the style of the language of expression, modes of local communication.

In northern Brazil, we try to convey political and social values to language, as a vehicle of personal and social communication of people. We

move, therefore, from the concrete, local experiences to the next step, viz. the Portuguese language. In Sao Paulo of a population of 11 million people, 3,5 million are illiterate. They come from different regions in Brazil. They all speak Portuguese, but it is a Portuguese with different accents, with the same words having differing social connotations, with the meanings of some words restricted to particular regions or geographical areas. Therefore, the function of the literacy educator would be to understand all these differences and nuances. This is also the background to the training of the literacy teachers. Training involves sensitizing them to the diversity of the people involved. The starting-point would be a common and collective building of these groups. The point of view is thus not that of the educator, but that of the people, whom we want to reach. Therefore, we do not have an "a priori curriculum". Within the process of literacy, the programme and the syllabus become the end product. By means of a discussion, we sound out key words. We do not regard homogenic groups as necessarily good. In our experience heterogenic groups are more productive.

PATRICK DIAS:

I wish to put a question to this group. Is literacy not also an expansion of competency in the various languages and not merely a skill: learning to read and write more effectively? International experience has proven that the first objective would be to consolidate and enrich knowledge and the use of language, especially in the context of the existence of our traditions. Children learn to speak before they learn to read and write. When the mother speaks to the child she develops its linguistic competence. This is fundamental and should be the first step of every literacy programme. Before trying to development language competence through reading and writing, one should first try to develop the competence to use language and its connotations. This is the natural development of things. We should give new values to the competence that people already have, else you transform an adult to a child. I noticed this very much in a campaign that I was involved in at Mocambique. The adult is reduced in its social value. This was particularly the case with women, whose entire world, which they manage, becomes irrelevant within this course. The knowledge which people possesses is not applicable. Now this attitude is antidemocratic. It raises the essential question of methodology.

JEAN PEASE:

May I just interrupt you with a question? Are you saying that orality could be a new and valuable measure to assess people's competence instead of the written word?

PATRICK DIAS:

Yes!

JEAN PEASE:

How practical is that in a modern world?

PARTICIPANT:

I am not sure whether I am changing the direction to the discussion. It was said that there are about 11 million illiterate people in South Africa. What precisely is the nature of the problem? Is it that they cannot read or write, or is it that society is organized in such a way that the means of communication does not accommodate illiterate people in decision-making, for instance?

If you have a vision of society which does not exclude these 11 million people, how can you ensure that they have a say in decision-making? Even if you do have to keep on trying, I cannot imagine that you will succeed in making all these people literate. So, it is a matter of working towards creating a society that would facilitate the co-decision-making of precisely those people who are presently marginalized. The organization of a society that would ensure access of all to democracy. A long-term priority would be schooling. But I would have problems with an understanding of democracy, that presupposes its existence only if these 11 million people could read and write.

JEAN PEASE:

Maybe, we should also look at the inroads of technology in the field of reading and writing. Is it true that Asia and Africa have to move through the period of orality first, than reading and writing and then to grapple with technological communication? Is there a more democratic way of getting people to communicate which does not put illiterates at a disadvantage?

PATRICK DIAS:

It was asked, whether reading and writing could become obsolete, because of the inroads of a communications technology. One principle

remains constant that of encoding and decoding, i.e. of reading symbols. This process is fundamental and is subject to cultural conditions under which one learns. And this is what we have not learnt in African or Asian languages. What we do know is how to do this in the dominant languages of colonial culture. So, we are coming down from semantics to fundamentals and not the other way around. Therefore a relevant methodology has to find out the linkage between learning to read the word and to read reality - in the Freirean sense.

FERNANDO ROSERO:

In Ecuador it was decided to create radio stations for popular education. Because after investigation it was recognized that the Ecuadorian Indigenes have an oral tradition. So, instead of trying to make Indigenes literate, they would be informed through the radio, using the indigenous languages. An attempt was also made to encourage Indigenes to bring their problems to the attention of the people working in the radio in the communities. Studios were set up in the communities. This project was very successful. Maybe this could be a model for certain areas in South Africa.

JEAN PEASE:

I think, we have reached a point, where we need to redefine what we, as a group here, understand by the term literacy. This could be quite an important contribution towards, say, policy-makers in South Africa around the question of schooling and literacy.

In fact, our discussion has been a redefinition of "literacy" in itself. We were saying that it is more than the skills of reading and writing. Questions like how to communicate effectively information which people require for their lives? Is it necessary that those people have to read and write in the conventional form, or are there other effective ways of using the oral tradition of Africa, in order to build on what people know and communicate? This does not negate the fact that information will be recorded or written down. But are there other ways of recording while at the same time guaranteeing people access to information? Part of the problem of people becoming literate in an European language is - and people have said so to themselves in South Africa - that while literacy does create an access to the rest of the world, people are at disadvantage if they are literate only in the mother tongue. Does the world order have

to continue to remain like this? The criteria have already been set as to what "literate" or "educated" means in this world order.

The choice of the language which is used is often a political issue. It is a question of who comes into power. A small, literate (in the old-fashioned way) elite that faces the rest of the population to follow that direction? In summing up, I would like to point out that we actually only dealt with the language question, but it does touch other issues as well.

10. STREET CHILDREN

JEAN PEASE:

By way of introduction, I would like to mention some of the problems we encounter in the area of work. The particular difficulty in working with street children centres around the question of how one can empower them, given their extremely negative self-image as well as that of society.

Then there is the additional problem of language, because in order to empower the street children one has to communicate with them in their mother tongue. There is very little literature of any kind in any of the indigenous languages. So, we have multiple problems of trying to address the issue at all levels. The resources are very limited with no support forthcoming from the state, except through the social workers who are in government employ. But very often communities reject anything that is government-funded. The very first thing a street child asks one is: "Are you a social worker?" If you are, they run away. So, this is a major problem.

SORAYHA JOHNSTONE:

We have many parastatals and child welfare organizations which have taken "care" of the street children. They have institutions which street children can visit, have a shower and something to eat, but where the children are - they are also allowed to bring their glue and to continue sniffing.

Our organization "Molo Songolo", has embarked on an educational project for street children this year. We run workshops on the street for

the street children. When working with street children as alternative organizations, you first have to break down their habit of bringing the glue to workshops and to sniff there. This is very difficult, because the psychology of living on the streets is embedded, is part of their lives. Anything that is structured, is rejected by them. Even sitting in a workshop for an hour is alien to their lifestyle.

We work with street children whose ages range from 6 to 21. They come to our workshops, because they do want to express what is inside of them. So, we provide a forum for them. We also provide them with food and clothes. We do this, because we want to instil a sense of dignity.

We needed a full year to discuss our work with street children, with community organizations, once this problem was brought to our attention. It is difficult to work at alternatives. We realized that we cannot service, so to speak, all of them; we cannot continue merely running art or drama workshops and offering them food. The aspect of development has got to be part of the work.

Solidarity does not always exist within the groups of streetchildren. Older members abuse younger ones. A worse problem is that gangs misuse street children to commit crimes.

"Molo Songolo" is aiming at a centre with a twofold purpose for the streetchildren:

- i) training to equip the older youth with marketing skills, so that they can find work, acquire some money and hopefully be integrated into society one day;
- ii) the other purpose is that it becomes a "drop-in" centre for a larger number of children, with facilities for first-aid, workshops and counselling.

There is a dilemma in working with street children, because do we really want them to be reintegrated into their families where they will be abused once again? Or do we have to create institutions to protect them?

QUESTION:

Street children are often outside of their communities. Is there a way to make them an issue for the community?

SORAYHA JOHNSTONE:

We have located a piece of land within one community. We have attempted to draw in community participation. We also worked closely with primary schools. In coloured schools there are usually facilities for "slow learners" - they are dumped into one classroom so to speak. These children very often land on the streets. In Bonteheuwel, a township outside Cape Town, we did a survey to find out what the people there suggest we should do. But this was not sustainable, because of a multitude of socio-economic problems which are the order of the day in a depressed community or township like Bonteheuwel. So that after the initial enthusiasm people become disinterested, because they are bogged down with just trying to survive. So, it is unrealistic to expect communities to carry out these issues.

JEAN PEASE:

The project I work for has a different focus in that we train people to work in the communities from which they come. So, community support is easier for them to obtain. We work through civic associations or women's organizations, of course. And usually it is women who take up this issue. A major problem is definitely how to sustain these initiatives. If working people are interested in working with streetchildren, it is difficult for them always to find enough time to do so. Conversely, how can you possibly get unemployed people - who are factually destitute - to do what is basically voluntary work? It is easy to expect the "community" to take the responsibility, but you cannot expect hungry and destitute people to do this.

So, it is a question of resources and logistics. Who will pay the salaries? To the training of educators in the communities it is a question of sustaining them there, of paying them. A poor community will pay them whatever they can, but this is not sustainable. There is no sponsorship for salaries. The educators are trained then in how to survive against all odds and towards a high motivation.

JÜRGEN ZIMMER:

I want to give an example of a project which is sited in the slums of Manila on the Philippines, where "productive community schools", which are self-financing systems, are organized for child prostitutes and street children. How do street children survive on the street? They have survival strategies and abilities. They are something like "entrepreneurs from below". The seven million Brazilian street children would not survive, if they were not entrepreneurs. The educators are not entrepreneurs. This engenders conflict. Certain offers of education are conservative, because they aim at putting children into institutions and homes. This effectively is a dequalification of the children's abilities.

SORAYHA JOHNSTONE:

Up to now, the state structures have "looked after" street children. During the summer holiday season, they try to clear the streets of the street children, trying to create the impression to tourists that South Africa does not have these problems. They offer the children a Christmas party at a central venue. Then in cahoots with the Health Department and the South African Police the children get collected from the party and put into parastatal institutions. What they have planned for the holiday season of 1991 is to analyse the problems of the street children. To this end they want to take them to B., a place which is primarily for children and youth awaiting trial. So, it is basically prison that they are going to. The other place that they will be put up at is a parastatal institution for industrial skills' training. Here psychologists will analyse them. But they effectively want to clear the streets of street children. We have no choice, but to enter these institutions and to subvert and revolutionize concepts.

JEAN PEASE:

On the question of "entrepreneurship": one of our trainees was organizing a group of street children in Umtata in the Eastern Cape. These children hang around the municipal dump. Sugar farmers from Natal have come with trucks, lured children onto the trucks, promising to pay them. But in effect, the children were kidnapped and had literally to work as slaves on the sugar farms. The children could not get away, because they do not know the region.

We have some support from churches. But very often churches are only interested in institutionalizing the children. So, there is the tension

between institutionalization and our attempts to rehabilitate the children into their families.

QUESTION:

To what extent are schools involved? Schools themselves are very unstable environments.

IAN MKHIZE:

I am not going to respond to that, but I would like to contend that we are looking at only one aspect of the marginalized youth. It might be good to look at this question in a more holistic manner. For example, we have to identify the factors which lead to marginalisation in general. Which broad social policy options could we employ to tackle this problem? Social policy options could put them onto the agenda of the negotiations of a future state. We have to create a strong lobby for marginalized people.

JEAN PEASE:

I agree with Ian, that we have dealt with only one aspect of a much greater problem. If one could talk about priorities, then the situation of the schools and the break-down of black schooling since 1976 is probably one such priority. There has been a complete break-down of particularly secondary schools. Youth that are highly politicized and are on the streets, with no perspectives. If you take that about 60 % of South Africans are under 20 years, then you can see that we are sitting on an absolutely explosive situation. Conservative solutions only aggravate an already unacceptable situation. At some stage streetchildren and youth converge. We have to find innovative and empowering political solutions for these youth, who have been on the political forefront. We cannot allow them to lose out for a second time.

QUESTION:

To what extent is the business sector being drawn into this issue? In Johannesburg, the organizers of the "Twilight Children" are attempting to draw in business into this field. They have approached even the Anglo-American Corporation. In an annual report Anglo-American claims that the marginalized youth of the eighties and the nineties constitute a "lost generation", and that it is more expedient for them to import Eastern European workers than to invest in training the available people in South Africa.

CHAIRPERSON:

I think it would be in the interests of our discussion, if we were to pinpoint factors leading to marginalization, so that particularly the comrades from other countries could get a fuller picture of the dynamics around this issue.

IAN MKHIZE:

While there are many factors leading to marginalization, I would like to deal with three only:

- i) There has been a continuous and concerted attack on the social system of the indigenous people of the country. Marginalization is an outcome of this protracted historical attack. For example, the imposition of the system of migrant labour has led to a break-down in family structures.
- ii) The education system has since 1948, and accentuated in 1976, been a process of exclusion and premature ejection of people from its sphere. This is really a major factor contributing to a large-scale marginalization.
- iii) The economic system feeds on the process of marginalization.

INTERVENTION:

I think, that we have to remember that street children are children the world over. But they have no childhood.

I want to sound a warning of sorts viz. that people seem to think that South Africa is in a transitional phase and that negotiations are currently taking place. That is spurious. Therefore, in one's approach, we should think about ways of engaging the present de Klerk regime. How to get them to abdicate power or to share power. There is the present political terrain in SA which is engaging de Klerk's government in that process: mass-actions, strikes (of teachers e.g.). How can this conference make sure that aspects of education be put onto the negotiating agenda? I would like to hear from participants from other countries what their experiences and approaches have been in engaging their respective governments in this kind of struggle.

JÜRGEN ZIMMER:

I would like to bring another example from the Philippines, but I am not sure, whether it is applicable to other situations. In Manila there are large slums. About 20,000 people live on and of the large refuse mountains, e.g. the "Smoky Mountain". Another area where children live on the streets is the "Ermita", which is the red light district. There are about 20,000 child prostitutes and street children in Manila.

Two years ago, children were being invited to discuss their problems. And when in a workshop, they asked what they would like to do, they said: "I want to be a boss of a business." When asked what they thought, how they could reach these ambitions, they said, that they would probably have to attend school. But after discussion, it became clear to them, that through formal schooling they would not get very far. Thus the idea was born viz. to run a business with children. The idea of "Productive Community Schools" were then started. The children themselves were interested in economics and not education. In Freirean terms their "key situation" was one of hunger, homelessness and pennilessness. So, the idea of an "adventure restaurant" was mooted, which will be run by the children. They also want to perform in their restaurant. In the meantime, they have undergone a very tough course in "economics from below". This restaurant will be in authentic Philippino style and will therefore form a good dialogue between Philippino culture and the foreigners who go there. The children are the shareholders. From the German side, some money had been put into this project.

There are other schools in development. In one such case, people on the "Smoky Mountain" recycle fluorescent lamps, because only they know how to recycle these lamps! Some families, including the children, started a "productive community". After a while, public places did not give their defective fluorescent lamps any longer, but sold them to the street children. This meant that the children had to learn an economic cycle of buying, recycling and selling. However, lots of small "foundations" have sprung up around the Smoky Mountain, with corruption and privatization of donations in attendance. Therefore, this school failed after a while.

The fundamental theory is to attack the big fish in the market. Streetchildren were quite able to tackle this effectively, because they

were used to surviving on the streets. The main problem was, the educators were not "entrepreneurs from below". In my experience, educators talk about squeezing out oranges, but do not do the squeezing out themselves. So, we started looking for people like small businessmen, i.e. outside the field of education to work in these projects.

JEAN PEASE:

I think that the ideas, which relate to education, are interesting. A learning situation as relevant to the lives is quite exciting, e.g. ecology teaching. The question is: how then does one attack the problems and factors which lead to the situation in which children find themselves? As South Africans, we will never accept that, e.g. major causes that lead to children prostitutes. It is sticking plasters onto wounds - it is leaving the children where they are, accepting the value systems which are forcing them into that situation. It is as if one is saying to the children: "In a sense, it's okay." Rehabilitation is certainly one aspect, but empowerment has to be an element of the involvement. The children have to be shown how to change their situation. If that element is missing, then I cannot accept these.

JÜRGEN ZIMMER:

The Philippines do not want to export their situation to SA. There are similarities however. The basic idea or vision behind this approach, this project is, to give support to the thousands of little entrepreneurs, because traditional education is education for illiteracy in economics. Vocational training is not entrepreneurial training. Whenever there is enough employment, then vocational training is fine. But if preconditions, also in terms of government, do not exist, then you need entrepreneurs from below. The basic idea is the Aristotelean idea of market - a market which is open to all.

SORAYHA JOHNSTONE:

South Africans subscribed to the "Declaration of Children's Rights" of the UNO. What can we do to ensure that the points of this Declaration are carried out universally?

TREVOR ABRAHAMS:

There is a great openness to listening and learning from other situations. But we do not accept marginalization as a given, and see our responsibility to make the marginalized economically viable. At the pre-

sent moment, South Africans are looking for ways to put such issues onto the central agenda of state development policies or of the NGO's. Our interest is, to eradicate such conditions.

STELA MARIA GRACIANI:

I would like to give a global view by pointing out structures and socio-economic and political reasons which have led to this situation. We, who are living in Latin America, are living in an historical totality in relation to the children in our country. There are about seven million children on the streets of the cities of Brazil - seven million! They come from underdeveloped rural areas. Agrarian reform has never taken place in countries like ours. But then neither do we have an urban reform. So the majority leave the rural areas, because of the nature of pressure exerted by landownership and the transnational companies. They come to the cities with illusions of life there. The cities are unprepared for them - with regard to health care or the availability of jobs or houses. They therefore land in slums. This is the beginning of their childhood - such areas. There is no public policy to support childhood in these areas. Children are unsupported and poor. It is the beginning of all problems - prostitution, drugs, alcoholism, homosexuality, violence, robbery.

There are two types of street children:

- i) children on the streets,
- ii) children from the streets.

i) Children on the streets

are those, who have worked out strategies for survival, e.g. selling goods. They have created work for themselves inside the informal market sector. In this group there are organized street gangs, with their own ethics, moral codes and survival tactics etc. We, as educators, have to find a way to work with these children within the scope of their survival structures, e.g., the children who clean shoes have their own associations - no mediators. They do everything by themselves. Flower-sellers have cooperatives. Thus it is a process of production and of selling their own products. They determine the whole process. However, we do have many problems with this group of children.

ii) Children from the streets

This group of small proletarians have no connections to either family or society. They form totally independent gangs. Criminals are also found amongst them, whereby the black streetchildren make worse experiences than white children with the law and police. Mass murders and torture are the order of the day. They are reduced to criminals. The places of correction are directed against their freedom and development. Here the children are meant to be like robots and dependent upon the institution.

It is against this background, that we have developed a proposal and a theoretical framework, the latter being the result of 12 years' of experience in working with streetchildren.

We have direct contact with universities, which in turn have direct contact with communities and streetchildren in São Paulo. They have developed an alternative paedagogy, but one which attempts to change the system. We aim at alternative schools, subsidized by the state. The majority of children do want to learn, but they do not want to go to normal schools. Children are asked about the type of school that they want. They said, "We want the kind of school, where you, Stela, are teaching." Then they asked me, "Stela, can you read and write?" When I said, "Yes", they said, "O. K., You can teach us." So I said, "But I can't teach you the way you want to learn!" They said, "No problem. We will teach you to teach us the way we want to learn. You write what we tell you and then we will learn what you write down!"

It is important to work out what alternative schools should be like. Maybe we could discuss this later.

SORAYHA JOHNSTONE:

South Africans speak about community participation. Was this also part of your revolutionary philosophy? Have you had success? With regard to your relationship to government: what were the modalities and did government facilitate helping with streetchildren?

STELA GRACIANI:

Our methodology arose out of the praxis. Our attempts were to make children understand the situation they were in, e.g. to understand the class dimension. We consider these children as subjects of their own process; that is the basis of our method. When we take street children on

an outing for example - it would be easy enough for me to find a bus, buy food for them. But we do it collectively, in the community - they have to take decision about food, goals etc. When they return, we do an evaluation - what could be better? We do this even if it is obvious.

We have specific points and different ways of working. Our relationship to the government is strongly oppositional, because the state's policy entails criteria which are of no benefit to the children. The state wants to set criteria like age groups, gender and the like. Opposition is therefore both diplomatic and political. We negotiate with the government and we brought the alternative project to support community initiatives, with better and more flexible criteria. The resources we receive from government are minimal. We have exchanges with international organizations. NGOs in Europe give us assistance. Since even working with people from the universities entails funding for houses or transportation and the like.

JÜRGEN ZIMMER:

I think that the Brazilian approach is very similar to the Philippino one, because of the aspect of economics. I do not believe that you can solve the problem with state intervention. As long as you have an economic system in which only the rich have the power, the number of street children will probably increase.

STELA MARIA GRACIANI:

Our work is remedial not prophylactic. The new government in Sao Paulo is trying to break this process. They go into the slums - and establish community centres there, where the children can stay. So they need not even enter the city, but stay in the community.

The Movement of Street Children of Brazil is assisted by the National Movement of the Charta of Childrens Rights. Recently, as educators, we have been trying to get schools, hospitals, trade unions and political parties to subscribe to these rights. We have been using didactical material and media to this end. The new Sao Paulo government is very supportive.

I would like to mention a problem, which is not restricted to Latin America. It is the extermination of children. There is a new profession -

that of the death squad. Every two minutes a Brazilian child is murdered by a paid killer! Paid by industry, by banks.

COLUMBIAN PARTICIPANT:

In Columbia the experiences of community workers are diverse: we have

- i) preventative work with pregnant women and mothers;
- ii) work in school and also
- iii) work with street children.

I work in a project in schools. The government officially runs a project for under sevens. Such a project targets the children of factory workers. However, unemployment is so high that the majority of children do not qualify for the use of this facility.

In the rural areas the problem is even bigger. There is no state support for children at all. The parents there do have work. Children have to stay alone at home. Older children have to look after the younger ones. That in itself is problem, but a problem with no solution.

The community has to take responsibility for the grassroots projects.

The project I work in has been in existence for ten years now, but has not been able to achieve economic independence. It exists entirely on international aids and funding. The community can only offer manpower.

Three new things about this project are:

- i) that the teachers come from the community itself;
- ii) the method was developed especially for the children of the community;
- iii) the curriculum was connected to the immediate reality of the children living there. It took us ten years to achieve this. We do not want to go further. The government is beginning to accept such projects as a form of pre-schooling. For a long time this kind of work was regarded by government as revolutionary, leftist, or where future guerillas are being trained. Only the focus of the project is not strictly children-oriented, since we are putting the community also into focus.

I am happy that in a future South Africa such a project can go ahead with the aid of the government.

JEAN PEASE:

The problems are the same - they are South-South problems. They differ in terms of intensity or the level at which marginalization has taken place. I have not really heard solutions. The methodology which Maria Estela has outlined has also been tried by us. We have been in touch with the Latin American experience through Paolo Freire. I would like to list some of the similarities which have been proposed as solutions.

1) The idea of community learning centres is something which is being discussed in South Africa. Not only by the progressive social movements, but also by state and capital. Many community-based initiatives are being hijacked by the state and being used by it. The state puts it into a framework of change and the apparent attendant financial constraints, i.e. a refusal to even begin to redress the issue of redistribution of resources and wealth. That means, that nothing changes in the privileged sections of society. On the contrary, the communities will have to bear the financial onus.

Community learning centres are regarded merely as a kickstart, after which it becomes the financial responsibility of the community. There is a contradiction between taking the work which is a tool to empower the community and to develop nuclei, and then to say - here's where you are going to stay. Because after that, the taxes of that particular community will be used for developing those impoverished areas. So, that is a problem that we need to look at. And, of course, any mass actions of the trade unions, the boycotts and sanctions are thrown back at the progressive organizations, in the sense that they are being blamed for the chaotic state of the economy. The excuse is, that that is the reason for there being no money for reconstruction work. We do have a resource centre movement in the country - it becomes a national activity. We do have a children's movement - not perhaps a street children's movement. Also a youth movement. We even work with business, which has adopted a code of social responsibility and has set up crèches for worker's children. Here activists have played a role in determining where funds can be spent.

We need maybe a world movement, where we can link up and fight the system which forces the economic restraints. The relationship between the first and third worlds have to change. I do not know how donor agencies view this, but we will remain economically dependent. The question really is the following: how to begin a South-South dialogue to attack this world economic order, which prevents us from tackling a root problem.

TREVOR ABRAHAMS:

The question is: are we going to wipe up the water under the leaking tap, and not fix the top? I am not saying that efforts on the ground are meaningless, but we have to see the context which produces marginalisation. There are two levels that we have to consider:

- i) the structures that produce marginalisation. This includes the international as well as the national level.
- ii) When we intervene at the real level of the problem, we have to ask ourselves what the perspectives are that form our work. Where are the interventions teaching to?

There seems to be activities into which children are driven, around which I would not like to form cooperatives. Are we trying to make street children economically viable in whichever situation we find them in, or are we trying to see how they can integrate into a certain vision of our future society?

MARIA STELA GRACIANI:

The majority of people believes that the family is responsible for the situation of the child. We have to analyse the causes more deeply and more critically. I have a proposal viz. the training of all kinds of educators. Maybe we could organize an international conference in 1992/93, at which we could formulate principles, targets and goals in relation to our work with streetchildren.

SORAYHA JOHNSTONE:

My question is directed towards Trevor. I understand your and Jean's political context. Also I see streetchildren as a link to the whole involve of our political situation, i.e. factors leading up to this situation. So, if you talk about eradication of the origins, then it is a long process that

would be debated and lobbied by local NGOs. Their demand would be that government addresses the system of unemployment, housing, abuse - all factors which lead to the phenomenon of streetchildren. However, my question is simply: What do you suggest as an interim measure?

TREVOR ABRAHAMS:

I repeat: I am not against local initiatives, but I am pleading for a particular perspective. We, as South Africans, are entering a period where we are trying to chart out a different future. Part of the problems that we are trying to solve is specific to the nature of society that we have been enduring. Therefore, a formulation of the future ought to be the elimination of factors which produce these problems. The players in this process are multiple.

JÜRGEN ZIMMER:

I would like to respond to Jean's South-South proposal. I think that there is consensus on this issue amongst progressive groups in Latin America, probably in Africa and in Europe. But I see a specific difference in the paradigm of popular education between Africa and Latin America on the one hand and Asia on the other. The Asians emphasize popular economics rather than popular education. They are really struggling against the hegemonial powers of the North and against Japan. They are critically appraising all "imports" - whether it is Karl Marx or cooperatives. They are instead exploring the possibilities of the "family business".

JEAN PEASE:

For us, the main beacon is the area of teacher education, reeducation of teachers and what we understand by alternative education. Even when we talk about "economics from below", it seems to me that we are asking the following: what are schools for? In other words, how to make schooling more relevant, so that, even should children drop out, they still could be productive. And not a handing down of packaged knowledge, so that at the end of the day only 2 - 3 % are experts. In a period of transition in education it is very important that teacher unions, the NGOs and the teacher training colleges tackle this issue.

So, projects have to have a national dimension, find a network and identify areas of cooperation for strategic impact. That is crucial.

SOUTH AFRICAN PARTICIPANT:

Our concern is, that we are confronted by the kind of reality that Jean has described. We cannot operate in isolation, but we have to come together as South Africans to share our experiences and initiatives. We have to examine the possibility of a national campaign. We have to conscientize people around us, e.g. teachers, if we want to use them as resource persons. We need concreted efforts with representatives of various bodies like the churches to ensure that we do make an impact on future policy.

ELIZABETH SASSE:

With regard to the leaking tap. I think, that the background has got a lot to do with historical dependency. Therefore, we should also include this aspect in our analysis of the causes of marginalization.

IAN MKHIZE:

We have been tinkering with the edge of a problem. Street children are only one aspect. There is still the marginalized youth, who have been cadres of the political struggle, and forced out of the schools, but who are NOT to be found on the streets. Where are they? They are excluded from the broader political question, although they have served the struggle. We have to grapple with this. The national initiative, the Joint Enrichment Project, is looking at the issue of marginalized youth. They are quantifying the issue, so that we know what we are dealing with. Marginalized youth have to be put onto the agenda of the reformulation of the social policy.

JEAN PEASE:

The idea of popular economics may be more suitable for the marginalized youth, who have some education and who are 17, 18 or 19 years old. Because popular education has to lead to job creation by necessity. But at the same time one has to give the marginalized youth a vision of society, because that is what they fought for.

Maybe we could get some information on how "economics from below" can be structured. Not cooperatives, because they are useless in an economic system like South Africa's. However, maybe there are structures which challenge the economic status quo and at the same time supply jobs or careers for marginalized youth.

11. MEDIA

CHAIRPERSON:

The opening address of this workshop will be held by VUSI MCHUNU, a writer and the editor of the journal "Isivivane". MCHUNU will speak on "Negating the Apartheid abuse of culture and the creation a positive self-image".

VUSI MCHUNU:

Our culture is misused for touristic purposes. It is not seen as a dynamic and progressive culture. As we move in this transitional period, we should consider the positive values of our people in the rural areas, which are in opposition to a colonial, Apartheid and ethnic approach to our own cultures. My argument is, that a large portion of our people still lead a traditional way of life. We, as people in a new situation, can gain a lot from incorporating those aspects of these cultures. If you regard the Vendas, the Tsongas and the Xhosas in their traditional setting as a promotion of tribalism or the Apartheid culture, then I think that would be a denial of the truth of these cultures.

As we move towards a national culture, we should realize that the components that are the basis and feed that national culture would be the several cultures of these people. This is going to be our reality, as it is the reality of many cultures in Africa. Simply to say that we are "national" and it is taboo to speak of "Venda" culture or "Swazi" culture, would not bring us very far. This would, of course, include other communities as well, e.g. the Indian community etc. But my focus is the African people, who are the real victims of this situation.

The other issue I want to raise is the question of language. It is very controversial and highly emotional. But it is my contention that the languages of development in South Africa are mainly the Nguni, the Sotho and Tswana languages. Language is a tool to understand one's environment, interpret and gain knowledge. What interests me is the South-South dialogue, and languages play a major role here. The Nguni languages cover a region all the way from Cape Town to Malawi. These are millions of people. English, of course, will remain a linking language. But developmental considerations will have to include the regional and continental dimensions of language.

One other point has been neglected, namely that of the arts and integration of the arts in the school curriculum. In South Africa there is a tradition to relegate art to folklore and craftwork. It is not integrated as a tool to facilitate other processes. There is a need to integrate arts and art education into education from kindergarten to university. Culture does provide alternative answers to all these pressures that we face.

This leads me to role models. Culture provides other role models and this should be integrated into schools. Also to counter the influx of Western images, which tend to negate our own reality. It promotes false desires amongst our people.

An education which considers all these issues of liberation has to provide alternative images which are positive to motivate people to encounter that kind of culture.

Culture is fundamental and much more profound than many other issues. What has contributed to the survival of South Africans, also those in exiles, maintain their identity, was the socialisation through culture.

It is imperative that we adopt a non-sectarian approach. Let us stop writing for the ANC, the PAC, for the Black Consciousness Movement. Let us paint, take photographs and interpret the realities of our people as a whole. The role we have to play is to unite alternative ways of achieving unity. We have to operate within the liberation movement, but not in a sectarian fashion.

Cultural work should be non-sectarian, pro-liberation; it should isolate the oppressor and promote the aims and ambitions of the people.

I made some very good experiences during my stay in South Africa with several drama groups, e.g. the SOYIKWA PLAYERS. This group, for instance, does a lot of work with schools in Soweto, using theatre to motivate people. In addition they try to make teachers and principals of schools realize that art should be seen as a serious tool in education.

What dawned on me in South Africa, while visiting the various art and drama groups, was the necessity for networking the communicating initiatives that do exist. Such a national initiative already exists in Zimbabwe. Wameri, a Kenyan exile in Zimbabwe, gave a series of

lectures and workshops in Johannesburg at the invitation of the African Cultural Centre. Amongst others, he spoke about the creation of a national network of community development projects in Zimbabwe. They also publish a journal.

So, in conclusion, I would just like to emphasize once again the need for networking inside South Africa.

PEGGY LUSWAZI:

There are two or three resource persons in this workshop, who could relate their experiences. These experiences are very similar to those of Vusi, e.g. Miriam Caetano from Brazil, who could talk about fighting for the recognition of a negated black culture in Brazil. Abdul Akalimat could talk about the Afro-American cultural experience, after which we could have the inputs on media and children's culture.

MIRIAM CAETANO:

The Afro-Brazilian culture was destroyed since the African people were kidnapped by Brazil. The nations were separated. This prevented maintaining their traditions and cultures and led to resistance by black Brazilians. One of the initial expressions of resistance was the dancing culture. It simulated a way of fighting and was called CAPUEDA. It stems from the time of the kidnapping of our ancestors and continues until today as a form of cultural resistance. One of our struggles is to get CAPUEDA integrated into the physical education curriculum at schools. Some schools do have it in their curriculum, but it is not institutionalized as yet.

Another form of resistance was religion. Catholicism, although an imposed religion, was the only chance for Afro-Brazilians to get together in worship. In the churches there were images of Catholic saints, but the Afro-Brazilians gave African names to those saints. They practised their own religion until they had their own churches. However, this was forbidden until 1978. People who practised the Afro-Brazilian religion were imprisoned. The Black Movement contributed very much to the struggle against the prohibition of the Afro-Brazilian religion.

After the liberation of the Afro-Brazilian people, they organized a Black Brazilian Front. It is a socio-political and cultural movement, which was very alive until it became a political party. The colonialists destroyed

this movement, and culture had to go underground. In 1978, in the midst of the dictatorship, the Black Unified Movement was founded. It occupied the most important theatre, denounced Brazilian racism and the false racist democracy. It also denounced all methods of exterminating black people, including its culture and racism.

There is a tendency to reduce Afro-Brazilian culture to folklore and to marginalize the people. It is part of the colonising politics to claim that all values of Afro-Brazilian cultures are superficial and that they only serve the purpose of the movement like the dance or singing. And that it is inferior to the dominant, eurocentric culture of Brazil.

The Blacks, who manage to attend school, learn to forget their blackness. In order to be accepted, they have to "whiten up". The cultural movements made up the slogan which says: "Educate yourself Black, inspite of school."

This is the basis from which we worked with educators and students. The main goal was a recovery of the culture and identity of the black people. In this world, we have to teach the origins of dance and of Afro-Brazilian religions. They are told it is a form of primitive animism. People are prejudiced against a religion that they do not know or understand. Our work has been to teach the history and the origins of our religions and culture in order to fight against prejudice. The dance is usually seen as an expression of black people's inability to think or rationalize. But we show that the dance is part of the cultural and historical identity and an identity that other people do not have.

The same applies to music. We want it to be integrated into the school curricula. And in Maths they should be taught "majorities", "minorities" and the "distribution of goods" between the two. In the mass media, we have tried to show that the Brazil television which claims to be international is really only eurocentric. And mass media promotes ideals of beauty that are alien.

ABDUL AKALIMAT:

The black experience in the US is really at the other end of the continuum, in the sense that black people in the US are highly urbanized, existing in an advanced industrial context. Yet within that context they are segregated into relatively isolated communities. Since the mechanical

cotton picker was invented in 1944, black people have not essentially been on the land - so that is 50 years of transformation.

I want to make three points.

- i) Black culture in the US is the driving force in American culture. On the one hand it expresses the black experience, which is very much at the heart of the American story, e.g. Jazz is the central music to come out of the US. On the other hand as an advanced capitalist society, commodification, i.e. cultural production for sale, is at a very high level. So, what was created yesterday in the community is tomorrow packaged and sold for everybody. This commodification has an homogenizational function, i.e. it takes the uniqueness of out something and turns it into something accessible for everybody. This change happens very quickly in the US. There are no isolated traditional communities in which things can germinate. As black culture enters into American culture, the question is to what extent does it become a vehicle for US imperialism. This is not true for inside the States, but true for everybody in the world.
- ii) What's interesting now is a re-africanisation of African-American culture. In the 60s this was an ideological question - search for identity, the discovery of Africa, the absorption of Africa. But today this is a matter of resettlement. It is part of the new world order, particularly in the East Coast of the US. Waves of people from Haiti, Jamaica, Puerto Rico and the West Coast of Africa come to the US. So now people are discovering forms of African religion that have been sustained, particularly Santaria - this is not unlike the experience in Brazil. The question of the diversity of African cultures throughout the Americas. This is only on the East Coast - it has not penetrated further.
- iii) In response to Vusi's point about culture as a unifying force. In the US the black experience is divided sharply along class lines. The cultural revival that is occurring is the culture of youth, first starting out as a negation of the terrible conditions in the urban context. But quickly commodified and transformed as a cultural product, to be sold - not just to the people in the communities of the cultural innovation, i.e. in the Bronx, Brooklyn, etc. But now to youth in the working and middle

classes, including white middle classes throughout the entire society, with the artists making a lot of money. A subversion by the market-place, with very few institutions able to protect and sustain it. This is a basis for political action. Amongst the middle classes you have accomplishment and then you have criticism that divorces culture from its origins and social roots. But what remains as the unifying culture of all the classes is the culture focus in the church. Gospel music is not only sung by working class people, but in every college campus very often the most dynamic cultural organization is the Gospel Choir. So the church is still the unifying cultural context for the centre community. Finally, we do not have a cultural movement, leading politically. But I am confident that when we have a political movement, then we will have such a cultural context.

PEGGY LUSWAZI:

There is a very big problem here. I would like to pose questions which I think, we as South Africans face. I hope that the other South Africans will express their views as well.

Apartheid has abused cultural identity to further its goals, as everybody knows. My consciousness is a contradictory consciousness. I find it very hard to take decisions where I stand up to certain forms of my cultural identity. Precisely because it is been abused to divide people for the purpose of divide and rule! When we hear things like Tsonga, Venda, Xhosa, we immediately think in negative categories, because within the struggle we have been saying that the goal is to create a national identity and to negate the separation. And yet for people to regain their strength and their dignity they have to stand up to their culture. I hope the contradiction is clear. My question: how do you reconcile these one opposing claims:

- i) of creating a national identity, while negating the abuse of culture and
- ii) creating a positive stance?

GEORGE MASHAMBA:

When creating a national identity, I do not necessarily see a contradiction with the existence of different ethnic groups, even if they are along language lines. The creation of a national identity is sited within a

broader political position, which basically denied the blacks any human consideration and political form of expression.

So, we are trying to say that that aspect of our lives as South Africans should be common even if you do have different ethnic groups, that are speaking different languages.

The problem of how you still get the different ethnic groupings living with each other in reality, is not solved. What we also need to correct is fighting people. The cultural values that each ethnic group has and which we have to accept, have both positive as well as negative sides. They can only exist alongside of each other, if first and foremost we respect the fact that they do have different customs and cultures.

The question of the creation of a national identity should not be understood as a means of saying - we want them mixed and others taking over the customs and folklore of the other groups. If a national identity is seen as ignoring the cultural difference among black people, we are making a big mistake. This is an issue, which has to be solved within the context of liberation.

We need to look at the positive aspects, because there are also negative aspects which work against each other.

ABDURAGIEM JOHNSTONE:

Our exile comrades sound very abstract as if the cultural movements or organizations are highly theoretical. That is incorrect.

There has been a negritude movement started by people like Steve Biko. They have imported much of the cultural values of positive figures from the US like Garvey, Malcolm X etc. The organised cultural action started then. It has grown into much more qualified cultural organizations where they are talking about national organizations. In the Cape area you have the "Cultural Worker's Congress". Each region has its own congress or organization. Over the years, we have evolved different writers' groupings like the African Writers' Association, which is slightly panAfricanist, Skrywersgulde, Congress of South African Writers - mainly pro-ANC, but which has opened up to Unity Movement people for example. By pointing out this, I want to drive home that

people from different persuasions and ethnic backgrounds are involved in an engagement that is not theoretical in the shifting of values.

There is a large cultural production. Theatre has been used as agitational propaganda. We advanced the armed struggle. We asked the people to become the eyes and the ears of the people. We used theatre to ask people to join Umkhonto we Sizwe. We used the walls for propaganda - graffiti. We made films. We have documentaries. We have poets and folk culture. We have used each and every form of art in South Africa. Filming was done on a much smaller scale, because it was not an art form easily accessible to poorer people.

These artistic creations or productions are not qualified yet, but they are being processed. Referring to what Abdul said about the US: there are local productions and packages. We produce locally, but are exploited universally.

The arts movement is not a theoretical movement. It is also a movement in which we discuss whether to write in English or not - and capture the English market. Or to write in Sesotho and be able to express art better, culture better. We have within our midst people from the working classes, professors and what is known as "liberal white people". And we all get together in a melting pot and share ideas on what arts should be. Its contents, for instance. So we have debating forums. Most of the time the professors hold sway, because they command a language that is not accessible to the majority of us. Thus they can determine the critique of literature, the critique of arts. Should arts be revolutionary, subversive? These are the things, that we are debating about at home. There is a lot of confusion and progress - but we are making a lot of art.

The other issue that reflects the political situation is where some artists are saying let us engage the state. So people go into the "Herrenvolk"-theatre, a theatre that belongs to the state and say - we want to exhibit. Or go to the National Gallery which was reserved for whites only - and say: We want to exhibit our images here. The Grahamstown Festival is something which goes back to the 1820 British settlers. - We do not moan, "Ouch, you're hitting us" - and freak out, and winge, "We're black" and so on. No. We are going for proactive action within the arts. So we go to Grahamstown and demand space. So they give us space.

Some people say, we are selling out. We may be selling out. But we are taking the space today and determining the course for tomorrow.

I have worked in the arts area. I have helped set up the Cape branch of COSAW. There I produce and edit books, facilitate poetry and drama workshops. So, in South Africa we have used the arts effectively, but not sufficiently effectively.

In conclusion - when we read poetry the state was killing us on the streets and maiming people. In fact it was like naked fascism. At that time we used poetry and slogans. We would say:

"We join the struggle.
Identify with the struggle.
Learn how to use a limpet mine."

Now we have moved away from slogans to a different phase. It is now partially theory and partially experience. What is interesting about the arts movement - I do not know, that one can call it culture - is that when repression was severe, it was the arts movement that actually kept the morale up. We also experienced attacks from the side of the politicians. We had to fight to get the arts onto the agenda.

ABDUL AKALIMAT:

I would like to make a sobering point. It is certainly reasonable and moral to want groups to respect each other. I do not think it is going to be true. I do not think South Africa is going to be any different from anywhere else. We can look at Eastern Europe, we can look at the Soviet Union and we can see what is happening to getting people to respect each other as a goal. But I do not think we can look at it morally or voluntaristically, but materially in terms of how history is unfolding. So, instead of talking about freedom, we have to talk about necessity.

I would like to go back to Peggy's question about the issue of national identity. The contradiction is between what the State does in setting up standards in education for citizenship. On the other hand there are the realities of the local groups. The bottom line seems to me to be that only equals respect each other. That is true in the US. We have culture in the black community, but it is treated as exotic; it is treated as something that is appropriated for own interests. But respect occurs between equals. Therefore, the development of the economy, the development of

regions in the country enables people to begin to be equal and on that basis their culture is transformed. And it is on that basis that people will develop respect. In other words, it seems to me that meetings like this one, which do not expect cultural conflict to intensify, are being naive. The reality is that cultural conflict is going to be like Buthelezi calling upon traditional culture in terms of hierarchies of exploitation and therefore requiring class struggle within each group to bring forward cultural values that are tied in. And that national culture is going to be created through necessity. Mechanisms of communication, e.g. national T.V. - these are practical questions, where language plays a role.

MIRIAM CAETANO:

The questions raised by Peggy are fundamental for South Africans. You should know and understand the cultural differences of the various ethnic groups to make a national project that would include the culture of the different groups which starts from the common interests, that takes into account the national unity. South Africans should try not to make the same mistakes and take the same risks that other African states have made: that after liberation they let themselves be controlled by imperialism and not try to recover their own culture. For me it is very important that there are several African cultures. If there is a problem, then it is creating and organising a policy of self-knowledge of the cultures. It is important to form people with a strong cultural identity. Instead of worrying about the European culture, one should try to understand ones own culture in order to make progress in the real liberty. In this process it is important that the educational and cultural movements work together with the popular political movements and with the people.

GLADWELL OTIENO:

To go back to what Miriam said about self-knowledge: We have to remember that big ruptures were brought about by slavery and by colonialism. What we have today is not only a remnant of what we had before, but it is sometimes falsified. If we look at the South African system of Bantustans where cultures were emptied of their content, deformed and used against the people, then we have to try to establish what our culture really is and what are really cultural differences, what are ethnic groups, what are tribes, what are nations? I identify with Kenia, which is a creation of these colonialists. Especially as African women, we have experienced the falsification of African culture and so-

called traditions and the perpetuation of patriarchal structures, which were part and parcel of our traditional societies. I would not like to say our traditional society was paradise. But we have experienced the falsification of tradition and the keeping alive artificially of certain traditions to protect the privileges of particular classes in the society. We have the fact of the colonialists' ruling in a particular way, leading to the creation of institutions which were never African. There were never any chiefs. How much is ideology, how much is reality? All this has to be sorted out. There is no such thing as a pure culture. But I do not want to negate the importance of having our own culture. It has sustained us through slavery and colonisation in both Africa as well as in the diaspora. I think, we should remember the unity of black culture. There are unifying elements in African culture.

PEGGY LUSWAZI:

I want to summarize, by saying how I understood the discussion. We agreed that as colonized people, we are highly alienated from ourselves, each other and our culture. The heart of the alienation can be seen as having occurred through the process of assimilation, which means, there are certain aspects of our culture which we have taken over from other people. And this need not be seen in negative terms, because nations and peoples have always adapted or learnt from each other. But what we are actually talking about is the problem of the development of a negative self-image, which we pick up in the process of socialization. We see the values of those that are in power as being THE values and negate in ourselves and other value systems, which are associated with the cultures that have been negated or underrated by the colonial powers.

Now, if I understood Abdul, he is saying, we can discuss, we can change our consciousness, but that will not change our situation. The recognition of our cultural heritage, or the development of a positive self-image can only occur if we have power. That is, we are talking in materialistic terms. We are talking about economic development. My question would be: what are the implications then of these perceptions, e.g. for education, educational action? What has to be done media and the falsification of values? media and the subversion of a culture of resistance; media as a tool to advance peoples hopes and aspirations. ...

CHAIRPERSON:

Our next contribution will highlight an attempt to give children a forum for self-expression in the form of their own magazine.

PATRICK SOLOMONS:

We found that there was a gross imbalance in the educational resources for children. This is not only the case for Africa, but it is a global problem. We contend that what children see, know, hear and read is of great consequence for their future as well as the future of their society. We also understand that the consumer industry creates needs - needs for clothes, food and toys.

The challenge for alternatives is a great one, because we are challenging a global problem where media is basically in control of a particular system that is economic and consumer-oriented.

In SA the situation for children is such that they grow up malnourished, suffering the effects of ill-health, in communities where unemployment is rife, where schooling is very poor, where violence happens everyday. This is the situation in which a magazine like "Molo Songololo" operates.

"Molo Songololo", a magazine for children, starts from the premise that children have a right to express themselves. That children should be given the opportunity to reflect on their situation, but also be allowed to interpret their situation as children. Generally, the media does not give children this opportunity. To a large extent, media in SA is not accessible to children. For large numbers of children the only books or magazines that they see are their textbooks or magazines or newspapers which their parents may bring home. It was within this context that "Molo Songololo" tried to make an impact in the Western Cape.

The background of our project:

The publication came about in 1979, in the Year of the Child of the UNO. At that time community activists started working with children, because of the international focus. The work done with children, gave them a chance to reflect on their situation. They were able to reflect on where they came from, what they do, what they know about their environment, about their parents, where they work, the problems their parents experience. That exercise reflected very clearly that there is a

wealth of knowledge and experiences of children that has to be reflected by other children. Through the Apartheid system the Western Cape is divided into different communities. Often children only get contact with children from other communities when they have to go out and look for work.

The goals and ideas for publications for children developed out of these basic insights and experiences. At the moment, the project tries to facilitate for the expression of children, their ideas, feelings and experiences. It also tries to promote democratic values and principles.

And a very strong basis are the objective conditions in which children find themselves. We also believe in the active participation of children in determining media which is directed towards them particularly.

We have the situation where the majority of children attend school, with no reading material. The Apartheid system has created illiteracy. It is though the provision of basic reading material in the form of a children's magazine, that they try to get children to actually read the written word.

To date, we produce 33,000 copies every six weeks. The publication also tries to promote the three main languages spoken in the Western Cape: English, Afrikaans and Xhosa.

In trying to develop the children's participation within the publication, a large part of the work consists of going out to engage the child within the process, e.g., if we focus on the proliferation of violence in the Western Cape, we bring children together to share their experiences and ideas in workshops. They put their ideas and reflections onto paper, through drawings. This in turn would be sifted and simulated and made accessible to the broader readership. Through this method children's participation in the publication becomes a reality.

Because of the distribution network through the school structures, we have been able to involve teachers and their ideas in the publication. To date, we find that many teachers use the magazine as a resource at school, to complement their syllabus.

The magazine reflects the children's contributions around particular themes and issues. There is an emphasis on understanding and learning other languages. It reflects literacy and numeracy exercises. Basic skills are conveyed.

Through the contact with children, we try to encourage children to produce their own work at a school level. The establishment of a representative children's editorial group also facilitates the assimilation of the appropriateness of the publication. The editorial group becomes a more conscious and direct link between the readership in the different communities and the group that puts the publication together. The editorial group is encouraged to be actively involved in the actual production of the publication. At the same time, the promotion of school publications, whether wall newspapers, charts for classrooms and the like, encourages independent work.

Children also use the magazine as source material for their school projects. Demands for a strong educational component thus come from both pupils and teachers. Because of the close working relationship with children and teachers, we often find that the direction is determined by this very contact.

There are many limitations to our work. The educational needs that we identify at the school cannot be met. Another limitation is that the publication has only 16 pages plus insert. And at the same time we try to respond to the needs of the broader readership. The numerous letters, phone calls and responses we receive from children often highlight these needs, which range from wanting to know more about Nelson Mandela, wanting answers about child abuse, incest, information about plants and animals, or Afrikaans subject-oriented issues.

Another level that we identified as a need was to organize a teacher workshop programme and a children's workshop programme. But also to get involved in other children-related issues in the environment of the Western Cape.

The challenges facing us today is, to encourage the readership to develop resource bases, to produce their own media at school. For groups of children in the community to be able identify and gain access to those

limited resources available and develop creativity in the production of their own media.

We also identified that there is a need for the publication to facilitate the processes around certain issues - e.g. literacy, children's rights, child abuse, health issues etc. At the moment, we are working at this. We hope that our interventions would help the community identify the problem of children's media and react to it. But mainly to involve children, so that they produce their own media.

VUSI MCHUNU:

There are children and children, coming from different sections of society. I am aware of a growing squatter community in Cape Town. Which problems do you address in these marginalized groups? This would include the Coloured community.

There has been talk here about a positive self-image. Within your work with children, how do you respond to the flood of images from other media? What is your approach to attaining freedom for all?

PATRICK SOLOMONS:

As we all know, the communities in South Africa are quite divided. There are also very real structural divides that still exist. Within each area there are special developments - e.g. development of a middle class.

When we go to the children, we bear in mind their particular social conditions which is expressed in terms of local politics. 1985 was the year particularly of political unrest in squatter areas like Crossroads. The response in terms of giving support to the community, to the parents, to the mothers was to go into the squatter camps to work there. We tried to get the adults, i.e. the parents involved in this process. Using their experiences, we tried intervening: practising survival skills, how to respond to teargassing, how to treat buckshot, but we also touched on basic health problems. We start off from the needs of the children and try to incorporate broader democratic principles and values into that process.

We have often facilitated children of the various "ethnic" groups coming together. They speak different languages, practise different religions,

have different experiences, have different ways of expressing themselves and have different tastes. The workshop programmes try to demystify some of the differences, getting children to appreciate similarities. Through physical contact and interaction, we try and break down barriers. Also by getting them to share and debate their various experiences and ideas. We involve their feelings. Through these experiences, whether by starting off with an icebreaker, or getting children to touch each other, introductory games are very important.

The parameters are made very clear to the children at the offset. Because of the experience of the children, the editorial has to shift. We may have identified certain needs which came out of particular assessment, e.g. overt violence in the community. Because of the interactions, we discover there is another level of violence viz. the abuse of children by friends, neighbours, by adults. So, we had to emphasize this, because this was a major experience of the children. As far as possible, we try to facilitate the children's own expressions here.

The underlying values that we always try to promote would be non-racism, non-sexism, sharing, caring, showing respect for each other, whether its at production line, or taking them on a little outing, doing workshops, or attending a play. These values always form the basis from which we operate. As far as possible, we encourage debate amongst the children on these issues. Where we find that children, because of their experiences express opposites to these values, we would stop the process and get other children to engage them, in order to create understanding. Working with children is sometimes very difficult. You cannot force processes onto them. This has to be borne in mind when working with children. Children have baggage that they carry with them, and they interpret their baggage in a particular way.

PARTICIPANT:

You are describing, Patrick, a very unusual process by any country's standard. In the sense of being able through political and social education in the context of a community to influence the mainstream curriculum of a school. To what extent does the schooling system that uses the magazines continue to interpret their own role as school in the same direct political way that the magazine addresses the task of working with young children and their development? How does - whatever they use

from the magazine in terms of legitimizing it as curriculum - assist then in reviewing more generally the official curriculum?

PATRICK SOLOMONS:

Apartheid education is still being taught today. Through the struggles in education, but also as a result of the political struggle, we have been able to widen gaps. More and more teachers are trying to go beyond those imposed limitations in a very practical and real way. The magazine is a resource for these teachers, whether it is with the first class - the basics of the development of words or projects for older grades. Our magazine introduces topics which the textbooks do not allow. Issues that are related to the day to day experiences of the child. The majority of children go into the classroom with their own baggage - parents may be unemployed, most of them have at the most one meal per day, illness is rife. These are situations that teachers are confronted with. And teachers have begun to articulate this, saying that in the face of such problems, they cannot simply teach only what is in the textbooks. So, through the kind of movement in the educational field, through the unions, resource centres, teachers organization etc. these gaps have been widened.

At the beginning of the year, we facilitated a conference of primary school teachers at which the theme was "Teacher Participation in Curriculum Development". We were shocked by the number of teachers who did not understand the workings of a syllabus or a work plan. These are people who teach in an urban environment, where knowledge is available, where unions are alive, where teacher organizations are active. These are realities in particularly the primary school sector. The teachers expressed that the kind of struggle that was being advanced through the unions, was ignoring them. They spoke of their experience - e.g. they know how to cope with 50 - 60 children per class despite the structural or content limitation. They have experiences and it has to be utilized. They also expressed that they need to develop more of their own. And it is in this process that the magazine "Molo Songololo" becomes a facilitator for needs and concerns, if not survival, for some of these teachers. And teachers can go back to their classrooms and sometimes with their pupils create their own resources and further widen that gap. Because they will still have to teach the syllabus for the next three or four years. They are still governed by principals and inspectors who will put their feet down. There are real threats. These are some of the limitations that exist there.

Children have very real structural limitations. Children are seen as minors with no rights by society. Children are constantly told: "Do this!" - "Don't do that!" - "Keep quiet!" - "Sit still!" - "Go and play outside!" So, we still have a long way to go to involve a broad sector of the community to understand that children are educators.

We have discovered that not only children read "Molo Songololo", their families read it too. We get feedback, e.g. certain sections of the children want a greater focus on learning Xhosa or English.

The contribution of the children themselves varies. The insert on plants and animals developed out of the needs of the school environment. Children said they wanted this focus.

We have a letters page and children phone in to us, sometimes just to say, "Molo Songololo" ("Hello, millipede!") or to express their concerns. They send in letters, drawings. Groups of children, or school classes send in projects that they have done. If this is relevant to the broader readership it would get published. So, we give children space and a forum. We would sometimes target a group and give them space in the magazine.

As far as possible, we try, through the process of debate, to identify what is relevant for the readership in terms of their interaction at community level, in their homes, with their families, with their friends and neighbours, with the issues that affect them, the school and the churches. These conditions determine and reflect the priorities.

PARTICIPANT:

Given the absence of good positive resources in the educational system, have you put together material from the magazine into various publications, e.g. publishing a series of short stories, or the inserts, so that parents or schools elsewhere could buy these things, i.e. whether the general availability could be enhanced?

PATRICK SOLOMONS:

What you have mentioned are some of the limitations and challenges that we have identified. Teachers have come to us asking for more material, e.g. a geography insert we made, or the insert on violence was used in English lessons - language development and so on. We would

then compile to satisfy these needs. At the moment, we are debating about whether we need to develop into that area, going beyond the limitations of a magazine, looking at the contents of the magazine, but also at other resources. There is a wealth of resources also in the Western Cape. There are many other projects with which we network many things. The requests from teachers are on the increase. And when children have to work on a project, e.g. child abuse, plants or animals, they approach us for aid.

PEGGY LUSWAZI:

I want to ask a question which would give this discussion a different approach: with which expectations did you come to this conference? Which issues would you like us to discuss?

PATRICK SOLOMONS:

Yes, it is unfortunate that it was only on arrival that we discovered that we had to make an input. We find that we do not have many examples in South Africa of a project like "Molo Songololo". We know "Upbeat", the magazine for young people. But our approach and our work is different. The magazine is the base for the project. Because of the nature of our interaction with children, needs were expressed and we respond to those needs. Therefore, we have a workshop programme for children. We also act as facilitators for street children and primary school teachers.

We are therefore interested in finding out if there are other examples of our kind of work. We would like to find out whether we are approaching things in the right way. Which limitations do conference participants identify with regard to our publication? Should we produce three publications instead of one, i.e. one in English, one in Xhosa and one in Afrikaans, as has been suggested? The production team has real limitations, particularly with regard to translations. Are there examples from similar projects? How are people dealing with these problems? What are possible solutions? We have financial limitations, resource limitations. The developing of resource material for children is also a question of scope. How should we confront massmedia, other publications and publishing houses? Yes, they are producing good things, but these things are not accessible. Children's books are very expensive. Which other organizations have engaged media at that level?

PARTICIPANT:

I have been involved in Black education struggles in various parts of England since 1965. The situation there was and still is critical for a number of reasons. There are some similarities, through which I would like to isolate. Fundamentally, we as Blacks have come from different parts of the former colonial world into a totally racist society, part of whose function before has been to negate ones cultures and render inferior our own curriculum. The challenge facing us therefore, was whether we would allow British schools to continue to permit a racist culture, a racist curriculum to black students. There was nothing at all about Black history, nothing about the literature being written in Southern Africa and in the Caribbean. And very significantly there was nothing at all about the very struggles that we as Black people are involved in, our attempts at survival in British society. So, we had to take an initiative outside of the schooling system, which was in a sense informed by experiences that our children were making in the schools, but also what progressive white teachers were making and were telling us. On this basis, we began to publish our own materials. We imported books from the Caribbean, from Africa and from the Indian subcontinent.

In 1966 the first Black publishing house called "New Beacon Books" was founded in London. The editor had been involved in liberation struggles against the colonial regime in Trinidad and also in Venezuela before coming to England. I have brought a catalogue along with me, which was issued for the 25th anniversary of the New Beacon Books. This was the first example anywhere in Britain of Black people publishing or writing and of black books being sold. These books could not be found in libraries or bookshops.

Effectively what Britain's educational system was saying was that its curriculum was legitimate. The experiences of Blacks are illegitimate. Knowledge is solely white and eurocentric and British. So that part of the publishing has been about encouraging both young people and adults, working people, women at home to write about their experiences. And putting it together so that we could go to schoolboards and challenge them on matters like English curriculum, e.g. that one stops talking about English literature, but literature in English. We had great battles with the examination boards for English literature, because they insisted on prescribing traditional English literature like Shakespeare,

but never anything written by black people. It was by getting individual teachers to work together with us in communities on developing curricula and then taking those projects into the schools through the trade union movement that we were able to make the various inroads.

Once this project started a number of other similar projects began to operate throughout the country and we started what we called "Supplementary Schools". The communities themselves run school on Saturdays or Sundays. We not only look at the damage done by mainstream schooling, using teaching kits, mathematics, geography, but particularly by giving the children a better sense and understanding of their own culture and their own history. The supplementary school movement in Britain have been operating since the midsixties. The important thing is that even now, we are still battling with school boards to get them to incorporate these curricula which we use in the supplementary school into the mainstream schools. Even though we have been doing this for 25 years now, we have not yet reached the point that "Molo Songololo" has, viz. that that curriculum, which is shaped outside of the classroom, is legitimized within the classroom itself.

In 1975 the Black Parents' Movement, of which I am a member, declared in statements published countrywide that independent parents' power and independent students' power were the key to changing education and schooling in the country. We have students organising themselves and working and meeting together, using desktop publishing etc. So that they are able to share with other students in other cities their experiences especially the struggles that they have won at schools. Parents who are part of adult education and literacy programmes write about their experiences. This gets published and used in the schooling system.

So to return to the concrete questions that you raised, Patrick. It seems to me that in the same way that we in England have got links to projects similar to our own in New York, Wisconsin and in Chicago, through the link with Abdul Akalimat and "Twenty-First Century Books", we send our own "Black Parents' Journal" to them. We would find it very valuable indeed to get copies of "Molo Songololo" and exchange information, because your experience can us form our struggle and vice versa.

You mentioned the question of the costs of publication. It seems to me that what "Molo Songololo" is doing, has to be the basis for the transition from Apartheid education system to the kind of education we want in the new SA. Because it has to be about legitimizing curriculum; enabling a curriculum to develop, which fundamentally addresses the needs of the nation. And all the contradictions which exist even after the Post-Apartheid situation. The question then is, how can one convert and transform the existing media with all its capacity to produce to this agenda? By what method can one appropriate it for certain purposes? I would have thought that one of the major objectives was to find the resources to enable you to use the new technology, e.g. desktop computer to increase production and therefore to disseminate the magazine more widely also beyond South Africa's borders. The issue of getting teachers to work with parents and students and having the products put together in whatever form that could be shared, would be very important.

The creative material need not only be the written word. We do a lot of work together with tapes and we exchange tapes. We have a bank of audio tapes that is used very creatively in assisting in the organizations in the communities. So, one is not only handing on a product, but also a process. For many people the process is more important than the product.

PATRICK SOLOMONS:

I would like to get some feedback on this issue from Maria. Has media for children been developed in Latin America?

MARIA STELA GRACIANI:

We began with the reflection on how children felt within the Brazilian culture. The children elaborated their personal histories. From that we got to know what was necessary for the children to gain their own positive, black cultural identity. The first means of communication was education within the school system. We embarked on a programme by asking questions in the local newspapers and in the newsletter of the Secretary of Education of Sao Paulo. The slogan was: "Teacher, are you a racist?" This question provoked a great discussion in the society. The teachers and the media presented us with other publications to clarify this questions and to participate in this debate. In this way, we opened communication for our ideas and to propose ways of acting against

Brazilian racism. Also for the recovery of identity and self-esteem of the black child. Many teachers are debating the question of racism and prejudice in Brazil. And how to transform the situation. They are divided into different groups. One is press and communication. They have to show up racism and publish works done by children against racism and organize interviews.

Another group is entitled visual communication and is responsible for using posters, photographs etc. to show up racism, but also the progress in the struggle against racism.

A third group is organised around the topic of videos, making video tapes on the recovery of identity, black beauty, black culture, music, dance and the African and Afro-Brazilian history.

Another group is responsible for the publication of a book on this anti-racist struggle. Yet another group is responsible for the organization of parties for children from Afro-Brazilian background, because festivals are white-oriented with figures like Snow-White playing an important role. The children wanted us to produce African superheroes. We use these as decorations for the African parties. Now the children want us to make comics. This is what we are presently working at.

We are also working on preparing children to be mannequins which is one means to try and promote black ideas of beauty and subsequently of identity. We have forced the entrance of black children onto TV. Our work always has social, cultural and political dimensions.

Lastly, it is the Black Movement that organises these programmes and the social movement goes along with it.

We work in a parallel education system. We intervene directly into the education system. Both from within and without. In this way, we try to engage the state.

12. TRANSCULTURALISM IN EDUCATION I

The introductory input was made by NANNA, an American teaching in Berlin. She presented an example of a method employed to incorporate an antiracist approach into classroom instruction, which empowers both students and teachers and which challenges them to learn together through a combination of experiential learning exercises, e.g. role-playing or textbook analysis.

The example was the rather controversial topic for 1992 viz. "Discovering Columbus". A colleague in the United States was quoted. "I begin class by stealing a student's purse. I announce that the purse is mine. Obviously, because I have it in my hand. Most students are fair-minded. They saw me take the purse of the desk. So they protest. I brush these objections aside and reiterate that the purse is indeed mine. And to prove this, I show the class all the things that are in the purse. So I take out a brush, some money, a tube of lipstick. And I say, 'This is my lipstick'. And this proves, that the purse is mine". The children are outraged that I would pry into someone else's possessions with such disregard for privacy. I then say to the class: "You say, it's Nicky's purse. How can you be so sure? How do you know that it is not my purse?" There are different answers: "We saw you take it!" "That's her lipstick. We know that you don't wear lipstick!" "Her name is on it!" Then I even help them to prove the ownership. I suggest questions like: "Whose labour earned the money to bring the contents in the purse?" Obvious questions and obvious answers. I make one last effort to keep the purse. "What if I say, I discovered the purse? Then it is mine!" The class still feels the purse is rightfully Nicky's. So I ask the class, "Why do we say that Columbus discovered America? Was it a discovery?" At this stage, the class sees the connection between Nicky's purse and the native Americans' land. I set a series of questions like, "Were there people on the land when Columbus arrived?" "Who had been on the land longer, Columbus or the Native Americans?" The students see what I am leading up to. It would be hard not to! But I continue with questions: "What was the first thing Columbus did when he arrived in the New World? Right! He took possession of it. After all, he had discovered the place."

We talk about phrases other than "discovery" which textbooks could use to describe what Columbus did or what the teacher did to Nicky's purse.

The children then said, "He stole it", "He just took it", "He ripped them off", "He invaded, conquered it". I wanted children to see for themselves that the word "discovery" carries a perspective and a bias. It is a case of the invaders masking their theft. And when the word gets repeated in textbooks, the textbooks become "the propaganda of the winners".

To prepare students to examine textbooks critically, we begin with alternative and rather unsentimental explorations of Columbus' enterprises - he did not sail out of pure adventure or to prove that the world was round. But to secure the tremendous profits that could be made by reaching the Indies.

But most of all, I want the class to understand the human beings that Columbus was to discover and then to destroy.

The teacher then reads to the class letters that Columbus wrote. He talks about the slave trade that Columbus reported. The Slave trade was becoming unprofitable, for the slaves mostly died. Yet Columbus proposes in one letter: "Let us in the name of the Holy Trinity go on sending all the slaves that can be sold."

The next step is to role-play with the class. Columbus' second voyage is the subject of this simulation game. Slavery is not producing the profits Columbus is seeking. He believes there is gold and the native Americans are selfishly holding out on him. Students play Columbus in this role-play. The teacher plays the native Americans. "Chris (Columbus), we don't have any gold, honest! We shall go back to our lives and you can go back to where you came from." Students have to respond to this plea of the native Americans. Columbus thinks they are lying. So his answers range from the sympathetic to the ruthless. "Okay, we'll go home. But bring us your gold." "We'll lock you up in prison, unless you give me your gold." "I'll torture you, if you don't fork it over!", etc. After this the teacher reads from Coning's book describing Columbus' system of extracting gold from the native Americans. The following quote was used:

"Every man and every woman, every boy and girl of fourteen or older, had to collect gold for the Spaniards. Copper tokens were manufactured and when an Indian had brought his or her tribute to an armed post, he or she received such a token stamped with the month, which was hung

around the neck. With that, they were safe for three months, while collecting more gold. Whoever was caught without a token was killed by having his or her hands cut off. There were no goldfields. Thus when the Indians had handed in whatever they had in gold ornaments, their only hope was working all day in the streams, washing out gold dust from the pebbles. During those two years of the administration of the brothers Columbus, an estimated one half of the entire population of Hispaniola was killed, or killed themselves. The estimates run from 125,000 to 500,000."

The teacher then asked the children to choose a textbook, preferably one from an elementary school and to examine the book's treatment of Columbus and the native Americans. He gave them a guideline of questions, which they could refer to. The questions included some of the following:

- how factually accurate was the account?
- What was omitted, which in your judgement would be necessary for a full understanding of Columbus?
- What motives does the book give to Columbus? Compare those with his real motives.
- Who does the book get you to have sympathy with? And how do you accomplish that, e.g. are text books horrified at the treatment of native Americans or thrilled that Columbus makes it to the New World?
- Whose perspective is shown to be most important?
- How do the publishers use illustrations? What do they communicate about Columbus and his "enterprise"?
- Why was Columbus and the encounter with native Americans portrayed the way it was in the text books?
- Can you think of any groups in our society that have had an interest or might still have an interest in people having an inaccurate view of history?

The teacher tells the students that the last question is tough, but crucial. Is the continual distortion of Columbus simply an accident, or are there social groups who benefit from children developing a false or limited understanding of the past?

Students were given the opportunity to discuss their critiques a week later. They worked in small groups, evaluating and discussing their papers. They then had to synthesize the recurring themes and ideas into a collective text. Reflections of these texts become the basis for class discussions.

Repeatedly, students blasted their textbooks, because of inadequate and therefore untruthful understandings. The teacher tried underscoring the contemporary abuses of historical ignorance. If the textbook was romantic about Columbus planting flags on island beaches and taking possession of land occupied by naked redskinned so-called "Indians", what do young people learn from this about today's world? That might, power or wealth makes right? That it is justified to take people's land if you are more "civilized" or have a "better religion"? Whatever the answers, the textbooks condition students to accept any quality. Nowhere do they suggest that the native Americans were sovereign people with the right to control their own lands. And if Columbus' motives are mystified or ignored, then students are less apt to question US involvement in Central and South America or the Middle East.

It is important to note that some students are troubled by these myth-popping discussions. However, in this way the teacher has combined discussion, role-play and an active way of getting the children involved in a new way of looking at the world and reading in their textbooks. It is important to stress to students that textbooks fill them with information masquerading as final truth. And at the end of the chapter students have to parrot that back! Paolo Freire calls this the "banking method". Students are treated as empty vessels, waiting for deposits of great wisdom from textbooks and teachers. Students should be thought not to trust so-called authority, but to participate in their learning, probing for unstated assumptions and unasked questions.

To conclude, I would like to voice my personal opinion. We view teaching as political action and strive to awake in students curiosity and to critically explore and assess what they read and experience.

In the final analysis it is important to empower students as Freire writes "to read the word and the world". This means not only to appraise textbooks, but to reflect on society and ask, "Why is it like this?" and "How can I make it better"?

The students involved in this lesson were about 15 years old. This particular lesson has been published in a book called "Rethinking Columbus", edited by Coning.

CHAIRPERSON:

Thank you for a thought-provoking contribution, Nanna. Our next contribution will be made by Nick TAYLOR, who will deal with the topic of "Transculturalism in Education" by presenting us with hypotheses on the tension between universalism and localism.

NICK TAYLOR:

South Africans have experienced more than 40 years of enforced separation along ethnic lines by law, and before that 300 years of less formal, but equally effective segregation on a broader racial basis. It is natural that the Democratic Movement (DM) should push for the removal of such barriers and the development of a common South African citizenship which emphasises elements of our society which will help to unite us as a nation. Indeed, this tendency is one of the characteristic features of the DM.

However, this is a complex issue. At this juncture in world history there is a tension between universalism and localism, and it is well for us to heed some of the problems raised by this tension if we are to move forward on the question of citizenship and nationhood. The paradoxes inherent in this tension are illustrated in FIGURE 1.

UNIVERSALISM

(commonality
identity)

Tends to negate the positive aspects of localism, e.g. imperialism, Eurocentric Values

Source of overarching ideals which transcend differences, e.g. sense of justice, Bill of Rights

Provides a sense of culture, a place in the world, self-worth, African legends and stories, own language

Source of chauvinism, prejudice, e.g. Afrikaner nationalism, Inkatha

LOCALISM

(difference, division)

At present, we are situated at the right bottom corner of the diagram: an overemphasis on differences between people not only leads to prejudice, but is fuelled by chauvinism. This is a vicious circle in which the development of nationalism is fed by a distorted view of others. This is the negative aspect of localism.

In order to move away from this situation, the tendency is to deemphasize local culture and engage in nationbuilding; to search for a set of universal elements which will pull us together; to formulate a set of principles which will mediate the differences which divide us. But the problem with universalism is that it has a negative aspect: this is best embodied in the notion of "the civilised norms" that provided the rhetoric surrounding the colonisation of the world by the European nations. And it is this "universal civilisation" which has destroyed local cultures

around the world, negated peoples' sense of self worth and furnished the ideology of enslavement.

In order to ameliorate these aspects of universalism, progressive educators in many parts of the world are calling for a return to localism, for an emphasis on local culture and knowledge. It is also this need for a rooted sense of self that is at least partly responsible for the revolt against the homogenising tendencies of East European socialism and the Soviet Union. And yet, once the overarching communist state crumbled in Yugoslavia, the region degenerated into civil war in which ethnic difference is a significant contributing cause. We have returned full circle to the bottom right hand corner of FIGURE 1.

How do we find a path between these contradictory forces in thinking about reconstructing the education system in South Africa? The kinds of issues discussed above are relevant to at least three major areas of education policy: the language question, the cultural content of the curriculum, and school governance. It is not the intention here to provide final answers on any of these issues, but to highlight two or three of the main questions that require public debate.

Language policy presents an excellent example of the tension between identity and difference. On the one hand, we need a common language in order to communicate with one another. On the other hand, because the most obvious lingua franca is English, it is only too easy for the study of English literature to slip into an elevation of Eurocentric values at the expense of those of local communities. One possible solution to this problem is for all local language to be given prominent status in the curriculum alongside the lingua franca, and for English studies to include the works of African and other writers in addition to the traditional classics.

In other areas of cultural studies, such as history, care needs to be taken not to pursue a notion of the nation which is likely to marginalise or oppress minority groups. This is not to say that the principles of the DM should be compromised to the degree that the current imbalances of the history curriculum are not corrected. But we need to steer clear of the negative possibilities of universalism.

The call for the decentralisation of school management has long been on the agenda of the DM. The motives behind this move are that children feel more comfortable and perform better when there is a close link between the school and the community, and that participation is one of the key components of democracy. The danger of devolving too much power to local communities, however, is that conservative parent bodies may keep the children of minority groups in the neighbourhood out of their schools, and pursue policies which maintain existing relations of privilege, or establish new axes of inequality. Indeed, this seems to be happening in many of the white schools which have opened their doors to black students under the new Clase models.

The tension between the universal and the local frames many important debates in education. What makes policy choices doubly difficult is that the identity-difference polarity cuts across the political field. The tendency to universalism on the part of the DM may have either progressive or conservative consequences. This requires that all policy questions are weighed carefully against their specific circumstances and rigorously debated before choices are decided.

W. NJOBE:

I think that the example of the Soviet Union is a tricky one, because what happened there was an imposed universalism, an imposed universalization of what was in fact local.

I would suggest that the experience of the political struggle in South Africa is taking us towards universalism. That is why we are able to be here, together, and able to talk to each other.

My own feeling is that decentralization could alleviate a lot of tension, even in the area of curriculum. Options would be possible and each group could present its own image in a positive way.

We should not underestimate the role which the experience of our struggle against Apartheid has had in uniting us. These values and attitudes should be incorporated into the curricula, so that we could avert some of the dangers and negative aspects inherent in localism, as you rightly pointed out.

ABDURAGIEM JOHNSTONE:

There is a need to review and appraise international organizations like the United Nations Organization, the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth and the like, so that local communities can see where they slot into this mould - either as equal partners or to recognize where they are not equal. Universalism is based very much on the equal participation of the given localities or nations. This should be looked at.

However, I would like to assert that bigotry, racism or neofascism need to be processed. By what means are we going to do this? We have to question the forces which empower these factors in order to weed them out.

My last question is, whether localism is not the old tactic of divide and rule in a new guise?

WOLFGANG KARCHER:

Language is, as you said, Nick, very important in defining culture. But there are very dominant and even imperialistic languages, and there are local languages. In fact, there is a hierarchy of languages. One language can mean work, power, opportunity to find jobs, communication across borders. There are languages which cannot offer the same thing, but which are very important for the identity of a human being. How can this problem be tackled?

NICK TAYLOR:

I think, that there is probably agreement about having English as a lingua franca. While some people may disagree with me, I see in this fact an implicit commitment to universalism.

Another commitment to universalism is the agreement to a bill of rights. An overarching value system within which we operate. Both these commitments are still fairly abstract. They are not, for example, committing us to a very closely-focussed idea of a nation. We have to be wary of constructing too dense an idea of South Africa nationhood. Because it can be rejected by some significant social groups. For example, the Freedom Charter is in itself a bland document. But it has a strong history. It could be problematical as an universalizing influence on the nation. I say this as a member of the ANC. What I am saying is: "Yes, we should go for the idea of a South African nation, but we

should keep it fairly low-keyed and abstract, else it could be rejected by groups like rightwing Whites, Inkatha or even maybe by sections of the Black Consciousness Movement.

ABDURAGIEM JOHNSTONE:

I would like to respond to what you said about "abstraction", Nick. I think that we should be a nation as far as geographical borders are concerned. But we should weed out the chauvinism and racism that has been included in us for three centuries now. We need to appreciate the beauty in difference. We need to locate the existing cultures in order to first understand and then to appreciate them. We also need to translate these and make them accessible. Locating the locale can be facilitated by, as Nick said, a bill of rights and also a new constitution. But this can only be meaningfully achieved through feedback from the grassroots, but this is not happening. More people need to understand what this constitution is going to be about. It is ironic that the official draught is in English. This means that people who are not conversant with English are pushed onto the periphery. People also have to be informed what a bill of rights is.

Another example of making the local understandable is, to inform people that they will have access to the courts. We can only establish the local, if people have access to a broad and universal ambit within which to function and flourish.

FERNANDO ROSERO:

My contribution will deal with the real possibilities of unified national states.

In many Latin American countries, because of 500 years of conquest, we are now discussing the possibilities of building national states, recognizing the diversity of cultures and nationalities.

For example, in Columbia a new constitution was voted in a few months ago. They have now recognized the fact of the existence of a multinational state. The people of Columbia have recognized Spanish as a lingua franca for communication. At the same time, the necessity and possibility of working with indigenous languages have also been recognized.

The same tendency is found in other Latin American countries like Ecuador or Peru, where there is a struggle for decentralization, so that the idea of citizen rights (civil rights) are recognized. The difference of the ethnic identity will also be recognized. My question to South Africans is: which proposals have been made in this regard?

NONTOBEKO MOLETSANE:

This issue is very complex. Language goes hand in hand with a value system. In South Africa there is still a preponderance of prejudice. We talk of liberation, but at the same time there is resistance to it. There are still barriers. Churches and other social groups are saying that efforts at reconciliation have got to be made, we have got to heal wounds and respect each other. Yet there are real problems. English maybe the lingua franca, but it will still be regarded as a superior language. English-speakers are not learning other languages, not even for conversational purposes. People at the grassroots would like to participate more, but they feel intimidated, because they are not conversant with English. There are no attempts to simplify debates and documents or even translate them. It is, as Abduragiem said, a situation which excludes the grassroots from participation or influencing policymaking.

What I would like to hear from people from other countries, is how they ensured grassroots participation.

ABDURAGIEM JOHNSTONE:

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) has translated some documents to bring across some of the things that they do. As a journalist I have covered some of their meetings. They start with a process in the morning and continue until late in the day. The facilitators do show understanding and patience. Then there is the National Language Project which is busy with the translation of documents. The Congress of South African Writers (COSAW) encourages people to write in their mother-tongue. Organizations have begun making documents and participation accessible, but it is still quite inadequate.

Our energies have, however, been appropriated by this period of transition.

CHAIRPERSON:

I think that the question set by Rosero should be dealt with.

NICK TAYLOR:

Yes, I am sure that there is frustration amongst the Latin Americans and the Germans, because they want to know how we envisage the future. Let me say, that we have not got many plans! However, I want to contextualize that - why is it so?

Up to February 2, 1990 mass-based popular organizations in South Africa were unbanned. On that day (2.2.90) de Klerk unbanned these organizations - ANC, NECC, etc. That step was a victory for popular forces. The Whites have been trying for 300 years to crush popular opposition. At the same time February 2, 1990 placed us in a new kind of danger.

What has been opened up is a new strategy. Prior to February armed forces and street politics were the strategies. Now we negotiate as well.

Negotiations are also fought with two main dangers:

- i) that leaders move too fast and ahead of the people. That the ANC sits down with the present government and negotiates a new constitution and leaves people behind. The result could be an new constitution that does not enjoy the support of the people. People are already shouting that Mandela is not consulting them. The State is pushing the ANC to move fast, because this is in its interest: the state has vast resources to determine the process at this pace. But we cannot move too fast. The negotiation process has to be kept in touch with people, who have to participate. If not, the second danger will gain the upperhand viz.;
- ii) that the state will achieve through negotiation what it failed to achieve in the past 300 years by force. I will conquer by negotiations.

So what are we doing?

In the field of education, we have a project called the "National Education Policy Investigation" (NEPI) which is attempting to examine policies in every sphere of education and to research policy options for politicians in the negotiations process. Even this cannot move too fast. It has got to stay in touch with the people and mass-based organizations.

That's about all. But the main point is that we have got to formulate proposals while staying in touch with the grassroots.

ABDURAGIEM JOHNSTONE:

I would like to add onto what Nick has said about the "dangers" ensuing from the unbannings of Februar 2, 1990.

There has been a group of people which had acquired skills during the period of the liberatory struggle. Skills like preparing and staging demonstrations, drawing up propaganda, planting limpet mines etc. in a holistic fashion of struggle. With the return of the exiles there has been a severance of a lifeline. The skilled revolutionaries were forced into isolation. This has led to frustrations and to a reaction against "the revolution". The fact that the leadership is moving ahead of the people shows that a traditional mode of decolonization is taking place, where the competent enter and take over. If they are going to make mistakes in the future, people will say: "It's their mistakes; let them rectify their own mistakes." People are going to become complacent.

But at the bottom of all this is that the unbanning or the liberation movements, the government's negotiating strategies and those international forces which are supporting and encouraging a negotiating "away" from the people, have led to the leadership of the people being forced into negotiation, while still unprepared for it. So they simply react to what government proposes.

The greatest danger is still that our leadership is moving too fast. Whenever decolonization has taken place, there has been a clamouring for power and position. The values that were advanced during the internal struggle like accountability, sensitivity, or taking the people with one are being lost. There are some of the impediments of the formulation of proposals and indeed consolidation of the struggle.

WOLFGANG KARCHER:

My perspective is probably very European, but are you not afraid of losing out? You are always talking about needing more time. You probably do. However, is there time that's available? You want time to explain things to people and arrange things carefully. But the world community will leave you behind, your resources will be spent, invest-

ments will be placed elsewhere. So there is a danger in wanting the time that you effectively do not have.

NONTOBEKO MOLETSANE:

Can I just come in from the grassroots' point of view? The dynamics have got to be explained to people. It is not so that these dimensions are only understood by intellectuals. The leadership has got to explain to the people why they are rushing so and which processes are involved.

Ordinary people do understand. There should not only be reports back, but explanation itself must be a process directed towards the people. It must be a process of critical analysis.

And it is true what Abduragiem has said, a lull and an apathy have set in. People do not even know whether they are still part of the process of struggle or not. That's my observation. We South Africans have been describing our situation. I would really like some responses from people from the Latin American countries.

FERNANDO ROSERO:

I would like to talk about communication and mass-media. In Latin America in the 1960's, we made the mistake of publishing newspapers which subscribed to western criteria. The results were bad. We then had to investigate new ways of communication for people in families, in communities, villages or provinces. We discovered that oral communication is fundamental. That is why we changed our strategy of the dissemination of ideas. One form of media was the use of the radio. We now have three radio stations in Ecuador, which are used by progressive organizations that work with the indigenous population. At the beginning, the reporters and journalists came from outside. This is no longer the case. The journalists are recruited from the community. Programmes are recorded in the vernacular. Particular problems of the community are broadcast regularly at a given time. The results are extremely positive.

The second point that I want to talk about, is receiving monies from overseas donor agencies. This is a very problematical practice, because it generates a mentality of dependency, divides the organizations and very often predetermines the lifespan of a project.

In Ecuador, we are working at what we call a "People's Economic Organization". We are trying to create work and revenue at grassroot level. Various kinds of work are being tackled. Another aspect is that we try combining education with production.

With regard to nation-building, I would think that in a unified state, the rights and culture of the individual ethnic groups will have to be respected. In our Latin American experience, the lack of respect for the various indigenous cultures, has led to an internal as opposed to external colonization. Independence from Spain was achieved in 1820, but the new power elites colonized the less powerful ethnic groups. In practice, the indigenous people were discriminated against; they had to pay extra taxes and did not enjoy full civil rights like a full franchise. The indigenous population has been kept marginalized so that it would not be able to threaten power structures.

It is a relatively new situation that there are oppositional indigenous movements. They want the constitution of a new state. They want coexistence of different national and cultural groups, who enjoy equal civil rights, and who have the possibility of gaining access to their own territory, educational system, administration and own culture. At the end of the century it will not be possible to think in terms of national states. They are condemned to fail.

CHAIRPERSON:

Before opening the floor to discussion, I think it would be good to hear the Zimbabwean contribution.

MR. MUKANHAIRI:

I shall talk about bridging the gap between the "A" and "B" schools in Zimbabwe. Before independence, i.e. prior to 1980, the colonial system of education was based on racism. We had the Ministry of Education which catered for the education of Whites, Coloureds and Asians. There was no ministry of education for Africans, they had an educational division. The white schools were termed the "A" group, the African schools were termed "B" group.

In the "A" group the provision was done by government. In the "B" group education was left to anyone who was interested in doing something about it, like the missionaries. So there was a total imbalance of

provision, accessibility, buildings and so on. With the advent of independence the whites changed government schools into either community schools or private schools by legislation. The aim was to keep African children out of the educational system.

The new government had to take steps against this. The first step was the establishment of one Ministry of Education which was acceptable to all races and creeds. The educational system was very British. This had to be changed. First local, i.e. Zimbabwean examinations were gradually introduced. Local languages were gradually introduced. We hope to have everything localized by the end of 1992.

Language is particularly difficult. We decided to maintain English as the official language, but to bring the indigenous languages onto par with English. This was done with the two main languages viz. Ndebele and Shona. In the late 80's other minorities wanted to have their languages also taught at school. The compromise was that in the first three years instruction was given in the mother tongue. After that English was the medium of instruction.

Racially-segregated schools continued to mushroom. Legislation had to be passed to put an end to this. This was not successful, so community schools were abolished.

An Education Act had to be passed, so that school fees at private schools would not be used as a tool to exclude children from schools.

Job accessibility on the basis of a white skin was no longer allowed. Candidates had to prove their qualifications. This was very successful.

On the question of teachers: after independence a programme called the Zimbabwe Integrate Teacher Education (ZIMTEC) was founded. After independence education was free, so that children rushed to school by the thousands. We needed manpower. We had to mobilize people to have themselves educated as teachers in the primary sector. People were trained in the basics of teaching for one term, then they had to teach for the next term. During the teaching term others would be trained. So the pupils always had someone teaching them, while the teachers "commuted" between learning and teaching. At secondary level we had greater problems, so that we were forced to allow unqualified people to

teach. Later a ZIMTEC programme for the secondary level was established as well. This situation is improving gradually.

Yes, we inherited a vast amount of inequality. Our way of dealing with it has been to pass laws to enforce positive responses to the inequalities. Of course there was a lot of opposition, but legislation was the only way.

Most important of all was the Presidents' programmatic statement on reconciliation and forgiveness. This proved to the Whites that they still have a home in Zimbabwe.

CHAIRPERSON:

Are there any questions that would be directed at the Latin Americans?

ABDURAGIEM JOHNSTONE:

Yes, I have a question relating to multiculturalism in Latin America. How do you react around common issues, given the diverse ethnic backgrounds that were mentioned?

PATRICK SOLOMONS:

I would like to know how popular education facilitated for transculturalism in both formal and non-formal education.

FERNANDO ROSERO:

I will begin by answering the last question. The NGOs and the popular organization have, since the sixties with the aid of progressive forces in the church, developed cultural programmes in Spanish, in Quechua and in some vernacular languages - ten in all. This experience led, however, to an education based on two languages by the end of the seventies. This project was not broad-based. In fact, it was restricted to particular regions. It was also subject to overarching political changes in Ecuador.

There were important results, however. At the beginning of the sixties, 40 % of the population, most of them indigenous, were illiterate. Now only 10 % are illiterate.

There have been good results in education initiated by grassroots church communities, based on the theology of liberation.

Now to the next question. The community solidarity work is taking place within the traditional organizations of the indigenous people. Once we did attempt working in organizational forms like cooperatives, but now both indigenous and so-called development workers have realized the importance of returning to the traditional forms of organization. We will have an opportunity to elaborate on this in the working group on popular economics.

13. TRANSCULTURALISM IN EDUCATION II

CHAIRPERSON:

Our first speaker is Helmut ESSINGER.

HELMUT ESSINGER:

"Minorities in Germany and the Education of their Children"

I want to sketch the historical developments of the past 30 years - both political and educational - in Germany. I also want to take this opportunity to express my views on the future of education. First of all, in order to talk about the situation of minorities in Germany, I think it is important to present some background information.

I will begin with the political situation:

The immigration of foreigners into West Germany started during the late fifties and the early sixties. The expanding West German industry needed foreign labour, because of the shortage of the blue collar workers in the country. Therefore, German industries began to recruit foreign labourers, first from Italy, then from Spain, Portugal, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey.

These foreign workers were not expected to stay in West Germany very long. In fact, it was assumed that they would return to their home countries after a couple of years, and be replaced by new recruits. This system is referred to in German as the Rotationsystem. Therefore, these foreign workers were considered and indeed called Gastarbeiter or guest workers.

But this system, which was based entirely on the needs of West German post-war industries did not work.

In 1965, Max Frisch, the Swiss author, commented on this situation, saying: "They searched for a labour force, but those, who came, were real human beings. They do not devour our wealth, quite on the contrary: we need them to maintain our affluent standard of living" (Max Frisch, 1965, p. 574).

In general, post World War II immigration can be divided into three distinct periods.

1. The first period was the period of recruitment. After the Berlin Wall was built in 1961, East German workers could no longer work for West German industry, and thus foreigners had to be recruited. This period lasted up until the great economic recession in 1973.

2. In 1973, the second phase began. Foreign labour recruitment was forbidden. The guest workers were offered financial assistance to leave West Germany and return to their home countries. Many of them did so. Yet, despite these repatriation policies, the number of foreigners increased, due to the fact that many guest workers who remained in West Germany were joined by family members and spouses from their home countries. This is referred to as the period of family reunification, and lasted until the early 1980s.

3. In the early eighties then, the third period began. It is characterized by the fact that foreign workers sought permanent residence and began settling down. This included the organization and establishment of foreign business. They also began to insure themselves and become part of the larger German social network. Therefore, this period is referred to as the settlement period.

This short summary on the immigration movement and developments in West Germany illustrates the fact that foreigners have become a stable element in our society. Nevertheless, these foreigners have been denied the social status other German citizens automatically receive or enjoy, despite their major contribution to the West German economy.

They did the dirty work which Germans did not want to do. The term "migrant workers" became more and more common, and the families were called Migranten or migrants.

The status, which they themselves demand and in which, in my opinion is just and fair, is withheld from them - namely, that of an immigrant. Furthermore, the official policy of the West German government is a policy of discrimination, which forces the immigrants into a marginal position. The final point in this development is the new law concerning foreigners in Germany, which enforced as of January 1, 1991.

In one of the Berlin newspapers, one provocative comment in this new legislation was printed, stating that this new law legalizes all forms of discrimination, which people with a foreign passport are confronted with on a daily basis. Because they have a foreign passport, they are treated as potential political troublemakers, criminals, and as a risk to our country (Tagesspiegel 3.10.90).

It is also important to mention a second group of foreigners who have come to West Germany viz. refugees commonly referred to as asylum seekers. In remembrance and in recognition of the holocaust of fascism, the German constitution states in Article 16, Paragraph 2: "Politically persecuted people shall receive asylum."

The immigration of refugees has caused a lot of hostility, resentment, hatred and aggression among Germans against foreigners. Not only "ordinary" citizens, but politicians as well, discriminate against those individuals seeking asylum to save their own lives. It is common to hear such remarks: "Germany is being overrun by foreigners", or "We are being flooded by foreigners", "It is as though the borders of Germany are like a dam which has broken down", etc. And consequently, many Germans adhere to the slogan: "Foreigners out"! This attitude is widespread in Germany.

The last chapter of this scandalous history has recently begun: not only right wing parties, but governing parties as well, have been discussing the question of changing this article in our constitution which has guaranteed asylum. And the consequences of this discussion is a new wave of hatred and racism in my country.

My conclusion of this development is that the German constitution, although antiracist in principle, has maintained and perpetuated racist social structures. The anti-fascist and antiracist stance of the former GDR has done nothing to combat these evils.

This background information is essential for understanding the special situation which children of immigrants are confronted with in German school systems.

The Status of Education in Germany:

In the 1950's and 1960's, immigrant children attended German schools and were totally neglected. The first attempt to deal with this situation was the development of a paedagogical methodology for teaching foreign children, the so-called "Ausländerpaedagogik". One positive aspect of this paedogy was that it drew public attention to the difficulties foreign children had in German schools. The problem, however, was that this paedagogical methodology was designed exclusively for foreign children. The primary goal was to assimilate them into the German school system. Likewise, teacher training programs stressed the importance of recognizing the problems and deficits of immigrant children and developing strategies to help them fit into the German system. Thus, the pre-requisites for this *Ausländerpädagogik* embraced two basic mistakes:

1. First of all, this kind of paedogy presupposes that immigrant children have deficits: hence, the Deficit Theory.
2. Secondly, German teachers are trained accordingly to help them: the Helper Syndrome.

Consequently, German teachers were the main beneficiaries of this concept of education, because it offered them a further field of qualification. At the same time, it pushed the immigrant children into a marginal position. Therefore I submit that this form of paedagogy is discriminative and racist.

MULTICULTURAL, BICULTURAL AND/OR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

was developed to improve the quality of education for foreign students. I will talk about them as one main paedagogical school of thought, for culture is emphasized and is the underlying component of each of these three forms of education. The fundamental weakness of such an

approach which focuses on different cultures is that it neglects the fact that there is a hierarchical ordering of cultures in modern societies.

To illustrate my point, take, for example, the German culture. Immigrants are confronted with this culture the very minute they set foot in Germany, and with a closer analysis, it becomes evident that this culture is primarily influenced and shaped by economic and political structures. The immigrants find out quickly, that they, together with their culture are the minority, and the Germans, together with their culture, are the majority.

Moreover, two specific examples can be found in the daily practices in German schools:

1. First, there is the language problem. Our immigrants speak Italian, Greek, Turkish, Kurdish and so on. But they all have to attend a German school where these language skills are devalued and the ability to speak and write in German is the only thing that counts.

Some years ago, however, we started a pilot project in West-Berlin where Turkish children were taught to read and write in their mother tongue as well. This project is acceptable and financed only as an experiment with Turkish children. What is missing is a political decision from our government guaranteeing every child the right to learn and use her or his mother-tongue in classroom instruction.

2. Secondly, just by glancing at the texts and illustrations in German textbooks, an eurocentric view of the world is obvious. Moreover, information or materials about the mother countries of immigrant children are frequently omitted.

Students mostly learn about countries in relation to colonization and westernization, suggesting that these countries had no earlier history.

Intercultural / multicultural or bicultural education does not change the hierarchical societal structures, because the basic attitude of a "culturally" defined form of education is based on a widespread Atlantic-Eurocentrism. I refer to this Atlantic-eurocentric definition of cultures, because it is the main cultural

ideology common in Europe as well as in North America. And it is basically racist.

For this reason, I plead for an anti-racist education. Given that this Atlantic-Eurocentrism is a common ideology in most of our cultures, I think it is important that we all cooperate in developing strategies to counter this cultural hierarchy by means of an anti-racist approach to education.

The first step is to find and analyze the roots and the distinct forms of racism in each of our countries today. It is only through remembering this time, which were directed at Jews and other people of the Post World War II era, are we sufficiently able to find new ways of living together with minorities.

Thus, parallel to researching and acknowledging the roots of present day racism, we need to work together to combat racism. This is true for all people living in Germany and is true for us today. It is necessary for us to cooperate in combating racism - in our societies, in our schools and wherever else we may find it.

In conclusion, I would like to quote a French ethnologist, Michel Leiris, who wrote that racism is a power which defiles and damages our world a bit more each day.

CHAIRPERSON:

Thank you very much for your interesting contribution. Are there any questions or comments?

JOE JOMO:

I would like to stress one point. Refugees are perceived in German society as victims of economic maldevelopment of their particular countries, but not as victims of an unjust and exploitative world economic order.

THANDEKA:

Which concrete steps towards a non-racist education have been taken?

HELMUT ESSINGER:

One has to work at two levels. One is the political level. Political structures have to be changed, e.g. enabling people to settle here as immigrants and consequently to enjoy the same rights as Germans.

The second level is the school level. One does not combat racism just by changing the vocabulary in school books, for example. One has to fight the school system. Ways of thinking have to be changed. It has to be made clear, that Atlantic-Eurocentricism is just one basis from which the world can be interpreted. Other bases for the interpretation of the world have to be found. The premise for the idea of "schooling" has to be that it is a school in a multiethnic society. Anything else is nationalistic.

A Dutch educator once said that one should teach the children the "3 O's" viz. observation, orientation and opposition.

ROBERT KRIGER:

I can understand your wanting to change at these two levels. But there is a practical problem, which reduces everything to a question of power. A lot depends on which political leaning enjoys the majority. If Conservatives have the majority, then your suggestions are unrealistic. How can this change be realized?

HELMUT ESSINGER:

I am acquainted with this problem. The German society has become xenophobic. This is a long process. But it is possible to start in the schools, by showing up the problematical usage of language. We have just had the case, where the politicians in the parliament in Bonn used a language, that was particularly inimical towards other people. The results were executed on the streets. We should go back onto the streets, exert political pressure and challenge the status quo.

At the school level a lot depends on whether one uses the leeway which is available.

GLADWELL OTIENO:

You maintain that the demands that immigrants have made, are important? In which way are the demands of immigrants brought into your struggle to achieve an antiracist educational system? Do you cooperate with immigrants in fighting racism? If so, at what level?

HELMUT ESSINGER:

I work, for example, very closely with the Turkish Parents' Association. Turkish children now have the right to learn their mother tongue at certain schools. But this is only one step albeit an important one. The other step would be that learning one's mother-tongue as a right for all immigrants living in this country. This is a political step. I would like to add, however, that this is merely a project - and I am afraid that as a project it has no future.

Another aspect would be to attack certain terms like "guest workers" or "migrant labourers". Instead one should grant the people the status of immigrants which would entail their obtaining same rights, because they pay taxes as German do.

CHAIRPERSON:

Our next contribution will be an example of an attempt to put trans-culturalism in education into practise. Barbara ALMARI will relate her experiences at the Hector Petersen School, Berlin.

BARBARA ALMARI:

Our school was founded 12 years ago, in a district of Berlin in which many immigrants, particularly Turks, live. There were many classes in which only Turkish children were present. A kind of "petty Apartheid" existed. This district still is mainly a working class area. At that time in Kreuzberg, about 50 % of the children of immigrants were not able to get a school-leaving certificate. Today the figure is still high, about 30 %. That was the point of departure for teachers to change the situation. The school was changed to a comprehensive school. A concept was worked out which aimed at improving the school situation for Turkish and German pupils, so that they could complete schooling. The fundamental idea was that all children should feel at home at this school. Therefore, we had to change the contents of learning, to deal with intercultural conflicts between immigrants and German children. One of the first steps to be taken was the renaming of the school after a South African child, from Soweto, Hector Peterson.

The mother and sister of Hector Peterson were invited to the name-giving celebration at the school. The name of the school is in itself an obligation towards antiracism and was adopted at the wish of the pupils.

We were very happy about this, because we saw it as a success of our work. My colleague, Udo Gysi, will speak about the conditions prevailing at our school.

In terms of the organizational framework, the main objective was that the pupils should feel at home there. It was necessary to keep numbers and extent of the school small. So, within this one school, we have eight small schools. A team of 6 - 8 teachers are responsible for about 60 pupils. The classrooms and staffrooms are close together. This leads to a situation, where teachers and pupils all know each other and can respond quickly enough towards conflicts.

In the 7th and 8th classes, we give no written reports, only verbal assessments. We wanted to avoid a situation whereby the immigrant and German children would be divided into "good" or "bad" pupils - depending on their preconditions and points of departure. We find that the system works very well.

Very important, too, is the fact that the language of the largest immigrant group, Turkish, is a compulsory subject for all Turkish pupils (German children who want to, can take this subject). Special tuition is available for immigrant children.

Christian Meyer, who also teaches at our school, will give a brief account of the cultural framework as well as the learning contents.

CHRISTIAN MEYER:

I will begin by looking at the curriculum. We have taken up racism and xenophobia into our curriculum. We are in the fortunate position of having the right to modify the prescribed curriculum of Berlin. This is extremely rare. We are, therefore, in a position to change the traditional and compulsory contents of curricula. The following example will serve to show what I mean.

Once in four years each child attending our school can visit Turkey, with the result that the German children accept the inclusion of Turkey into the syllabus. The children visit the villages and relatives of Turkish pupils, who are in a situation where they can take the initiative and play the dominant role. In terms of our teaching, we emphasize comparative

studies, i.e., we draw comparisons between the German culture and immigrant cultures.

Only today we began with a comparative study of sexual cultures. We looked at special areas that are important in the Muslim culture like virginity and circumcision.

Revolution is another point in case. Normally the syllabus demands that one deals with the American and French revolutions. At our school, we have incorporated the reform movement of Atatürk into the syllabus.

We try to relate learning contents to reality. To this end, we discuss the complex of xenophobia and racism in the city of Berlin with our students. Last week a refugee was killed. We discussed this and attended the demonstration as a school. We wanted to show that we are not neutral.

Barbara said that 12 years ago, nearly half of the Turkish pupils did not obtain a schoolleaving certificate. One of our main successes is, that now, 12 years later, nearly all our Turkish pupils obtain schoolleaving certificates. About 30 % obtain an advanced schoolleaving certificate. A relatively large number achieve the equivalent of "A"-levels ("Gymnasium"). A number of Turkish pupils have succeeded in entering university. This would not have been possible had they attended the "normal" schools here.

With regard to the atmosphere, I would like to point out that our school is in Kreuzberg, which in itself is a special situation. Yet we have never had a confrontation between German and immigrant children.

There has also been some animosity on account of cultural differences. Our school is a good institution. It is, however, more expensive to run than the "normal" schools. We hope that this latter fact will not lead an end to this attempt.

CHAIRPERSON:

Our next presenter, May OPITZ, will speak about growing up as an Afro-German in Germany.

MAY OPITZ:

I want to relate my personal experiences as an Afro-German. I was born here and grew up in a white foster family. My problem was never one of cultural difference. As I look back, I realize that I received a kind of subtle brainwashing. When I was in South Africa, I regarded the so-called "open" schools with a lot of scepticism. Somehow it reminded me of my own experiences - going to white schools, which are well-stocked and resourced, but which have a fundamental flaw.

Helmut ESSINGER in his paper said that in the sixties many migrant workers came to Germany from Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, Tunisia, Morocco. But at the same time there were many people, who were in Germany already. I grew up in the sixties, at a time when there were one million unemployed people in Germany. This shows that the unemployed Germans could not be integrated into the labour market. It was obviously more profitable for industry to import foreign workers than to make available working conditions for their workers more attractive. It was possible at the time to institute poor working conditions like shifts (night-shifts), piecework, assembly lines and so on.

My father came to Germany from Ghana at the end of the fifties as a student. Ghana was one of the first African states to achieve independence (1956). After this date, many Africans, who came here, were students. Today they are mainly refugees. My father came, but did not stay. For a long time, I was the only black person in my environment. The first Blacks that I met in my childhood were black people in children's books and songs like "10 little niggers" or "Uncle Tom's Cabin". In the song about the "10 little niggers", 10 Africans come to Europe, but because they are unprepared for civilization, they all die. This song is still sung today in kindergarten. The image of black people that was transmitted to me was that they are somewhat ugly, mysterious, cruel and a little bit stupid. They smile a lot. I must have seen myself reflected somewhere in between these images. I preferred as a child to identify myself with white princesses and even before I was old enough to start schooling, I asked my fostermother to wash me white. I had already learned my first lesson regarding racism viz. that white is right. My first role in a schoolplay was that of a devil. I was seven then. It was obvious to everybody - to the teacher, my classmates and to me - that only I could have this role. The devil is black. Whoever has seen a black angel?! The role of the angel was therefore played by a blonde, blue-

eyed girl. Funnily enough, the same thing happened to me last year. I work at a school. At Christmas the teachers usually produce a play. A group of teachers approached me to join the theatre group, saying there was still a role vacant - that of a devil! When I explained why I would not do that, she said: "Don't take it like that. The role of the devil is very creative!"

An Afro-German friend of mine, who attended school in the fifties, was told at school that the reason for the palms of the hands and soles of the feet of Africans being white is, because one of the Three Kings was African. When he walked on the ground of the Holy Land his feet turned white and when he touched the Holy Child, his hands turned white!

At school we never dealt with the lives and experiences of immigrants or of blacks. We never knew that the millionth immigrant to Germany, a Portuguese, got a motorbike as a present. We never got to know why the pretended politeness towards immigrants became open aggression. We never got to know that there were blacks in German states in the Middle Ages and even before. We never got to know that the first African student wrote his Ph.D. on "Blacks in Europe". He studied in Halle und wrote this thesis in 1729! We never got to know that black Germans were forcibly sterilized during the Nazi-period. That many were forced to leave the country and that an unknown number was murdered in concentration camps. It is only a few years ago that I realized that there was a black community there at all. I found that out through my own research. I am shocked and yet not surprised that throughout my childhood and schooltime I only thought of racism in connection with other countries and even there only as a thing of the past. I never thought of racism in terms of this country or my own experiences here. I regarded my experiences as personal difficulties. Also the explanations and solutions that I received, were offered on an individual basis, e.g., "Leave the country" or "Don't be so sensitive". While I learnt unconsciously to see myself as a black person, inferior and excluded, my white foster brothers and sisters learned through the system of education in its entirety to be superior and to have the right to be dominant. Until 1985, I was quite active in the solidarity movement and I was often frustrated that I worked with people who knew the facts and history of South Africa or differences between Islam and Christianity, but knew very little, if anything at all about the lives of

black Germans and about their own racism and eurocentric views. It is very new to talk about racism in the German context. In 1984, I had wanted to write a thesis on racism in Germany. My professor said, "but there is no racism in Germany"! Racism in South Africa - yes. And to some extent still in the USA, but not in Germany. Things have changed, because of the openly racist aggression of the past year or so. So now, even this professor will talk about racism. On completion of my studies, I did a three year course as a speech therapist (from 1987-1990). I was the very first black person to do this course in the 20 year's existence of this school. Prior to that, a Turkish woman had studied there. This, although Berlin has a huge immigrant population!

With regard to my work as a speech therapist, I have to use material that is both racist and discriminatory. There is even a medical term called "hottentotism", which describes a particularly heavy form of stammering, resulting from a mental deficiency! When I questioned this technical term, I was told quite bluntly that it is a purely neutral expression.

When I decided to write a thesis on the working materials and methods used in the field of speech therapy, I was told that the topics of racism and ethnocentrism are irrelevant to speech therapy. It is simply my personal problem. However, I fought this through and I could offer working alternatives.

The last aspect that I want to deal with are children's books, which are produced to portray Blacks or Asians in a particular and stereotypical way, and as if they only live on other continents, but never in Europe. Africans, particularly, are portrayed as being poor, suffering and in constant need of help from white people. Whites are never portrayed in a way that would suggest their needing to learn from Asian or African people. Comparisons are made on a purely material basis. And so no one would probably want to identify with these Asians or Africans. However, both history as well as the present situation show very clearly that Europe should learn from these communities in Africa, Asia and in the American-communities which have a strong history of living together instead of against each other.

COLIN SMUTS:

I would agree with your scepticism about the "non-racial" schools, May. My son attends such a school. He had actually grown up in a non-racial home. However, no sooner had he started at school, when he asked me, "Daddy, am I Coloured"? I said, "Why"? "Well, my teachers say that I'm Coloured." Then he was taught about the unrest in the townships. The teachers insisted that communists and the ANC were behind it all. The black children contradicted their teachers, saying, "No, it's the political system". But they were not allowed to express themselves. Or to call themselves "Blacks", for that matter. The teachers themselves would point out who was "African", "Coloured" or "Indian". Experiences such as these led black children at "non-racial" schools to identify themselves as a black group over against white children. It is interesting to note that black children have now gained ascendancy and are challenging the underlying eurocentric values that are part and parcel of the school system.

ABDUL AKALIMAT:

In an attempt to forge the future the question has to be raised, whether the school is best constructed as a utopia in the midst of society, where one attempts to establish new relationships. Or does one necessarily have to - not depolitize education -but repolitize education so that the school becomes an instrument of change, i.e. it does not become an utopia, but simply a response to the society? This, of course, flies into the face of much of conventional thinking from the standpoint of the ruling class that can present an image of depoliticization, as long as the school reproduces the existing relations within society. So, I am not sure, whether the Hector Petersen School in Berlin is a utopia where the teachers, who are good people, try to get together with kids, who are good people. But there is not necessarily any political interaction with the community. The Afro-German is a political category - it is an identity, yes - but it is of necessity a political category. So, students, who do not start out that way at all, are forced to be political, because society imposes it upon them. In South Africa, the case is clear: if there is a movement to create the new school as a utopia, i.e. divorced from society, then it will be historically rejected. Education has got to be seen consciously as an instrument of change.

COLIN SMUTS:

At this stage of the discussion, I would like to share with you some of the problems that we at the Open School have encountered.

The Open School prepares children for examinations. When we first started with this programme, we were shocked at what we were faced with. Not only had children lost the culture of learning, but also the reports of progress issued by the state were actually a fraud. Children who got 55 % for English could not speak a word of the language let alone write it. The same applied to mathematics or other subjects. The danger is that an inferiority complex becomes internalized. So, we had to throw all our plans overboard and to start building up a positive self-image and confidence with the children. They worked in small groups, at their own level and at their own pace. We have seen progress, but we are advocating that the curricula for a post-Apartheid South Africa takes up the issue of building up a positive self-image and confidence of the children. The kids at the private schools are actually privileged, ironically enough. But the status quo and the players from the liberal sectors are playing for an eurocentric kind of education. I have been involved in placing black children with a political background, who were not allowed into state schools, into private schools - we had no choice. In nine out of ten cases the children would fail the entrance tests. I would then have to persuade the principals to give these children a chance to prove themselves. In our latest programme we have had ten children all with university passes. At Department of Education and Training schools they would not have stood a chance. Our children have been subject to a system of total human underdevelopment.

ROBERT KRIGER:

I would like to set some questions, which have not really been raised. Do we consider antiracist education or antiracist educational policy as being intercultural or multicultural? Is it merely an aspect? My particular question to South Africans is - how are we going to reconcile the following: we have been brought up in an educational system of multi-ethnicity or multiculturalism to maintain Apartheid. We have been taught that we are different and that we do not belong together. How do we reconcile these backgrounds with the idea of one nation?

And I would ask "One culture"? Which one? What are we striving for?

With regard to the Hector Petersen School, I am not sure that I know what you were aiming at. You used terms like "living together in a neutral space" or "living in peace".

RESPONSE FROM CHRISTIAN MEYER:

I certainly did not want to create the impression that our objective would be that the children live together neutrally. The aim is to bring the children together, so that they can work together and be interested in each other. In the past, German and immigrant children in Kreuzberg were physically separated, in separate classes. Our aim was to bring them together.

BARBARA ALMARI:

I have to emphasize that there are many schools in Berlin today in which you still only have Turkish children! Our school is an exception and has become an island, though.

PARTICIPANT:

What about the other immigrant children? If you are aiming at an anti-racist education, but are not taking the needs of children other than Turkish children into account, to what extent is your work antiracist as opposed to intercultural?

BARBARA ALMARI:

Our experience has been that if you deal with one conflict or example, it could be transferable. The pupils at our school have understood this transfer and that is why they chose the name for the school. The Turkish pupils chose the name Hector Petersen.

RENATE GUDOT:

Are there other such initiatives in Berlin? Your school is already 12 years old. Do you think that is scope for such schools today given the extent of xenophobia?

BARBARA ALMARI:

I think the times are different today. There is really no interest from the side of the state to make money available for such initiatives. The demands of the immigrants are ignored. The demands of the Germans count as far as the state is concerned.

There have been demands from teachers for another comprehensive school modelled along the lines of the Hector Petersen School. But the school administration intervened, arguing that it should be too costly although there is a real need for a school to be built in Kreuzberg. The school administration wanted to set the learning conditions, e.g. 29 pupils per class. Teachers pointed out that such classes were too large for a model of this nature. But to no avail.

GLADWELL OTIENO:

This takes us back to what Abdul asked about whether the school was a little island. This seems to be what is coming across. I would like to see the discussion heading towards seeing school as a repoliticizational force.

COLIN SMUTS:

At the Open School, we have adapted a thematic approach to all our work. In 1986, we introduced the themes of race and the role of women. The first year was really traumatic for both teachers and pupils. Our staff is non-racial in composition. So, depending on the "race" of the teachers, the children would call them "Amsboesmanne" (Bushman), "Coolie" or "Whitey". We realized that this is something that the whole country has got to go through. We changed our curriculum and tackled in these same problems under another aspect. The questions, we have worked out with our children, is: "What do we as South Africans have in common?" "What divides us?" "What causes the problem?" We produce calenders and plays as part of this thematic work. We have "open days" every quarter where the groups have to present their themes. There is a tendency in South Africa to hide the issue of race! Which is ridiculous. We have been the only state in the world with institutionalized racism and we have got to work through that. So, coming to terms with "race" is important for future educational policies in South Africa.

PATRICK DIAS:

With regard to the model of the Hector Petersen. Does it not serve - in the long term - to legitimise divisions and maintain the status quo of the system? This is a fundamental question which is related to the whole school system, as a formal system, in terms of its structures and organization. We have to ask ourselves whether we are not merely

assisting pupils or societies to internalize alien values, which have been spread through colonial domination.

The problem of a hierarchy of cultures exists, but it does not only exist in such societies in which there are minority cultures, but all over the world. See the Asian or African middle classes. The problem of racial ideology is linked with class structures.

So it would seem to me that the fundamental question is not one of giving self-confidence, but one of empowerment on a cultural basis. I think, that multicultural or intercultural education, cannot be treated only as a paedagogical problem. Nowhere in the world are schools powerful social agents of change. They have the function of either to facilitate intercultural learning, as part of the political struggle - a struggle concept, or to maintain the status quo by assisting pupils to get on with each other without touching the fundamental structures.

GEORGE MASHAMBA:

I would like to mention another aspect which I think is important for this debate. It deviates from the line of discussion. I would like us to look at those schools which are mushrooming in the context of the broader democratisation process viz. the "open" school movement. I think we should make a division between a conscious development of non-racial and Open Schools and a spontaneous non-racial and "open" schools. If we do not make that distinction, we will have the problem of generalizing our analysis. Most of the emergent "open schools" like some of the Catholic Schools, are not part of the conscious attempt to deracialize schools and work towards a non-racial education. These are products of attempts by institutions of power at present, and by white, liberal schools to "open up", knowing full well that they are not changing the structure of the school and not changing the educational system at all, while at the same time they are no longer open to the chance of being called "racist". So, how do we view the proper "open" schools, e.g. Phambile? There are concrete attempts to create a non-racial education, where it is not merely a matter of saying we are putting a few Blacks in a school and then it is non-racial, because that is not the point. The point is that non-racial education in schools must be accompanied by the democratisation process itself. So that you do not speak of a culture at the school that is not conducive to the actual culture of the black pupils who are there. Also it is not a question of numbers, but the actual

content which goes hand in hand with the opening of the school to all the races which does exist in SA. I would like the South Africans present here to elaborate on this issue, so as to identify the pertinent division.

PATRICK DIAS:

The fundamental question is what we understand by alternative education. Are these really considerations of alternative concepts as part of the longterm political struggle? Or are they conserved purely in terms of an educational solution? This is the case in Germany. The question of ethnicity has to be clearly defined in a different way. In Germany, ethnicity is racially defined and linked with racism. In the context of multiethnicity in South Africa it has different connotations. The context has to be relevant to the definition.

BARBARA ALMARI:

I agree. But there is a problem. What does democracy in schools mean? One cannot see schools as a separate social entity. The teacher can work towards the realization of democracy. But society is reflected in the process.

ROBERT KRIGER:

It's the dilemma of the progressive teacher, who sees the problem and recognises the nature of the problem and yet is constrained by the attitudes pervading in society. As long as the definition of a German remains as ethnically narrow as it is, then this problem will remain. And your school will have an alibi function. So, as ESSINGER correctly pointed out, it reflects a political struggle too. How do you transfer the nature of what you are struggling for within that school (which is still a model) into a broader social movement? Is it something that is taken seriously by the political parties here? Do you have debates with the political parties here? Do they address this issue within their Commissions? What experiences have you made?

BARBARA ALMARI:

Yes, we have had. But the group of persons who view this as a political struggle is becoming smaller and smaller. We have struggled as well as we could. The present situation in Germany shows that education is indeed a political process, and is determined by other political factors.

ROBERT KRIGER:

I would like to address the same questions to you, Abdul. The USA went through a similar process of the integration of schools. What are the developments in the USA regarding political acceptance?

ABDUL AKALIMAT:

Well, the USA have the largest Apartheid educational system in the world! Immigration was a political value that was never realized. Therefore the question of integrated education becomes an issue that has to be filled with a new content, because it had no content before. Most of the major metropolitan areas experienced what one would call "white flight", i.e. those Whites who could, left the city and those who could not, left the public schools for private schools. That meant, that the public school system remained Black (then Latino, as conflicts and contradictions swelled in the Caribbean, Central and South America). What that means is, that the Bush policies in the new world order (i.e. the internal policies that paralled the structural adjustment-programmes of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank) is to privatize education. If public education is only for Black people and poor Whites, then privatisation becomes a direct process of reproduction of class relations. Poor people get reproduced as poor people and middle class people as middle class people and so on. The old public school that received European immigrants to create Americans and presumably to represent upward social mobility, is a thing of the past. So we are now at an interesting point. The issues of class are not politically on the agenda as such, but the objective reality is driving the population in that direction, because there is no option. Public education now seems to be an issue - as the surveys suggest - for black people. Because that is where the struggle is. But we all know that the majority of the people in the USA are white people and as the economic crisis deepens and public education gets worse, the test scores fall way behind the Japanese etc. This is of great concern to the ruling class, because it still needs some people to do certain things. There are no more Germans running to the USA and who win Nobel Prizes. We have got a problem. White people are going to wake up and fight for public education in their own interest. We hope, that economic hardships will produce some positive results or even a new consciousness. A problem is the political backwardness of white people.

ROBERT KRIGER:

What do you "prophecy" for South Africa in light of this analysis?

ABDUL AKALIMAT:

In the light of the new world order, I think there are patterns that are likely to continue. One such pattern is the notion of deracializing the world. This is going to be an aim adopted even by the right. I know that this is not the history of South Africa, but it will become its history. In the USA, for example, black schools are now being attacked and dismantled on the very basis of the demands made by the Black Movement. The argument is, these schools are segregated and have to be got rid of.

But in fact that is where the majority of Black people go to school. So we have got to prepare black people for being the vehicle for the political position of the right. In other words, black people are becoming the front people for the most rightwing position of the ruling class. A sort of internationalization of Buthelezi.

GLADWELL OTIENO:

I think those of us, who come from so-called independent African countries, have realized for a long time that there is more to it than a black person nominally in charge. This is a struggle that is been taken up again, although I am doubtful about its direction of the so-called "new democracy". I am not sure that I understood you correctly when you spoke about "deracializing the world" and this particular aspect of the public schools where you have poor whites and poor blacks. Are you saying that the poor whites are also going to realize that the issue is not so much race as class? In terms of my experiences, the poor whites have been an instrument in the hands of the ruling class in the attacks on black people. The way the world seems to be developing, as I see it, is institutionalizing Apartheid on a world scale, e.g. the situation here in Germany, where the divide between the North and South is very much a racial one. The plight of refugees who are being kept in that condition is not the result of no one knowing what to do with them, but because they are a super-exploitable labour force. They are totally mobile groups of people without rights.

ABDUL AKALIMAT:

Last week the majority of people voted for fascism in Louisiana (55 % white people). On the other hand 1992 is the 125th anniversary of "Das

Kapital" by Karl Marx. The question we ought to raise is: was the guy wrong? Look at the USSR, look at Eastern Europe. If we were wrong, then perhaps capitalism can reform itself and the white working class will be included in the overall benefits of the development of plenty and surplus. On the other hand, maybe Karl Marx had a point. If he has got a point, then what has happened in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe is the first phase of something that is going to continue. Perhaps what was the GDR and the euphoric rush to the free market system will be given second thoughts. In the midst of crisis people can move to the right. This we all know. That this level of false consciousness is something that they can buy into. But it does not pay off in the material realities of their lives. And the question is, whether people can continue to ignore the reality of their lives. The Civil War of the mid 19th century in the USA would never have been won if the white workers had been consistent in their support of slavery. And they did not go against slavery, because they suddenly got multiculturalist education and became more humane. They were looking at it from their own vested interests. It seems to me that the issue is that in the course of the new world order there is going to be immense political and economic suffering - not because Bush is evil. It is, because the revolution that took place in the world's economies have changed industrial capitalism. Everybody is now being changed. The fundamental technological basis of these societies is being essentially changed. The USA always needed labour, so it was constantly welcoming Europeans (particularly). But now that is over. There is now a technological transformation of the new technologies and computers etc. The autocrat that used to employ 60,000 people now employs 14,000 people. They have the capacity to produce more cars while using less labour. So, it seems to me that the working classes in these countries are now facing a new historical moment. This is not a question of just a policy shift. This is not just up to Bush. The Japanese have made a steel plant and nobody worked there.

That means, that these standards are going to go all over the world. What is going to happen to all the manual labour? In the USA what is happening to black people is genocide. Crack, the penal system or the level of violence. For the first time since vital statistics have come out, the gap in the life expectancy between white and black people is growing larger. We are at a new moment - it is not the same old thing all over again. In the black community part of the response is not a

skinhead type of facism, but it is Afrocentricity - let's go back to the Pharaohs in Egypt. Which has a positive aspect, because it dislodges the eurocentric lie, but it has the potentially negative impact of people leaving the actual political struggle to make their lives better. They are living an illusion.

Now the exciting thing about South Africa as a revolutionary process is, that it is going to have the kind of leadership that is going to tie it to the rising realities of the world economies, so that the masses of people can benefit and the new society can be arranged along those lines. Or will it be tied to the older and therefore require that the state after the revolution or change of power become repressive? Because the demands of the working class in South Africa will be for increased benefits and or training their children to be part of the new economy. Nowhere in the world has that been done. And the new economy is destroying all the institutions that were based on the old, industrial working class. Public education in the USA is based on the old, industrial working class. That no longer is necessary. A grade school education of the past is a high school education today. They do not need workers to know things now. This is the kind of crisis we are facing. It is not simply a question of racial interaction, or multiculturalism. There is more to it. Because people can remain separate, but at least survive.

We are now facing a period of genocide amongst the people. This has happened before - at the end of feudalism. Large sections of the people were superfluous and wiped out. That is what we are facing now. So, it seems to me that this business of building school systems for the future has got to take that into consideration as well as the question of the older problems which continue to prevail. The ideas of the racists in South Africa are rooted in some previous century. These people do not have any ideas for the future.

Education is obviously a major battlefield in the liberatory struggle of people the world over. The function of education is to reproduce the division of labour in society, i.e. both the technical division of labour, the transmission of skills to enable people to produce food, clothing and shelter as well as social relations like class relations, power relations and also the relations of group identity and solidarity.

It is against this background that black studies has to be understood.

American education became distinctly American in the middle of the 19th century, when the industrial aspects of capitalism were incorporated into education in a very fundamental way. Congress passed the Moral Act; universities based on agriculture and technology were established in every state of the USA. Prior to this, education had served mainly to reproduce elites for the middle class.

Education became distinctly American in the sense that the driving force was pragmatism. The impact of the recent revolution in science and technology is tantamount to the revolution of the mid nineteenth century. Although then its challenge was how to incorporate the working class and train it to go to work. This was necessary for the development of industrial capitalism. Now the revolution in education has to do the opposite - it is no longer a question of including more people, but more technology and scientific information. The ensuing crisis is different.

The history of black studies emerges as black people are carrying out a great debate over black liberation. Previous debates were those around slavery (mid 19th century) or the self-determination of the black community (at the turn of the 20th century). A third great debate was one characterized by Martin Luther King and Malcom X. In fact, black studies emerge as a result of the victory of Martin Luther King's position setting the basis for the politics of Malcom X's position.

The demand to open university education resulted in students finding it inhospitable, racist and unprepared for them. The response was the demand for black studies.

Black studies have gone through three stages:

- i) Innovation:
This stage was characterized by political activism and social disruption. It was not advanced by reason alone.
- ii) Experimentation:
Here, people saw black studies as being the conceptual negation of white studies. The second stage was the appropriation of black intellectual history or what some call the "archaeology of the black intellectual tradition".
- iii) Social Policy:

This question dealt with the relevance of a black position or an intellectual history for the crisis that people face in the society today. Part of the crisis of policy has stemmed from the fact that the first wave of students that created black studies, suffered many casualties: people were thrown out of universities, they were regarded as unfit to continue, were denied scholarships or sometimes, because of political activism, they were unable to pass examinations. Their places were taken by people who benefitted from this struggle, although they did not participate in it. This occurred not only amongst students, but among faculty administration and people who had first careers in the military. A classical case would be Clarence Thomas, who benefitted from the affirmative action policy, but who then adopted a rightwing Republican position and thus negated the very programmes that he had benefitted from.

During this third period viz. of standardization, we were trying to devise ways to ensure that black studies stay in the curricula. A couple of essential things occurred, which set the basis for the debate today.

Black studies became an essential aspect of what became to be called "affirmative action". Affirmative action was the policy of access, not merely a question of equal opportunity. Affirmative action required, to put it bluntly, a quota system.

The other major point has got to do with the intellectual content of the university and of education. Here the fight was about a paradigm shift, and about intellectual orientation. Eurocentric views and assumptions were challenged. A negation of eurocentrism and an affirmation of the black point of view meant effectively, that humanity and the future would be best discovered among the oppressed, and among those, who had to find a way to humanity - rather than anywhere else in the society. Both these points of view did not only serve to advance the black position, but, in its capacity as an expression of the black liberation debate, it was the necessary precondition for a revolution in American education altogether. Indeed, it led to women's studies, ecology studies, to the study of poverty law in the law schools etc. It led to a focus on the oppressed everywhere in American society and therefore became a threat to power. The paradigm shift was such, that a demand was raised that it be a requirement for all students to take a course by their cultural

group to expand their consciousness. At that point, the ruling class drew the line.

The debate of national significance took place at Stanford University, where it was proposed that a "Third World" country be used in curricula as an alternative to the course on Western civilization, which had been standard and compulsory for the entire 20th century higher education. This had the whole intellectual army of the ruling class responding and counterattacking. An organization which was almost entirely white and male was formed. This so-called "National Association of Scholars" was designed to investigate subversive elements on colleges and at universities throughout the country. They determined what was "political correctness". They argued that during the 60's a leftwing took over American higher education! We were seeing a group of white students actually charging into a professor's room, and either challenge him or shout him down.

Black people have, in response to this rightwing frenzy, put forward the concept of an Afrocentricity, which, to some extent, is a restatement of the positive aspects of the paradigm shift, but also partly a political retreat. We have the emergence of neo-racist black argument.

A debate unfolded around the issue of academic tenure. Academic tenure can be removed on the basis of scholarly incapacity or deficiency. The tenure process is being politicized within the broader debate of teaching contents. Both from the attack of the rightwing as well as extreme views among blacks, the entire question of the security of the academic process from the political process is being debated in the USA today. "Political correctness" is on everybody's mind.

I did not want to give a depressing view of the USA. A struggle is taking place there. But I did want to tell you that the debates going on in Europe, the swing to the right and the rise of racism and reaction are things that are very much at the heart of the USA as well.

When Bush talks about a new world order, it might well be a new world disorder - and we are all in it!

ROBERT KRIGER:

Thank you very much, Abdul. Taking up your point about the diaspora of the dispossessed worldwide is our next speaker, Miriam CAETANO from the Black Brazilian Movement.

MIRIAM CAETANO:

I am a member of the Unified Black Movement (MNU) of Brazil and I am the national coordinator for education. I want to talk about the MNU and share the situation of black Brazilians with you.

The MNU was founded in Sao Paolo in 1978 with the expressed objective of overcoming racism in Brazil. The MNU operates in several states of the Brazilian federation.

The 70 million black Brazilians are victims of orchestrated violence, economic misery and social marginalization. There are historical reasons for this condition.

The following statistics will throw some light on the situation of black Brazilians.

The monthly salary of a white Brazilian is three times as high as that of a black Brazilian. Of 100 black workers, 70 are unskilled. Of 100 white workers, 30 are unskilled. Of 100 white Brazilians, 15 do not have the chance of schooling, with regard to black Brazilians the figure stands at 42. 60 % of Brazil's illiterates are black.

The Brazilian society developed out of slavery. It became a capitalist society, with its power base being racism.

It is difficult for the MNU to act with the black population, because state policy is that of a racial democracy. So that the condition in which black people find themselves is regarded as their own fault. This is very destructive and people assume an identity of inferiority. Such people do not want to join the MNU, because it could entail their having to speak out about their oppression, which they try to hide.

Our role in the MNU is to lead an antiracist struggle. To this end, we have devised a political programme and a plan of action. We are fighting for an independent black movement, independent of all other

institutions, for an end to political federal police and to the military victimizing black people. Documents of an extermination plan against the MNU by the military have been discovered and published. Unemployment is rife. So many blacks do not have work documents. The police has the right to frisk Blacks for such documents publically. Often this frisking leads to injury and death.

We are trying to conscientize the black Brazilian by means of documentations and journals. We also fight racial discrimination at the workplace. We did some research and have discovered that about 70 % of the white workforce would not tolerate a black foreman.

Within the scope of the struggle in education, we try to highlight the interests of black people.

We also fight against cultural manipulation and particularly against sexual exploitation of black women.

The media is an expression of racial violence. This we want to change.

As I said in my introduction, I work in the field of education. The MNU invests in the training of educators who are convinced of the necessity of change. It is important to involve both black and white people in the process of change, because black children are taught by white teachers.

We have engaged well over 500 educators this year (1991) in a debate around "Education, Racism and Prejudice". At first, many of them did want to accept that there is racism in Brazil. They have begun to introduce good programmes with their classes. Not only educators are involved in this project, but also popular social movements, the universities and the municipal Secretariat of Education of Sao Paulo. The intention is to design an Afro-Brazilian curriculum. Presently, we are very involved in this process - of reflection, action and reflection. We are aiming at changing the basic tenet of the curriculum, which is basically euro-centric. We are therefore compiling teaching material for educators, so that they can teach Afro-Brazilian history and also the history of Africa. At the same time, we are working at alternative schools viz. Afro-Brazilian productive schools. The basis of these productive schools is an education with production, in order to facilitate the regaining of a lost identity. For example, the children produce black dolls, Afro-Brazilian

clothes or even toys. Because even children can reproduce eurocentric values and patterns of beauty. We have to fight against this in order to advocate a positive self-image and combat also the subtle forms of racism.

COLIN SMUTS:

How does the situation of the indigenous people compare with that of the black Brazilians?

MIRIAM CAETANO:

Their situation is much worse than that of the black people. Originally there were about 900 indigenous groups of people. Today there are only 150. They have been exterminated over the centuries, their land has been stolen and now they are fighting for the right to land that is almost worthless. If the government grants them some valuable land at all, then it uses this "act of generosity" to boost its own image internationally.

Indigenous Brazilians never go anywhere alone. At this very moment, four indigenous Brazilians are attending a conference in Germany. Only one was invited, but four came. This happens in Brazil, too. It is, because they have been traumatized by continuous acts of extermination over the centuries: they were invited to places and then murdered.

A cultural centre, which is a common project of indigenous and black groups, has been established. Here the culture and history - also the history of extermination - are permanently exhibited.

ROBERT KRIGER:

We have to end our discussion now. If today has been useful, then because we South Africans have had our understanding of the history of oppression augmented and complemented by what we heard about black and indigenous people in Brazil and in the USA, and also by the experiences of black Europeans.

14. DECOLONIALISATION OF EDUCATION

JÜRGEN ZIMMER:

We shall begin this workshop with a simulation game. We shall simulate the "Berlin Conference" of 1884/85. But ours will be a decolonisation of the education system and a transcontinental dialogue. Here the Europeans are a little ashamed. It is a big African continent. Latinos are present, and even someone from Haiti, i.e. the Caribbean is also present.

I shall open the dialogue with my own history. In 1860 a distantly-related uncle of mine went to Indonesia as a missionary. He brainwashed the Batak of Sumatra. These had been a free people with their own religion, language and culture. This missionary was a bit like Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. On the one hand he came from a small island in the North Sea. His ideas about schooling entailed sitting in neat rows, learning by heart and believing everything that the priest says. With this understanding of the world he arrived in Sumatra. He believed that the Batak were cannibals, thieves and lazy.

The strategy for the christianization of the Batak was the establishment of schools. During his 60 years of missionary work, he established approximately 500 schools. Only after a school system had been established, did he start with churches. The Batak were at first friendly and hospitable towards the missionaries. When the missionary decided to stay, however, they asked him why he did not want to leave, he said that God had sent him. They did not believe him and tried to poison him. He survived this and threatened them with hell, if they did not convert, boasting that this God was greater than theirs. With his converts he developed his imperium.

He died unhappy, because he did not manage to build more churches and convert more Batak.

Through my work in Asia or Latin America I find the Ministries of Education in those countries build schools like ghettos quite voluntarily. That they organise learning in a kind of artificial security and not in the insecurity of life. That teachers are more oriented towards a white-collar consciousness than to being community developers or community workers. Many countries are fixed on examinations. German Jesuits had

gone to China some centuries ago and were fascinated by the Chinese examination systems. They had, for example, to write a poem or discuss a philosophical text. On their return to Europe, they developed the examination system based on that which they had encountered in China. Afterwards they exported their system throughout the world.

The colonisation of education in conjunction with the process of colonisation is still in the heads of administrators and bureaucrats of young nations. Indonesia consists of 13,600 islands. There are five world religions there and 300 languages are spoken. But only one school curriculum, one official language and one language as a medium of instruction. Every Monday morning they have a para-military nation-building ceremony in the schools, to avert separatist aspirations.

The questions today are: is it possible to decolonize the educational system? Can one rediscover indigenous paradigm of learning in each cultural context? Or is school only the phenomenon where one sits in classrooms, learns by heart and believes the small-talk of teachers?

There are examples of attempts at something different, e.g. in Peru at the beginning of the 1970's, in Chile in the 1960's or Brazil after the military dictatorship had ended. But can these attempts be fully realized?

MARIA STELA GRACIANI:

Whenever I hear a new word, I ask myself: What does it mean? The new word at this meeting is "dialogue". What does it mean? It comes from the Greek: 'dia' means 'through' and 'logos' - the word, i.e. communication, interaction, relationship, effectivity, participation, the creation of symbiotic relationships. So dialogue is profound, creative; it has to be critically organized, with the participation of the people. It has to represent international and intercontinental solidarity.

JEAN PEASE:

I do not have answers about the decolonisation of education, but there is a strong possibility of the inclusion of new values into the educational system. In the final analysis it depends on international power relationships. Until we can have a dialogue with other countries to decide upon what we understand by knowledge and how we give credit to knowledge, then only can we begin to change these power structures. If we had the power to do it and were left to our own resources, certainly

we could effect change. But as long as our system of certification is tied to the international market economy, there will be no changes in the relationships between knowledge, power and education.

JÜRGEN ZIMMER:

What do you mean with knowledge? Do you think there is a worldwide knowledge? Or are there specificities in the various regions? Because the international bureaucracy of education claims to there being only one knowledge, as it were, international and more or less standardized.

NICK TAYLOR:

In a sense, we have no choice. Part of the problem of East Germany was that its industry was not competitive on the world market. One needs foreign currency to survive as a country - and in order to get foreign currency we need a competitive industry, for that, you need a high-tech oriented education. This is one aspect of the dilemma. The other aspect of the dilemma is that, as Enver Motala has repeatedly pointed out, the majority of South Africans do not have basic necessities, like enough food, housing, clothing. One way of reorienting our economy is to focus on basic needs. To emphasize an industrialization policy that's labour intensive and which focuses on building houses which has electricity. So we are caught between the need for a labour-intensive economy, which provides basic needs and jobs and the need for a high-tech economy to be competitive on world markets. I do not think it is as simple as Jean has said, although I realize that we are victims, as she implied. But I feel that we are more than that. We have to be players, too.

FERNANDO ROSERO:

The question of whether it is possible to change the colonial influence in education has to be seen in the context of the civilisation process in our "Third World" countries. Influenced by this process of civilisation are amongst others, the following:

- i) concept of nation. This was not born in our countries, but is an imported cultural idea;
- ii) democracy is likewise a result of colonial influence.

On the other hand, we have to realize that society cannot only be comprehended in terms of its institutions and representatives. In my country

school institutions are in a state of crisis. Therefore, we have to return to the question, whether we can change the colonial influence? This is only possible, if we radicalize this question.

PATRICK DIAS:

With reference to Jürgen's question, I would like to contend that we are always emphasizing the myth of "school", as the "most powerful instrument of modernisation", of giving all the benefits of the so-called civilized world as was said in the sixties and the seventies. Later it was said that it was the most powerful means of achieving liberation for all. Why are our questions always oriented towards institutions, systems and organizations? There is one reason which legitimizes this. We have a colonial-imperial-dominated structure. It is a mighty structure, which is very dominating and which oppresses us up to now. But at the same time, we actually believe in this scientific, technical, profit-oriented process of civilisation in which we find ourselves. Will we be in a position to solve any problems, if we start with the institutions? One thing we seem to forget is that institutions are man-made structures. We have no example of a civilisation that has survived for centuries. So, the question should be: can we decolonize structures? Who are WE? Do we perceive ourselves as subjects of history, as active people? Do we have enough creativity to struggle against structures that appear to be indomitable? This is important, not the question of how we are going to train our people to function in the technical structures. This question implies that we have already accepted defeat. If there has been any progress in the past year in the intercontinental perspective, then it is precisely in the consciousness of the fact that it is not only the elites that are important for history, but it is the people. So, can we have a type of education or learning process that would empower people to define their own interests? This is the point. Can we give meaning to this civilization in which we are? Are we in a position to do this?

ABDURAGIEM JOHNSTONE:

A few observations. The liberation movements have called for so-called universal qualified education up to matric level for all South Africans. There appears to be concurrence that South Africans will be educated up to Std. VI, i.e. only eight school years. It appears, too, that the end product of South Africa will be a multinational economy and a caretaker government, which leaves us with the question of budget. Also in terms of education. While there is still social mayhem in South Africa, the

private sector is moving in. While we are grappling with problems here, they are creating a system which we will not be able to control in future. In terms of their ideas around "certification", they encourage the emergence of a black bourgeoisie. This is no critique as such, just an appeal for a reappraisal of imperialism or neo-colonialism in the light of empowering the people. As far as institutions are concerned - it is a dead thing. It is the content that matters. Globalization is also a problem. We need time to reflect on our own processes while at the same time being affected by imperialist forces.

A final observation. We have donor agencies. I prefer calling them alternative transnational concerns. Their cooperatives are much stronger than those where I come from. These supposed allies have set the pace. At home we talk about demystification of technology. Then these Fundis come in from London, West Germany etc. What they do is to create the need - demand and supply. And off we go again. So, we should appraise imperialism in this new light - particularly with regard to education. The bottom line is the budget.

LOUISE VALE:

My view is different, because I am no academic. My view is based on experiences. I have great optimism about our being able to create a new and different education system in South Africa, because of the attitudes of people generally involved in the entire education system, whether it is the students, teachers or parents. Three things determine my optimism:

- i) because of the nature of the educational system imposed upon us, because of destruction and the political struggle;
- ii) a healthy scepticism, which is deep rooted; no South African is looking for answers, models etc. We have pride about the kinds of things that we have been trying to do. We do not have answers. But we have confidence in our work and experiences;
- iii) the strong sense of fighting for democracy and accountability.

Particularly amongst students there is shared responsibility. I would like to quote a marginalized youth who was then integrated into an alternative educational model - without teachers, books or facilities. This project is sited in a rural area. He is talking about one such study group: "You are not forced to go there. It's not a case of 'I will loose out, if I don't go there.'" It is the case that you know, that you do not only go

there for yourself. You go there, because you are going to give to someone else. It is democracy in that it makes people aware of the fact that education is not only for you. You know from the old times, if you were learned, you were learned for yourself, and it ended there. You were the person, and it ended there. But now you become responsible for yourself and for the others."

W. NJOBE:

We have to set ourselves two questions:

- i) why this institutional framework?
- ii) what are we educating for?

While searching for the answers, there seems to be a direct relationship between the kind of education we received and the relation towards the means of production and the productive forces. On the whole African continent the arrival of schooling can be traced to the industrial revolution. The implantation of that system goes hand in hand with the colonisation itself. If that is so, then one has to reflect more especially on the precolonial areas and see what kind of system(s) existed. Colonialism created subservience. Transformation of our education has therefore to go hand in hand with a transformation in thinking also in view of the economy that we would like to have. An interesting proposal has been mooted in Zambia in ANC camps - "education with production". Such kinds of curricula and initiatives have to be juxtaposed with a purely academic form of education. In South Africa every white benefits from that system, because of the nature of the distribution of wealth. Black children do not benefit. Alternatives should therefore aim mainly at self-reliance as an aspect and at development of the community as a whole. Should we not move away from the classical understanding of education and link up with models of education with production and economic development?

JOE JOMO:

I would like to address the issue of models of reform to affect radical change. We have to think about models and reform. In old models there are victims:

- i) children
- ii) women

iii) workers.

When thinking of models or of reform, do we have the ability to allow these victims to be teachers? Are the models flexible enough to allow the victims to be the agents of change a situation where the teacher is not the teacher, but facilitates the exchange of knowledge.

MARIA STELA GRACIANI:

I wonder where this imperialism is leading us to. For some Africans and those in the Diaspora (e.g. Afro-Brazilians) today, we are experiencing an overdose of imperialism. This fact is destructive - without the use of arms - for our people. When you are suffering from an overdose, there are two possibilities:

- i) either you die, or you
- ii) rediscover your strength and oppose this situation.

We here are united as people that are capable of changing. We represent social movements, we are in contact with the people, with their aspirations and their dreams. We are deeply involved with education and culture. We know how to relate to institutions and governments. We have much to change. History has to be changed. This may sound utopic, but to construct the identity and strength, we have to work in a critical way. So, we have to change books, television, media. And for that, we have to work a lot and we need a lot of political strength.

To be able to realize this transformation it will not be possible only wishing to change, if we do not think of the profound needs of the people. We should never decide for the people, even as their representatives. Else we fall into the trap, as elected representatives of becoming too full of our power in the end, we represent only our own interests. We will have our electorate against us. No change will be possible. But if we work together in this process and know and work for structural change, we shall achieve this. It is a very long process. But that has to be constructed on all levels - from the favela to the President's office.

15. BACKGROUND PAPERS

15.1 The Open School, Johannesburg by Colin Smuts

WHAT THE OPEN SCHOOL DOES AND HOW IT AFFECTS THE CHILDREN WHO ATTEND

The legacy of apartheid has been to rob black South Africans of their human dignity and spirit. At the Open School we provide a creative environment where township pupils can regain their sense of self-worth and discover the richness of youth.

We use cultural and educational subjects such as Art, Drama, Dance, Kung-fu, Music, English, Maths and Computers as a means of self-expression to encourage the students to articulate what they see around them and to increase their sense of self-awareness. We emphasize aspects of a child's development and education which have been totally neglected under the system of Bantu Education.

The Open School is situated on four floors of a building in downtown Johannesburg and provides a programme of cultural and educational enrichment in the arts for township kids all day Saturday.

This year, in addition to its cultural part time programme, the Open School began a full time academic programme for Standard Three. The pupils in this programme are all products of Bantu Education who have lost touch with learning as a result of years of inferior education and disruption of schooling.

The school has developed a thematic approach to teaching where a topic - the environment, education or health for example, becomes the theme of Art, Drama and Discussion. This approach helps the students to analyse critically the issues facing their everyday lives.

Drama classes at The Open School become a living workshop in which the students script their plays from everyday life. It offers an opportunity for the youths to articulate their feelings on taboo subjects at their schools, like corporal punishment and police harrassment, and in the home like child abuse, the exploitation of women and arranged marriages. The same applies in all workshops and that is how we arrive at our art work, publications, etc. In this way it has a therapeutic effect.

The message is taken to the community when the plays are performed at community centres and schools as part of an Outreach Programme. Parents attend the two "Open Days" when the year's work is put on show at the Open School.

The Open School's cultural education programme caters for 400 children between the ages of six and eighteen, covering a full cross section of the socio-economic spectrum.

The Community Programme trains people to run cultural education programmes at schools and community centres in the townships.

During the nationwide state of emergency from 1986 to 1990, the community and outreach activities of the Open School were severely disrupted by the repressive environment, mass detentions and harassment of activists.

In 1986 the writings and drawings of younger children asked to depict their experience of life in the community, was such a vivid portrayal of state repression, that the essays were published as a book - "Two Dogs and Freedom", which was translated and published in Germany, the United States and Japan.

The repressive mood of those times was reflected in the children's artwork which is published annually in the form of a thirteen page calendar.

The creative artwork depicts socio-economic deprivation in the black townships, the harsh methods used by the security forces to crush youthful protest and the chaos in black education.

Symbols of resistance - the colours and acronyms of the liberation movement and anti-apartheid youth groups - portray the hope and determination to change the status quo.

The cover of The Open School's 1991 calendar reflected the changing political reality. A drawing by eighteen year old Lincoln Tshabalala of Soweto depicted ANC leader Nelson Mandela with his arm around President Frederik de Klerk, while people cheered in the background.

This was offset by the Nazi-like symbols of the fascist Afrikaner Resistance Movement, on one side, and armed warriors of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Movement, on the other side.

The Open School Programmes are divided into: the Central Programme where workshops are held in Art, Drama, Music, Dance, English, Resource Work, Video Making, Kung-fu, Maths and Computers. This takes place on Saturdays, weekday afternoons, school holidays and when schools are inoperative.

The Model School Programme, which is the development and implementation of a full time school programme at the standard three and four level, based on the thematic learning approach of the Open School.

The Community Programme, where we work with Community Groups and provide resources, training and assist them to develop their own projects.

The Outreach Programme that provides popular, accessible media to the community in the form of Dance, Drama and Kung-fu performances, Art Exhibitions and Publications.

OUR RESPONSE TO THE DIFFERENT CRISES IN THE PAST AND HOW WE ARE GOING TO RESPOND TO THE FUTURE

In the 1976 crisis, we were one of the few organizations that could respond to the crisis.

For the next three years we dealt with seven hundred young people daily. Half continued with their studies in tuition programmes we arranged and others continued with cultural programmes. An interesting aspect is that most of those, who continued with the cultural side, are today professional in particular fields from this period. I mention here photographers and journalists, who are fairly prominent today, such as Robert Magwaza, Juda Ngwenya, Pat Siboko, Len Maseko, etc. to name a few. Others are dancers or dramatists, etc.

During this period, we housed over 100 young people in our offices from September 1976 to December 1976 as the "system" was picking up

just about every youth leader in Soweto and all our participants were involved in the uprising in one way or another. It was a very frightening time. Several youngsters left to join the Movement. Some were captured and put on trial for trying to leave the country. It was during these trials that we realised, why we were not raided. Among the group staying at the offices were "Impimpies", "police spies", who gave state evidence. It became clear, the security police knew about the students staying at the office. An interesting aspect is the two to three, who turned out to be police spies, always represented the most extreme views in discussions.

The 80's presented a different challenge. The youngsters getting into political and education problems became younger. It was difficult to simply place them at Turret College as in the past, where they would normally be at matric level. These youngsters were around the standard six level.

Our response was two fold. Between 1983 and 1987, schooling normally ground to a halt in June. We would then respond with a full time programme in cultural and educational disciplines for the rest of the year. For many of these children the only education they received during this period was at the Open School.

Our other response was to place these young activists at the standard six and pre-matric levels, who could not go back to state schools, in private and other schools in the city. We negotiated and obtained bursaries for them. This programme assisted a great many young people, but more specifically, ten Open School students, who were part of this programme since the early 80's, all graduated over the last two years with University Pass Matrics. Several are now at university or technical colleges.

The other call that came during this period was a call from parents and students for the Open School to become a full time school. After quite a bit of research, we noted initiatives at the primary and high school levels, but very few at the higher primary, so we decided to focus on this area. Of course, this disappointed some parents and students. After three years of preparation, we got this programme off the ground this year.

The Model School Programme started this year with 51 pupils. In this programme we have hit the education crisis head on. Children are eager to learn, but victims of a poor underdeveloped education systems. We were shocked, when we started enrolment. Children came to us with reports that stated 55 % in English and 50 % in Maths. Yet in doing the test, which we devised to check their ability, they could hardly put three English words together or add a sum. 29 pupils, who applied for admission to the Model School, were not admitted as they appeared to have problems of an educational nature which we are not staffed to resolve at present. 20 children were accepted on the understanding from parents that they would repeat work at a standard two level. We call this our "prestandard three class". Therefore, one can only conclude that what the state is telling young people through the reports they issue about what they are capable of, i.e. that they are at the standard three level is untrue.

In this programme we have succeeded in getting off the ground a full time, child centred, thematic based education programme. Instruction in this programme is child-orientated, i.e. activity based and differentiated to meet the needs of the individual child rather than the needs of the teacher.

There are two current classes in place. A "normal" standard three will move on to standard four work next year. The second class, who have been doing "prestandard three" work, will be doing normal standard three work. Registration for enrolment for next year at the standard three level is currently underway for an intake of 100 students, including children from Somafco. The programme is a three year course from standard three to five.

Parents appear to be unaware of the crisis at the primary school level, and that in order to cope with High School children need a solid foundation.

Due to the severe education problems, children come to us with low standards and to avoid the "test result" method used in the state system, it appears that a "prestandard three" level class will be a permanent feature of the programme. Those children that develop and reach the level of the "normal" class will thus be placed. However, those that do not, will be requested to stay a fourth year in the programme.

The Open School has always shown a position to respond creatively to situations as they manifest themselves in a changing South Africa. This is part of an ongoing commitment, more qualitative involvement in the process of changing our country to a non-racial democratic South Africa.

We are looking towards developing models that can be used as a way of challenging what apartheid has done to people's self-image, low standards and the technocracy of the State education. Alternative curriculae should in the future consider developing people's self-esteem to give people self-confidence as opposed to the imposition of alien value systems on people.

15.2 PHAMBILI SCHOOL, DURBAN by Thuthu Bhengu

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The project was initiated in 1986, ten years after the nationwide protests and uprisings against apartheid education. Even ten years later the position in the black education system remained chaotic. This state of affairs was further exacerbated by the declaration of the state of emergency where thousands of youth were subjected to long terms of detention.

Many of the youth were unable to continue schooling after their release for several reasons:

- Government-controlled schools would not grant them admission, because of their so-called subversive activities.
- Private schools were far too expensive and the majority of the youth could not afford them.
- Apartheid education meant over-crowded schools and generally poor educational conditions.

As a result of the prevalence of this kind of situation, Phambili School was initiated to respond to this crisis.

However, from inception it was itself plagued with the broader problems in education such as:

- poor teacher pupil ratios,
- curriculum and methodological development,
- requirements of the Department of Education and Training,
- financial burden of providing private education,
- admission criteria,
- criteria for the recruitment of teachers,
- charging of fees, and provision of books.

The educational problems that Phambili aimed to address then, and continues to address include:

- a shortage of schools for black students;
- an abominable overcrowding in existing schools;
- the difficulties faced by students who have spent long periods of time in detention or as refugees in returning to schools, such as encountering age restrictions, political harrassment, or overwhelming financial burdens;
- a state-sponsored authoritarian system of education which ingrains notions of inferiority and insecurity in black students, rather than developing the human and moral characters of the students.

MISSION STATEMENT

Building a relevant education

Phambili project's newly formulated constitution declares in its preamble that:

"the system of education in the Republic of South Africa is in a continuous state of crisis concerning its legitimacy and relevance. By design it does not serve the needs and aspirations of the people, and does not enhance the healthy development of the human resources of the country. Phambili projects sees itself as a pilot project for the development of a relevant education system.

ADDRESSING THE SOCIO-POLITICO-ECONOMIC CRISIS WITHIN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

The constitution further states in its aims and objectives that Phambili seeks to address the educational needs of students disillusioned by the endemic socio-politico-economic crisis in the country and the education

crisis in particular. Phambili seeks to provide, as a matter of immediate necessity, an educational home to a growing number of youth who are victims of overcrowding, exclusion or victimisation for political reasons. In keeping with this Phambili also accomodates the victims of the widespread violence in the Natal region.

A two-pronged approach

The Phambili project thus has a two-pronged approach:

- It has a developmental approach, in that it attempts to build an alternative education process.
- It has an interventionist approach, in that it attempts to address the issues of the students victimised by the apartheid system. It also attempts to provide education for those students, who are unable to get access to adequate and appropriate education, because of their poor financial position.

The crisis continues

The current spate of political violence and the socio-economic crisis facing the state indicates that the crisis in education is set to continue and even escalate. It is further evident that analysing solutions would only be realisable with the creation of a non-racial, democratic, non-sexist, unitary South Africa. Phambili sees itself as playing a meaningful role both in the eradication of the present oppressive system, and in the creation of a new system, by building a model of an alternative school.

Development of the educational aspirations of the people

Discussion and thoughts on the evolvement of an alternative education have been the concern of the progressive movement since the 1980's. Concepts such as people's education, the role and importance of the parent-teacher-student associations and the democratisation of structures in the community are assuming greater importance. Since the pronouncements of 2nd February 1990, people's consciousness and aspirations have been raised. Phambili aims to actively develop these aspirations and concepts and test their effectiveness through a process of implementation and evaluation within a school programme.

Addressing the ill-effects of the state education system

The state education system entrenches both individualism and the idea of the superiority of the white race, and builds a poor self-concept among

black students. Phambili recognises that teachers too are products of the same education system. The Phambili project aims to address this in concrete ways in the structure and curriculum of the school.

AIMS

1. Development of an alternative curriculum:

Phambili school commits itself to a programme that would develop, evolve and maintain a curriculum that is different from the one presently followed by the state schools. The necessary infrastructure, the human and material resources and expertise in the community will be sought and galvanised to ensure the development of a progressive and relevant curriculum. The currently existing initiatives of educational research units and service organizations would be consciously exploited to this end. Although the present statutory requirement in terms of the functioning of private schools would compel the school to adopt the current state-created curricula, Phambili will continue to creatively and innovatively develop an alternative one.

2. Community consciousness as against individual development:

Phambili's education system will incorporate aspects that would help to build community consciousness among students and teachers.

3. Accountability:

Education will also be directed to building a commitment to the community and a sense of accountability. Phambili is fully conscious of the fact that it does not exist in a vacuum. It further recognises its relatedness and its linkage to the broader education and socio-political context and therefore accepts the need to consult, cooperate and work with other organizations or people operating within the education terrain. It will also remain conscious of the main political developments in the country.

4. Methodology to develop critical and analytical thought:

Attempts will be made to develop appropriate methodology, in order to encourage the building of critical and analytical thought rather than stereotyped and linear thinking.

5. Staff development programme:

An extensive staff development programme will also be initiated. It will serve the purpose of developing the necessary skills and expertise required to steer this project.

6. Joint work with other projects:

The programme will be broad and will include all other initiatives in the community with the aim of sharing resources and developing joint programmes.

AN ACCOUNT OF ACTIVITIES AND RELATIONSHIPS

Development of an admission policy

Prior to 1989, admission of students into Phambili was unclear. This was due to the fact that mainly political considerations were given attention while other aspects were ignored.

During the period under discussion, viz. 1989-1990, attempts were made to introduce additional criteria for admission. Among these were the following:

- checking on the reasons for displacement;
- verifying the academic record presented in order to ensure that students were able to perform at the levels they claimed to have reached;
- taking steps to reduce the large numbers previously accepted so that a number which could be easily accommodated in the building would be admitted.

However, the process was a difficult one. Firstly, the unrealistic demand for admission necessitated the rejection of some applications for admission. The back to school campaign further exacerbated this. The search for a way to reduce numbers continues.

At the beginning of 1990, the school had an enrolment of 648.

Phambili has had a history of uncertainty in respect of student admission and conditions of service for staff. These problems continued even after the change of the Phambili structure. The result was that Phambili had to deal with the emergency situation of such disproportionate numbers,

high teacher-pupil ratios and a chronic inability to implement any appropriate staff recruitment policy.

The present staff comprises the following positions:

- 1 registrar
- 1 principal
- 2 secretaries
- 3 maintenance staff
- 27 teachers.

Because of unclear conditions of service there seems to have been a strained relationship between the staff and the committee managing the project. Moreover, there has been no fixed programme of training for the staff. There has been no policy in respect of educational development. A great deal was therefore left to the initiatives of the teachers. In the absence of strong coordination the project often ended up being chaotic and undirected.

The project has made attempts to bring community and service organizations together in order to involve them in the project. Unfortunately there was little clear direction for community and service organizations in respect to their expected role. Moreover, there was often a poor response at meetings called by the committee. The result was that the Phambili project became increasingly isolated. This was eventually manifested in the chalks down action taken by the staff of Phambili in October 1990.

ACADEMIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES

There has not been a planned and conscious effort to influence the quality of education from the management of the project. It may be said that much of this was left to the staff. They were expected to use their own initiative and influence the education provided. To an extent, the teachers did take the initiative. This was apparent from the improved teacher-pupil relationship. They also helped in developing student leadership, which has proved to be responsible, well-informed and assertive.

It was agreed that students admitted to Phambili should:

- be committed to the development of their community,
- be seeking an alternative education and share the vision of Phambili,
- be prepared to learn and be disciplined,
- produce genuine documents indicating the level of education reached before being admitted.

It was further agreed that the following selection procedure should be applied:

- an application form incorporating a questionnaire should be issued to every student applying for admittance,
- a selection panel comprised teachers, representatives from the executive committee, and any other community members with specific expertise. (Students may be consulted, but may not sit on the panel.)
- The panel would interview and also administer tests if necessary, especially where appropriate documentation was not available.
- There would be a closing date for applications to be accepted.

The project will however remain sympathetic to special cases where students faced by conditions beyond their control might request to be admitted after the due date. Space will be reserved for such contingencies. Students admitted under such special circumstances must meet all the criteria for admission as set out above. A date for the termination of late admission will be set. This date will only be waived under exceptional circumstances.

Criteria for the recruitment of teachers

The profile of a teacher recruited for Phambili would include the following:

- the person must be qualified;
- the person must be competent, (i.e. they must be able to deliver the necessary service);
- the person must have an enlightened approach to education, (i.e. be able to grasp new concepts in education);
- the person must be progressive, committed, openminded and dedicated;

- the person must have the students' interests at heart.

The executive committee would be conscious of these criteria when recruiting teachers. In addition, a probationary period of service before confirmation of appointment would be necessary in order to ensure that these criteria are met.

Education policy

There was a strong feeling that Phambili should be more than just a school for victims of apartheid. It was felt that it should begin the process of creating an alternative model which will meet the educational needs of the community. The need to empower students, teach more relevant curricula and relate education to society were expressed as priorities. That Phambili should evolve a policy which would incorporate these aspects was generally accepted.

Possible ways to achieve this

The evaluation team made the following suggestions in order to be able to achieve the aims outlined above. It was suggested that:

- Phambili should have an internal management committee to oversee and ensure that programmes and processes agreed upon are appropriately carried out and that the administration of Phambili runs smoothly.
- An education coordinator be appointed to coordinate the teacher training, curricula and methodological development, and to recruit outside assistance for the effective realisation of this process.
- An administrative coordinator be appointed to ensure that funding proposals are processed and maintained, and that the project is adequately financed and equipped. This would include any new needs that may arise.
- An administrative secretary is appointed to serve the above two posts and attend to the necessary secretarial functions that arise from day to day.

It was felt that after the initial processes for the establishment of the school have been completed, the management of the school will be placed into group management, initially comprising of staff, but with

further organising to also include the P.T.S.A.. This would ensure that power does not become centralized, but rather shared.

15.3 Black Movement in Brazil **by Miriam Caetano**

EDUCATION, FORMATION, IDENTITY AND LIBERTY ON THE BLACK PEOPLE

The necessity of liberty of the black people goes beyond the bloody frontiers of South Africa.

Imperialism has been dominating the world and black people in Africa. The countries of the diaspora are infected and try to turn themselves into whites, thus living in a constant crisis.

Fundamentally our mission is to try to limit this process, which annihilates our people. Trying to contribute to change this situation, we suggest that education

- 1) starts from real life situations, from key-subjects of the pupils involved in the process. If education starts from the reality experienced by the pupils, the teaching process will gain life, thus stimulating interest, participation and growth of all the involved people.
- 2) History should be dealt with in a dialectic form: past, present and future, local and global reality. If history is taught in a dynamic way, where the human being can perceive himself as subject and object, his participation will be more conscious and critical.
- 3) Books should be written by groups of intellectuals engaged in the question of oppression. If books are elaborated by the communities themselves, they would not disdain the values of those.
- 4) Educators should have special training in courses to rethink their attitudes in order to become an active supporter of the process.

To demonstrate how this educator should be, we quote Paulo Freire:

"Authentic education is not from A to B, nor from B to A, but A together with B with the world as intermediate."

- 5) Knowledge should be acquired in an inter-disciplinary process, for we want critical people with a global vision of the world and not with a vision of sections and fragments.
- 6) Organizing campaigns and investments in national publications. Incentives for editors to get engaged in the process. It is not possible to think of education for liberating the people without changing the publications with ideology of the dominant classes.
- 7) Pressure on the means of communication to broadcast programmes more involved with the people.
- 8) Dialogue and reflections about theory and practice are fundamental in the learning process, to form critical individuals.
- 9) The teacher should be the facilitating agent of the process, trying to establish links between theory and practice, thinking, questioning and advancing together with the pupils.
- 10) Recovery of positive identity, of self-respect. Education must be among the basic priorities of the state, for financial resources and fundamental for education of good quality.

EDUCATION DIRECTED TOWARDS THE INTERESTS OF BLACK PEOPLE AND ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE

(Excerpts from the Programme of Action of the Unified Black Movement)

Education as act of learning and teaching, as knowledge for doing, being and living together, is part of life, occurs in everyday life. In this sense, education goes beyond school where formal instruction is submitted to a pedagogy with fixed methods, rules and time-tables. School, however, from the kindergarten to university, has an important function, as organizer of culture, in the formation of the citizen. With its intermediation, society educates its leaders, for school is one of the main

instruments of the dominant classes to impose their alienating ideology on all members of Brazilian society.

The contribution of the debate about education to the process of reacting to racial violence begins with denouncing

- selectivity of the present education model,
- reinforcement of the dominant classes' values,
- perpetuation of a racist pedagogical practice, which excludes the cultural patrimony of the black population from school curricula,
- exclusion of the popular classes (blacks in their majority) from the process of teaching and learning.

If we want, however, to extinguish racism once and for ever, the Unified Black Movement cannot restrict itself only to:

- defending general principles about the right to education and the defence of black culture;
- formulating curriculum suggestions which meet the learning needs of the black population; and
- indicating the debt of the public authorities with the black people.

MUCH MORE IS NECESSARY. Throughout Brazilian history **RA- CISM** has already given many hard lessons.

The pedagogic practice, which conspires against black children, youth and adults, trying to make them quiet with reference to their citizenship, occurs within the schools. No matter whether they are public or private, in the centre of the city or on the outskirts, in towns or in rural areas. This school violence has consequences - not always immediately visible - both for the guarantee of fundamental rights of the human being and for the black citizen in formation. It is a fact that blacks, who manage to finish some periods at school, are submitted to humiliation, which turn difficult or even impede the formation of black racial identity. During the school period the black child is obliged to accept a process of "whitening", which searches to hit the pupil in his essence. Not seldom and for already well-known reasons, many children and adolescents become alienated from their community, their people, rejecting it in

consequence of racial violence, of which they have been victims. It is the price they pay for having attended school.

School, however, does not only produce silence and negation. It causes, although this is not its objective, inconformity and indignation. Many blacks resist racist instructions and, instead of drifting away from their people, strengthen Black racial identity, which was denied at school. **THEY EDUCATE THEMSELVES TO BE BLACK.**

The Movement, which has incessantly combatted racial violence, asks other questions about education and indicates new ways. Among them can be emphasized the one which indicates that education of black children, adolescents and adults outside school has to count with black political and cultural organizations. Therefore, it is necessary to invest more in significant education experiences preparing for citizenship conducive to the interests of blacks as an oppressed group, which organizes itself in the perspective of participation in **POWER.**

Without any doubt, this is one reason, why the community has assumed its education process and autonomously created a project of citizenship based on education of children, adolescents and adults for the liberation struggle of the black people.

In this sense the Unified Black Movement suggests two lines of action. **ONE** that gives continuity to the pressures for redefining school, its methods and contents; the **OTHER** line - with priority - that tries to construct a proposal for **AUTONOMOUS EDUCATION**, sustained and oriented by the black people. Through these experiences, the Unified Black Movement will seek to show to black people that they are able to understand and modify the world, that they are free to act, judge, comprehend and create. Besides the discovery that they are **PEOPLE IN HISTORY**, black people can also perceive themselves as **ACTORS IN HISTORY**, with power to intervene in the reality around them.

Therefore, it is necessary:

- to develop autonomous literacy projects based on the racial question;

- to mobilize the black population to create, together with the Unified Black Movement, alternative schools, where formal education is linked to history and culture of black Brazilians;
- to elaborate an Afro-Brazilian curriculum for alternative schools and as part of, especially, the courses of pedagogy and teacher training;
- to develop projects for children and adolescents where education and culture are focuses as forms of resistance, organization and recovery of "negritude";
- to develop, orient and hold courses, conferences, seminars directed to the school community.

It is the Unified Black Movement's task to struggle:

- against racial discrimination at school and for better education conditions;
- for including African History and History of the Blacks in Brazil in school curricula;
- for education directed towards the values and interests of the black population and all oppressed people;
- for public and gratis education on all levels.

15.4 ECONOMICS FROM BELOW

by Jürgen Zimmer

1. The Archeology of the Market*

Aristotle described the market before it was buried alive: a farmer came to the market and worked out a price with the customer. He stood in competition with other farmers, the price was regulated by supply and demand, each farmer was in competition with the others, but each had access to the market. It was a market of variety and resourcefulness, of high quality and low prices. Aristotle described three deadly sins: swindle, prostitution and intermediate trade. The wholesaler, he argued, lives from driving up the price for the customer and pushing down that for the producer. The Aristotelean market is one of many small fish, not one of feudal princes and parasites.

It is important to think back to the original idea of the market, when community education wants to help to develop economics from below. Many people talk of the "market", but then hinder it. The market is hindered by the protective duties and quota regulations of rich countries. The textile industry of the developing countries would have long been able to compete with that in Europe if competition were to be allowed rather than sheltering behind EC protection clauses. The "market" in the Aristotelean sense does not exist when oligarchies and other big fish encrust the market through feudal structures and prevent other small producers from gaining access to the market.

Special opportunities for the linking up of community education have followed from the destruction of several myths in the last few years, partly in the countries under "real socialism", but partly also in market economy orientated countries. I will name some of these and later go into the consequences:

* This part originates from a dialogue with Günter Faltn.

(1) The myth of the closed alternative system.

"Real socialism" was orientated neither to the world market nor to the internal market. It collapsed primarily for economic reasons. There was no competition, no competing products, no realistic prices and no consumer criticism allowed. Working productivity was low, production often socio-ecologically irresponsible. Workers had very few possibilities for control or co-determination. "Real socialist" theory left contact with the ground and lost control of reality - ending in sectarianism and bureaucratism. The urge towards private property was underestimated, as was the necessity to give incentives for productivity. (The consequences can be seen, for example, when one looks at the former GDR, Poland or Hungary. They are chaotic: growing mass unemployment is paired with a spectacular shortage of business experience. Soldiers of fortune beat people inexperienced in economics about the ears. The intoxication of consumption, which is primarily concerned with Western products, is followed by the hangover of high instalments to be paid back).

(2) The myth of the lasting power of the monopolies

Thirty years ago most economists would have attested to the sentence "the big fish eat the small ones". In the meantime many small firms have shown that they can successfully take away part of the terrain from a big firm. In Silicon Valley a few students and professors challenged IBM with Apple. In the meantime there are many examples of how big fish can be challenged by little ones. Small firms can show greater flexibility, their bureaucratic effort is smaller, the motivation of the workers is often higher. Small firms can often offer better quality at a lower price and be customer friendly.

(3) The myth of alternative large union firms:

The working-class - and the peasants' movements have for historically-obvious reasons tried to set up firms and cooperatives with an emphatically public utility character. We (especially in Europe) had to experience two different things: first, trade union firms, especially when they are large, are not free from succumbing to asocial temptations of all varieties; secondly, once they have become large they tend towards bureaucratisation and cumbersomeness just like other large firms.

Many of us are followers of the concept of cooperatives. Me too. The rise, and often quick fall, of many cooperatives in many countries shows

that a cooperative in itself does not necessarily have the guarantee of economic success, and that we have an urgent need to discuss negative and positive experiences with alternative forms of enterprises within a framework of a theory of economically-based community education.

A great deal speaks for the idea that the only really interesting alternative is between "large" and "bureaucratic" on the one side, and "small" and "efficient" on the other, and that we would do well to bear this in mind, when we consider the development of popular economics.

(4) The myth "Theories of the Third World"

The suffering of the majority of the population of the Third World is incontestable. If one, however, observes the take off of the "small tigers" in Asia (Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, Malaysia, recently Thailand and Indonesia) and follows the indicators on the stock exchanges heralding a development thrust in Mexico and India, then these developments disprove parts of both the modernisation theory and dependence theory. According to both theories there should never have been a chance for the "small tigers". For us it is important to analyse exactly how it is precisely the small firms in these countries, which have achieved competitiveness in the world market, in order to avoid the further belief in false ideas. Attempts to directly bypass the market by constructing "solidarity lines" without being able to keep it up have shown themselves to be difficult and to finally lead to failure: a Third World shop in Europe offering poor quality goods at inflated prices, not only loses its customers, but also damages the producer by fostering their illusions and holding them back from increasing the quality of the product and becoming internationally competitive.

I increasingly believe that the degree of professionalism with which community education and economics are linked together, is decisive for the role community education can play in poor regions. If this question is blended out or applied in a dilettante way, then one could easily be left with a form of occupational therapy which does not help to escape from the situation of poverty. In the hearts of many educationalists are anti-economic emotions - and if they have been concerned with economics on the fringes, such as in occupational education or in cooperation with trade unions, then it was more a question of qualifications or consciousness-raising processes for workers.

The vision which meanwhile comes into view is that of many, many small firms, of a "people's economy" in the real meaning of the word, one which relies on entrepreneurial initiative and qualifies as many poor people as possible to be able to create their own jobs. The emancipatory core of such an approach, relying on the economic competence of the citizens, has long been underestimated. But power and encrusted feudalism can also be attacked with the market (in the Aristotelean sense) and it could be one of the important tasks of community education to support the many small fish, to gain entry to the market for them via intelligence, to win terrain (and to ensure that as small fish they gobble up as few of each other as possible).

Economic-pedagogic initiatives and projects, which have arisen out of this background, clear away barriers which hinder sight and start off with a few premises which are important for economics from below:

(1) They develop a different idea of entrepreneurs: the entrepreneur not as an exploiter and miser, but as an artist, lateral thinker, a maniac, as a sort of Robin Hood, who wants to participate in a fairer redistribution of social wealth.

(2) They make money not by fooling the customers, but relying on the enlightenment of the users. It is not an orientation towards the "poor average taste", towards dullness and fakes, but towards variety and originality, not towards substandard, but towards high quality. They consider themselves as socially and ecologically responsible for their products.

(3) They orientate themselves not towards resources, but towards the market. The determining factor is not what resources are available, but what is needed in the market. (Oranges do not have to sell well, just because they grow in the same region: it is the demand which is decisive). The recognition and original interpretation of trends is more important in this than the sample search for gaps in the market.

(4) They avoid wholesalers, calculate the price sharply and try to offer high quality as cheaply as possible.

(5) Their fellow workers can be shareholders simultaneously; the aim is a people's company, which uses part of its surplus to raise the living

standard of the workers, and another part committed socially to invest in community development.

In the following part I shall use an example - the development of Productive Community Schools - to explain how concrete economics from below can start up and which difficulties arise in this process.

2. Productive Community Schools

In the Philippines, in Brazil, and recently also in Thailand, there have been attempts to develop Productive Community Schools (PCS) and so to support entrepreneurial qualifications. PCS combine learning with earning. They produce useful things, work for a profit and serve to support teachers and students. They channel surpluses towards socially meaningful projects and help in the development of the community. Through intensive interaction of theory and practice, the PCS impart production-oriented knowledge, community-oriented and general education in an integrated way. One does not learn in an artificial school world, but in real situations. The PCS serve to attain qualifications oriented towards self-reliance economics. They are a contribution to the nationalization of the economy at the grassroots level. The PCS could become an important and financially-feasible type of school in the marginalized regions.

One could consider the PCS primarily as a combination of work and school, but on closer analysis one would find that both institutions, if left in their usual format, could cause friction when combined, and that an economic and pedagogic framework of reference, which is more than just the addition of two partial theorems, is necessary.

The concept of an enterprise which is principally based on the factors of production, capital and labour, which limits power to management, which is indifferent to the product and which is only interested in a wholly functional training of personnel is not appropriate for our purposes. In contrast, the principal factor of production in a PCS is the knowledge and the previously acquired skills of all coworkers, their participation in management decisions and a correspondingly high level of training. PCS do not have an indifferent attitude towards their products: they produce with social responsibility, they are oriented towards high quality and not towards substandard production. They compensate for capital and conventional business practises with the

generation of goodwill; they try to win over buyers with convincing quality and prices oriented towards the product's utility value.

One can conceive of the PCS as thinking enterprises where coworkers practice a type of exploratory learning, where sociological and economic imagination is set free, and where the available experience-oriented and scientific discoveries can be utilized to reach higher work productivity and a greater net product. PCS should be superior to conventional enterprises in the acquisition of this knowhow and thus realize their market value: Then the saying "The big fish eat the small fry" - which is also believed in the Philippines - can be modified.

The PCS distinguish themselves from the manpower approach with their objective of job creation - which has been removed from educational economics in the last two decades - in as far as they do not claim to start out from long term qualification forecasts or demand and determine key qualifications. Because of rapid technological and social changes, the manpower approach led frequently to erroneous forecasts regarding the type of profession and the respective quality level. In contrast, the PCS concept should be understood as a process-oriented qualification, as a concept with an inherent high degree of mobility and flexibility to new situations.

The thinking, mobile enterprises committed to exploratory learning contradicts those pedagogical positions, which block out real situations and insert a didactic filter between the learners and reality, reduce reality didactically and favour a curriculum, where the setting of a problem or task, the approaches to a solution and the solutions themselves are already given. While an enterprise by definition has to decide on uncertainties, didacticism of the kind discussed previously is largely concerned with known entities. Thus, it threatens to fail in view of the practical application of knowledge; the transfer of learning situations in school with fixed parameters to situations where decisions constantly have to be made about things not sufficiently known does not succeed.

Since the 1960's, through the functionalistic approach (Benjamin Bloom: Taxonomy of Educational Goals) and the scientific propaedeutic approach (Jerome Bruner: Structures of the Disciplines), curriculum-theoretical attempts haven been made to avoid this dilemma in two ways: Bloom attempted to respond to the constant increase in knowledge

and technological change by defining key qualifications and learning objectives on a comparatively abstract level and by operationalizing them in a didactic-hierarchical way as specific objectives to be taught. While these qualifications were of a mere structural character on a general level, they (as specific objectives to be taught) are characterized by that very reduction which led to rigid learning forms (teacher-proof curricula) and once more to unrealistic "safe" learning situations.

A similar fate was suffered by the attempts of Bruner, who, in the belief of a scientification of the world, wanted to proceed from the structures of the scientific disciplines and to prepare students for dealing with scientific procedures, concepts and attitudes. This approach, which initially appeared plausible, led, in the international practice of teaching, to varied constrictions: calculating and classifying students, who were supposed to learn to calculate and classify for their own sake, were not able to transfer their knowledge in complex situations of uncertainty. Bruner's scientific-propaedeutic approach does not confront reality, because the sciences are not harnessed to cope with reality and deemed instrumental, but the other way around - for instance, in the form of mathematical problems: examples of situations are given for the mere purpose of illustrating the subject matter. Besides, Bruner's approach neglects the problem that in the relationship between science and reality, one is not dealing with linear references at all, but with a very fractured relationship - at the latest since the separation of the arts from the sciences.

To differentiate within the curriculum-theoretical positions just sketched, we shall proceed to a further developed understanding of the Situation Approach. This approach was preformulated by the team around S.B. Robinsohn towards the end of the sixties at the Max Planck Institute for Educational Research in Berlin (structural concept of curriculum revision). It consists of three steps: first, situational fields and situations are identified and analyzed; second, qualifications are determined which enable a person to act autonomously and competently in these situations; third, curriculum elements are developed through which such qualifications can be applied. While Robinsohn's structural concept was still strongly characterized by encyclopedic and static ideas of defining a situation, the approach was later turned upside-down - also under the influence of Freire's and later also Guitierrez's Latin American experiences: key situations were defined and analysed in

dialogue with often marginalized groups of the population; subject- and situation-oriented objectives were determined and pedagogical projects were conducted which helped to clarify and deal with situations. Wherever this approach was effective - from the development of elementary curricula in West Germany to the development of an Afro-Brazilian curriculum - curriculum revision should not only be regarded as a dynamic, continuous process, but also as a type of learning which prepares for real situations; which thus not so much simulates situations, but sees them as learning and acting areas. Learning as practical, though theory-directed, dealing with situations and within the framework of community education as active participation in community development. The Situation Approach thus takes into consideration unforeseeable factors in dealing with reality.

As applied to the project proposal, the Situation Approach thematizes key issues such as joblessness, malnutrition, illness - the syndromes of extreme poverty. Generating incomes and improving living conditions thus become the motivational key for learning under the conditions of the Third World. This motivation exists in reality. It does not have to be produced artificially through didactic-methodical measures.

Learning in the PCS begins not only with this motivation, but also with the level of knowledge and the qualifications of the participants which were already present. Situation-oriented curriculum development thus refers not only to scientific findings, but also to the level of knowledge of the reference groups. These groups, for instance, have informal knowledge about appropriate technology and about economics. The more one scrutinizes the matter, the more surprising it appears that, for instance, the curriculum of conventional schools does not take this previous knowledge into consideration. Even the kind of learning through practical problems and the generation of theories (everyday theories) from experiential contexts already exists; children could not otherwise survive under the socio-economic conditions of the Third World. The conventional school does not adopt this learning process, but counter-productively places it in opposition to "academic" learning.

In this context the PCS concept represents an attempt to adequately understand childhood in the Third World, which is far less segregated from economic and adult life than it is in Central Europe. In the PCS, income generation as a condition sine qua non of many children is ac-

cepted, but at the same time it is combined with qualifications and the increase in knowledge. In contrast with children with a mere "academic" school education, PCS students learn an "appropriate scientific behaviour": subject-oriented, mono-disciplinary and often repetitively-acquired knowledge is opposed to intensive, application-oriented, interdisciplinary learning. Everything may become part of the curriculum: construction, market analysis, product planning and design, production techniques, quality control, marketing, investment policy, accounting. The three "r's" (reading, 'riting and 'rithmetic) are learnt within the productive context. The thinking enterprise also demands much more than just production-oriented knowledge. The potato that one produces does not only come from the earth, it also contains its colonial history. From Manila's garbage hill, at the foot of which the recycling school works, one can read the cultural history of the Philippines as well as the relationship of industrialized countries to the Third World. The practice of the PCS to serve both the support and the development of the community directs the discussion about values to their economic bases and teaches the management of a socially responsible enterprise. The curriculum should be oriented towards the development needs of the community and contain not only inputs that are specific to the place, but inputs that are generative. Learning takes place in all parts of the curriculum to cope with a reality not foreseeable in its totality; it is an intensive, exploratory learning which emphasises the exchange between theory and practice.

The PCS concept aimed at here, attempts to avoid two erroneous forms: it does not follow the practice of some countries where production schools fall apart into a conventional school and a conventional enterprise, nor does it want a heavier emphasis towards either the enterprise or towards the school. The PCS live from the integration of conceptions advanced by both partial institutions.

Successfully working PCS also develop into life formation institutions which promote the teacher who is doubly qualified: a teacher, who is theoretically- and practically-knowledgeable and who can translate his knowledge into practice, but also a teacher, who is at the same time technician, economist and master.

3. Examples

The variety of economic ideas which represent the result of such planning work is interesting and shows that one can imagine "schools" as being very different than just uniform, mouse grey institutions. To name just a few examples, PCS can specialize in the recycling of rubbish, the production of appropriate building materials, the production of educational toys, the manufacture of dresses in ethnic fashion, the production and catering of nutritious food, the cultivation and processing of herbal medicines, the raising of shrimps, fish, ducks and pigs, the production of delicacies.

Philippines and Brazil, are named as examples of such planning work:

(1) A workshop which child prostitutes, social-workers, neighbours, police, clergymen, customers, pimps and many others carried out together in a public square in Manila's red light district led to the suggestions which was favoured above all by the children, namely the setting up and running of a PCS as an "adventure restaurant" with a stage for performances. In each part of the restaurant, eating and the preparation of food should become an experience; the restaurant will present authentic regional cooking from the Philippines. The children (with the support of the social workers) want to run the restaurant and at the same time let themselves be trained as artists and appear on the stage of the restaurant - with the motto, "We from the East Side Story". The project will be supported not only culinarily, but also culturally - right as far as the preparedness of the Chinese Embassy to provide artists for the training of the children.

(2) In an area of Metro Manila, Sta. Rosario, community educators are working on the development of a PCS which will specialize in the sale of rice low in chemical residues. The project starts with the realization that basic food stuffs are mostly filled with chemical residues and that there is a growing need to obtain healthy, non-contaminated foodstuffs. Research is presently being carried out to seek out rice farmers as producers for the PCS, who either grow indigenous rice varieties, which are not yet chemically contaminated (e.g. on the island of Palawan) or, who wish to switch to biological farming of rice. Previous economic experience of the community of Sta. Rosario is already there as up until now the families have been occupied with the repacking of foodstuffs

(large quantities have been repackaged into very small quantities for sale in the Sari Sari stores).

(3) The small holders of the community of Capão Bonito, about 150 km from São Paulo, are surrounded by large holdings with monoculture plantations - rice, beans, sweetcorn, cane sugar. In order to stay competitive, the small farmers cannot continue to plant the same products as hitherto, but must switch over to other products for which there is a market, thereby replacing quantity with quality; a PCS will be established in this community, in which intensive methods for breeding fish, pigs and ducks will be developed and tested - along with the further processing and refining of fish and meat produce. The pupils of the PCS should, for the most part, come from the community. For example, they could be the school leavers from the primary school there. The school would combine the raising of animals with the production and sale of delicacies - both through supplying the city markets and through direct sales and the running of a restaurant (a cross-country road with tourist traffic runs through the community). The farmers are organized in a cooperative.

(4) A PCS for Afro-Brazilian toys will be set up on the periphery of the city of São Paulo in the Favela Dalila, which is mainly inhabited by a black population. This population group lives below the poverty line. The Favela is marked by a well-organized infrastructure (self-help groups, church community, trade unions). The pupils at the school should be children from the immediate catchment area, who are unable to go to any conventional school. The school will have a double aim: first, it should strengthen and further develop elements of Afro-Brazilian culture within a framework of a inner-Brazilian cultural pluralism. Secondly, with this cultural knowledge it should develop the production of educational toys more directly related to the cultural traditions and needs of the Afro-Brazilian population (around 45 % of the total population).

The project will serve the supporting of the cultural identity of Afro-Brazilians, who are still in a far-reaching marginalized position 100 years after the freeing of the slaves and who have recently increasingly voiced the need to reflect upon their own traditions.

The PCS wants to be the learning place for an economics concentrating on independence. Production-related knowledge, culture-specific, socially-orientated and general education should be imparted in an integrated manner. With an extended or modified range of products, the model of this school may be able to be carried over into the other residential areas with a mainly black population. In comparison with the USA, a specific market for the population of African origin in Brazil is still very much capable of expansion.

4. Risks

The whole project of the development of PCS, which already has the beginnings of an international linking up within the ICEA via conferences, has a clearly innovative character. Educationally it represents a change, in as much as the learning does not take place in the apparent security of a classroom, but in insecurity, and that the awakening of entrepreneurial capabilities is the central focus. Economically it is the attempt to develop a strategy for the small Davids in this world and to develop their potential, so that they do not simply capitulate to the Goliaths, but free themselves from their position of poverty through their own initiative. The project is still too young to be able to exhibit experiences which are reliable and can be seen as more general. En route to success there are many dangers lying in wait:

(1) The danger of dependence on donations: While it is true that most PCS need funds to start off with, they are only acceptable when they do not destroy the entrepreneurial qualities and when they are clearly brought in as investments and not as donations. Donations can lead to a form of drug addiction: as a rule, projects collapse when the money stops flowing. In this way, one does not learn to act entrepreneurially, but simply how to acquire money temporarily from foundations.

(2) The danger of corruption. We have experienced one case in which an institute working in the field, which was supposed to be guiding a PCS, not only swindled the investment funds, but was also found to have 31 workers, out of a total of 35, who were related to one another and primarily occupied as a family in channelling off international money into private pockets. Another example: On Smokey Mountain, the huge mountain of refuge in Manila, around which some 20,000 very poor people live, 27 "Help Organizations" have established themselves, only

five of these are active at all, the others collect international donations for their own private aims as mail box firms.

(3) The danger of talking rather than acting entrepreneurially. Educators, who have not yet been active entrepreneurially tend now and then to rather philosophize about production and to withdraw to a merely supervisory role rather than being active. If you want to produce orange juice, it is less important to talk about it - after all, the oranges have to be pressed. With the development of PCS, a bureaucratic-pedagogic super-structure cannot be afforded financially - everyone is a thinker and trader simultaneously.

(4) The danger of too high expectations. The development of PCS demands tenacity. Profits are not accrued quickly.

Set against these risks, there are the enormous work effort and enthusiasm of those, who have devoted themselves to PCS. PCS could not be raised from the ground without possessed people who start them off. These possessed people are there and as such they develop and spread the projects in various countries.

Purita's Story

Sometimes, though, projects can take a surprising course - as in the case of the Philippine teacher Purita and her children, which is worth relating. The place is called Cardona and it lies by the shallow Laguna Lake, not far from the metropolis Manila. Illegal large landed-property has spread out around the lake. Rich people have fenced off hectare-sized parcels of land with fine-meshed bamboo fencing and use the areas for fish farming. The lake looks like a honeycomb screen. Watch-towers, manned by armed vigilantes, indicate where the right to own private property starts for some and ends for others. All that is left for the little fishermen from Cardona are continuously-shrinking areas of the lake: the catches are no longer even enough to survive on.

Purita, a woman teacher here, is obsessed with the idea of founding a school in Cardona from which she and the pupils can live. It will not be for fishing, but for keeping ducks and pigs; there is a good market for them here. The children could learn to live from using the land rather than the almost completely closed-off lake. The teacher took advice in Manila from other people who are putting the idea of a PCS into practice: one school will be set up on Smokey Mountain, the city's smoking

mountain of rubbish, and will live from recycling; another, in Tondo, will be directed against junk food, producing rich food cheaply; a school in Santa Mesa will produce toys; another, on Roxas Boulevard, will become a street restaurant. They will all be schools in slums and of a new kind - not like the old schools, but thinking workshops. They will be small fish with big teeth: they might not be able to eat up the big fish, but they will certainly give them a nasty bite.

Purita, the teacher, knows that she has to throw her old colonial educational ideas overboard. Even if the tasks are more or less well-known, the solutions and methods of finding solutions are not. Here in the real world, learning takes place in unsureness. The shortage of capital - the Pesos scraped together just about cover the cost of one pig - has to be compensated for with extra knowledge. She and her children must become local champions in the fields of pig- and duck-breeding. They must question breeders and vets and read books - although these by no means cover everything about pigs and ducks. They must also watch the animals and learn how to make calculations, which are more than just the expressions of their own wishes.

The contours of the pig-and-duck-school in Cardona are becoming clearer. Everything is included in the curriculum: the building of the school and enclosures, the market analysis, the provisions for the animals, the marketing, the investment policy, the practice of book-keeping, organizing the work and the self-management. Elementary cultural techniques can be learnt in a productive context. It makes far more sense to keep a diary about pigs when this is useful for the well-being of the animals and the profit situation. The old subjects are no longer useful - or at least not in the way that the knowledge accumulated within them is offered. The new school subjects must orientate themselves the key problems of breeding, says their teacher. These new subjects have names like, "How to make pigs happy". The children reason this as follows: happy pigs make lots of small pigs, which in turn, when they are bigger, also get even more babies. Thus, they learn all about the psychology of pigs, they observe them closely and see that they can sometimes be jealous, sometimes bad tempered or even in a mood to be stroked, but most of all, at all times sensitive - just like humans. Another subject is, "How to achieve a cost-neutral feeding-chain".

This leads to the trail of the water lilies growing as a weed in the sea in the "grey area", this side of the bamboo fences. "Water lilies", a neighbour said, "we can dry and feed to the pigs". And what about the ducks? There is a particular fish, which considers the ducks' excrement to be a delicacy. And there is, in turn, a particular sort of snail, which likes the excrement of fish. Ducks, in turn, eat snails eagerly. The homework: how much water is needed in a pond in order that not just 800 ducks can swim around happily, but also provides for enough oxygen so that the fish do not choke on the ducks' excrement? How many fish are needed for how many snails, and how many snails for how many ducks? Where do they all come from? Under what conditions do they multiply? Can such learning-through-research be satisfied with the knowledge provided by the Filipino curricula? Never? Exactly.

Nothing is easy in our grim reality. A vision on the horizon can soon dissolve in a grey veil of dust. Pigs can be struck down with the plague, the snails could be forced under the mud by the next typhoon and never be seen again. It may well be that happy pigs make lots of offspring, but the question is, whether or not the children can afford to wait that long without starving? Who can teach them to get rid of unproductive time and to make and sell peanut butter instead, whilst the first sow is pregnant? Who will protect them from false expectations of a quick profit? Who will teach them to take a deep breath? Who will explain to the poor souls that they will not be able to do anything else except work for their joint project day and night? Who will explain that the concept of "self-reliance economics" cannot get by with just a storm of interest and a great idea alone, but that it will be carried over into reality in the size of pebbles?

Months later, the small school in Cardona gives up the ghost. The one happy, pregnant and - soon after - birth-giving pig, which was to have enabled the group's successful start, was, along with its offspring, unable to withstand the economic pressure. When the piglets got to be fat enough, each child took one home happily, believing that the school had achieved its purpose.

15.5 The University and Entrepreneurship **by Günter Faltn**

The following remarks are based on the experience I gained in the creation of a business firm using a university background and its ideas. The project was born in 1985 from the concept that economic competence is best acquired when a business idea is thought through and carried out in the market.

The arguments were: "market" means serious reality, transparency, competition and the chance to point out new arenas within economic reality, including - to be sure - also the possibility to make a fool of oneself and loose the money invested.

Such an approach to "market" is certain to encounter misunderstandings within the academic environment.

The main objection against the market is, that it is an ideological expression, and that especially the "big ones", who speak of "the market" would in reality undermine its basic principles, namely transparency and competition, through their market power. Thereby, market becomes an illusion, within which it is possible to completely hide one's interests. This argument is not easily disputed and is also perceived in everyday reality. Therefore, if one continues to speak of "the market", then this includes that in the political system of democracy, there be an everyday struggle for the preservation of these principles against the influence of the Big and Powerful, who want to neutralize these principles and could, in fact, do so.

1. Market Structures instead of Power Structures

In economic history, the market for a long time has been considered a self-evident, positive phenomenon. In ancient Greece, the market has been a centre of societal life. To go to the market and to hear about what is new, was something so central for the Greek philosophers, that they had their own word for it: Agorazein.

This concept describes the bond between market and communication. It is not in vain that earlier important events in city life were connected

with the idea of the market; the annual market and the fair are examples of this.

Beginning first with industrialization, through accumulation of capital and new methods of funding productive units of a previously unknown scale were generated together with concentration of power. Power and above all abuse of power became predominant themes of the political and scientific discussion.

With the transition of a service-oriented and post-industrial society, distinct shifts of emphasis become evident. Meanwhile, the average size of corporations decreases rather than increases. Service-oriented enterprises are subject to other laws than those of industrial production in that they are smaller, must be closer to their clientele and more flexible.

Quick reaction in the market and the learning ability of the corporation and management become more significant than property and capital. In large areas - in the textile branch, in computer hardware and software, only to name a few examples - the mini-enterprises have almost overnight taken over previously seemingly inaccessible bastions of big corporations. The number of the small and successful is too large to be pushed aside.

The great scholar Marx did not predict the growth of the small enterprises. It also seems that most pedagogues today still do not see it. "Practitioners, who believe themselves to be entirely free of intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some faded economist", (1) says Keynes, and adds: "I am convinced that the power of acquired rights in comparison with the gradual penetration of ideas has been strongly exaggerated." (2)

2. The Deficit: Entrepreneurial Qualifications

In the past, the tasks of the educational and occupational systems were clearly separated from each other. The mediation of qualifications to the educational system, and the occupational system provided the jobs. This historical work division of labour no longer functions. The occupational system is not in the foreseeable future in the position to provide a sufficient number of jobs. In this situation, the demand is made

worldwide on the educational system to react to this functional deficit of the occupational system. It no longer suffices to develop qualifications for already existing jobs; the capacity to create new jobs (job-generating education) should be dealt with in the duties of the educational system. While this situation is relatively new for the industrialized countries, the problem has already existed for a long time and is becoming more acute for the developing countries.

Within the educational system it seems that nobody is prepared to meet this challenge.

The students continue to orient themselves towards (an insufficient number of) available jobs. The teachers are, in their opinion as a matter of course, not in the least prepared for a testing of the transfer of their knowledge to the foundation of profitable economic organizations. The education-policy makers, in reality, have had to give up their mandate to the economic-policy makers. Economic enterprise should not be left solely in the hands of business people only. When this is the case, all the important levels and possibilities of influence and formation, e.g.:

- the creation of jobs,
- the organization of jobs,
- the primary generation of income (through which by means of taxes and the national budget monetary distributions is provided),

lie elsewhere, namely with the enterprises in the occupational system.

The training for this occupational system does not at all fit the priority at the entrepreneurial field, but rather trains unchallenged and exclusively for dependent occupation, i.e. for wage-dependent employment in existing enterprises. Here we have a clear deficit: the deficit of entrepreneurial qualification.

Surveys in industrialized countries show that new jobs are created in small- and medium-sized firms, primarily, in the wake of the setting up of new firms (3/1986, p. 56 ff.). This is even more the case with developing countries.

As far as the transfer of theoretical knowledge to occupational practice is concerned, the German system of occupational-training has a structural feature, offering an important condition for the success of this transfer,

namely the places of learning in the school (theory) and in the firms (practice). This initially-available, favourable starting position is not used in the sense of a form of education aiming for entrepreneurial qualification. The German idea of practice-orientated education aims at preparation of jobs which are already there. The subject in both industrial and mercantile training do not pass on business ability. Quite the opposite: the ways and means of using mercantile techniques such as book-keeping, balancing and investment-calculating, probably destroys more creativity and initiative than they could ever build up. The forms of training and their contents handicap creative initiative exactly at the point where its support of this would be most necessary.

3. About the Necessary Dismantling of Myths

It is actually surprising that pedagogy has not made more efforts to become active here. A reason for this is a blind spot of a conception which ultimately circumscribes the market with myths, which hinder more than further an unbiased approach. Thus pedagogy tends toward the characterization that the market leads to high rates of profit. However, this is precisely the deformation of the market and not its result. Market structures, as opposed to oligopolistic ones, make possible transparency (which in turn provides comparability) and tend to lead, given complete competition, to a disappearance of profits as such. Another myth is, that in order to become an entrepreneur, one would have to have large amounts of capital at one's disposal. In reality, it is precisely the small enterprises, which do not have large amounts of capital, but rather new successful ideas, that play the key role in the system of market economy.

"Market" for many pedagogues became the panic word describing a world which they wanted nothing to do with. In this regard it is out of the question that new and particular societal phenomena come directly out of the centre of economic life, and with that out of an entrepreneurial initiative.

The training methods which are used today do not try first to mesh with economic connections through the education of such qualifications. The market as potential and as a stage on which positive alternatives can be placed, is not used in this manner by pedagogics. Whatever degree of concrete utopia may be included in pedagogical concepts, must get stuck

in the theoretical approach, if the pedagogic persists in such a denial of reality in the matter of economy. If I understand the claim of pedagogues correctly, they are being guided primarily by their professional ethics: they foster the dream that with what they transmit to their pupils, they could have an effect on something, including helping to form life in terms of everyday economy, thus wanting to make it perhaps a little more worth living. However, hardly anyone dares to say this anymore. The pedagogues have become more modest; they feel faint, yet they may not fully admit that through this renunciation of reality they have put themselves into the powerless corner.

It is revealing that both the entrepreneurial principle of asceticism, which places achievement before luxury, investment before consumption and waste, and resentment against entrepreneurs stem from the same Protestant version of modernism. In the former success had been seen as grace and earthly reward, while in the latter, it means: whatever success business brings, cannot be good. The present entrepreneur-paedagogue relationship is to be seen as reflecting this historical antagonism.

These foundations find their correspondence in a bundle of prejudices as they are conveyed from paedagogics:

"Market, that is the meeting place of the very big fish. They rule everything. They have the large productions and with them, the most efficient production procedures. The large fish devour the small fish. One can do nothing there against it. We must strengthen the wage earners and the labour unionists (if the pedagogues think so far at all). The entrepreneurial field is inaccessible and suspect."

The tragedy of this interpretation consequently leads, as it seems to me, above all to this kind of attitude: one can do nothing, thus one need not do anything. As the result of such resentments, the professional group of pedagogues as a rule consists of a selection of unentrepreneurially thinking forces. The paedagogical interpretation of the market also regularly overlooks its emancipatory qualities.

The principles of the market are directed against the powerful (monopolies and cartels). These principles sought to set the market against royal commercial privileges. The enlightenment rhetoric alone in the 18th and early 19th century did not win the emancipation of the

bourgeoisie, but rather the increasing economic force standing behind it above all did so.

4. The Origin of an Entrepreneurial Idea: Entrepreneur and Artist

Entrepreneurial qualifications are not to be equated with management qualifications. The schooling of managers aims for dependent employees, who efficiently transact predetermined goals. A manager, as capable as he may be in the organization, is still no entrepreneur, who opens new horizons. A capable entrepreneur will perceive problems of environmental pollution, chemicals in food and the situation in the Third World and take them into consideration in his reflections. He will try to come to terms with social problems and trends, as they appear recognizable frequently at an early stage, precisely at the universities. With the danger of ruin, the market compels farsighted unprejudiced action. Yet, new ideas distort the given perspective of reality, and only too often its creator will be taken for crazy.

A young person, who recognizes social problems and wants to face them in a partial manner, will most easily be compared to an artist. As in art, an innovative achievement often requires the obsession with an idea. And like the artist, who wants to set his own style in the world, the entrepreneur who wants to implement a new idea often has to see a phase of social refusal through. We know of such chapters out of the biographies of great artists and writers as well as those out of the biographies of famous entrepreneurs. This phase, which is often enough connected with personal sacrifice, daring experiments and the laughter of the established contemporaries, cultivates very real thrills and risks in the life of the artist as in that of the entrepreneur. Without such uncertain beginnings, from which new designs are set on their way and which place higher demands on courage, determination and endurance, the later successes as a rule, are not to be had. The quality of the entrepreneurial idea is in this regard of decisive importance. Whether one can successfully hold one's own in the market or can only stay just above water (and therefore is forced to apply the elbows and all the little swindles and tricks) very much depends on the quality of the conception with which one entered the competition. The Swiss, Gottlieb Duttweiler, the founder of "Migros", is a good example of entrepreneurial activity, which took effect with missionary obsession and a

vision of just trade, beneficial to the market regarding product quality, price, and interaction with producers.

5. Characteristics of Entrepreneurial Qualifications

Astonishingly, the figure of the entrepreneur is oddly absent not only in the pedagogical literature, but also in that of economic sciences. Even Joseph Schumpeter, the theorist of entrepreneurial conduct, says a little about the necessary qualifications, but instead explains cyclical economic trends through the appearance of a large number of innovative entrepreneurs (4). However, a few revealing indications can still be found in the literature. In my opinion, one of the most exact descriptions is this, which says: "to discover what already exists" (5).

That sounds paradoxical, and it is also meant that way: what can one discover, when it already exists? To discover what is already there means that successful foundations of enterprises fall back on things which are long since known, but which in a new context, placed in a new connection, are carried over to a new area. The layman's idea that the great inventions are that which lead to entrepreneurial foundations is most of the time wrong. Schumpeter differentiated between "inventions" and "innovations". The great inventions are often not ripe for the market for a long time, and are still full of little mistakes. Therefore, they easily fail in the first run, because they are not quite technically ripe, are not recognized in their meaning or not accepted by the public. A famous example of this in the recent past is the telefax. The invention has been in existence for a long time, the innovation finally was introduced with worldwide success only recently by completely different companies than the inventors and those who tried at the beginning.

Thus, what we have here is a new arrangement of the knowledge at hand, a kind of going against the grain of the existing states of knowledge or the transfer of existing ideas to completely new areas of application. And here is a situation where pedagogy would by no means have to work in strange territory. Crazy, says the philosopher Schopenhauer, is the best thing a human being can have. It is his most creative part which can set free great energy in order to realize a piece of Utopia.

The second feature that is mentioned in the corresponding literature on entrepreneurial qualifications is: "Decide in uncertainty". Here again we have a paradox: how can I decide, if I have not got the information? And yet this statement describes the everyday situation of the entrepreneur. The literature on economics is full of models that try to prepare these decisions through probability theory. "To decide in uncertainty" does not mean: I can decide however I want to, but rather: I am naturally under pressure to make the right decisions at the market, and I must try to do so despite insecurity and incomplete information.

At this point it becomes difficult. It appears to me that pedagogy is the exact opposite of "deciding in uncertainty". Pedagogy, on principle, decides in the security of its knowledge. The instructor has got the knowledge, or he has a textbook, or some other authority knows it. One side knows it, and the other side does not know it, and is taught and led; as a rule a given knowledge is shifted from one side to another. Deciding in insecurity is something, which is not intrinsic to pedagogy, as if to say insecurity was something not intrinsic to life. This also is a call to learn for the market: "Although it is unknown how clients will behave and how competitors will react to a procedure, nevertheless, I must decide, and I must make the right decision."

6. The Potential of Pedagogy

In conclusion, what does this mean for pedagogy? How might pedagogy find its place here? I believe that the chances for having the educational system accept this challenge are not so bad after all. Wherever we deal with knowledge, open spaces, and the discovery of ideas, the educational system has basic advantages against the occupational system, above all against its routine, its blindness, and its time pressure. The educational system has extraordinary possibilities for the access to information. Through this, potential - in theory, experiential knowledge, practical contacts and debates - can be freed, which to such a degree are not at the disposal of a business company. I believe that the educational institutions should be at home in the realm of discovery and development of ideas.

If we take our ambitions in education seriously rather than resign ourselves to the role that has been factually assigned to us, then we have the chance to realize a piece of Utopia, and translate it into Praxis. Economy is something far too important to leave it to the economists.

Economy with a piece of Utopia does not arise in everyday's corporate life. New ideas and experiments need places which make possible openness, play, and trial. To create and elaborate upon an entrepreneurial idea, and introduce it into the market, definitely belongs to the most lively, exciting and learning intensive things that one can imagine.

(1) Keynes, J.: Allgemeine Theorie der Beschäftigung, des Zinses und des Geldes. Berlin 1936, p. 323

(2) *ibid*

(3) Albach, G.H.: Schumpeter of der Spur. In: Wirtschaftswoche 30/1984, p. 56

(4) Schumpeter, J.: Theorie der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung, 2nd Edition. München/Leipzig 1926

(5) Kirzner, I.M. cf.: Unternehmer - Finder von Beruf.
In: Wirtschaftswoche 3/1987

16. APPENDIX

16.1 Review*

dtby Cyril Poster

The House of World Cultures is, viewed from the exterior not Berlin's most attractive modern building: the roof resembles a tilted satellite television disc. Inside, however, it is impressive: a spacious exhibition area, cinema, art galleries, restaurant, lecture theatre and seminar rooms. It was a fitting place for the first South-South conference on education.

Peggy Luswazi, Khambiz Ghawami, Wolfgang Karcher, Robert Kriger, Jürgen Zimmer and others had set up a conference to bring together South Africans preparing for a post-Apartheid society and Latin Americans who had experiences, in various contexts, which would contribute to their planning. Of the sixty or so attending, the majority were South African educationists, some recently returned political exiles, some who had managed to continue working within the country even in the most oppressive days of the regime, some who are currently studying in Germany, a few still working in the African bureaux of various international agencies with headquarters in Europe.

The Latin American group was small in comparison, but impressive in the experience it was able to contribute. One of its members was Maria Stela Santos Graciani from Sao Paulo, Brazil, where Paulo Freire was, until his recent retirement, Minister for Education. Almost all the German delegates had lived and worked in Latin America or Africa; yet, whatever the extent of their firsthand experience, they were there primarily as facilitators, not conference leaders.

Indeed, had they seen themselves in a leadership role, they would soon have been disillusioned. After the first inaugural session, where for me the most impressive contribution was a brief, but well informed speech of welcome from the representative of the 360,000 strong German Trade Union of Education and Science, a group of the South African delegates set about restructuring the conference to meet what they saw

* From: Community Education International, April 1992, p. 5

as their needs. Inevitably a few of those, who had spent much time and energy in planning the conference, felt momentarily aggrieved that their work appeared not to be appreciated. Nevertheless, it was quickly recognised that, if the conference was to serve the needs of its key members, their agenda was more important than any face-saving exercise. I found myself wishing that many of the other conferences I had attended over the years, had been so flexible and adaptive. The new programme laid great stress on practical issues explored in depth, using the full resources of the conference membership. A number of the prepared inputs now found their place as informal contributions to discussion when and if the need for them arose. They were far more effective in this way, briefer certainly and wholly relevant.

What were the outcomes? One was undoubtedly the realisation that there was very little time for the black and coloured South Africans and their white sympathisers to prepare for education in the new order. Palliative measures such as the opening of some all white schools to blacks were seen as smoke screens obscuring the real issue: the scandalous underfunding and neglect of education in the black townships and homelands. The curriculum of white schools, tightly bound into the constraints of the examination board and dominated by the requirements of higher education, has little to offer black South Africans; yet only a handful of schools for blacks - and those the "open schools", of necessity fee-paying - are developing a democratic participatory process of education that recognises the achievements of black South Africans. History, for example, appears to begin with the advent of the Boer and British; the centuriesold civilisation of the black peoples has no place there. The atrocities and expropriations of the colonisers are conveniently forgotten or obscured.

Black culture, in arts and crafts, music and dance, is in danger of being reduced to a tourist attraction. Unless our black South African friends are able rapidly to develop strategies to achieve a programme of educational reform which will redress the imbalance between black and white education, they are in danger, they recognise, of being outmanoeuvred by palliative reforms that will bring about only cosmetic changes.

It was clear to me from this conference that the leadership and the understanding of what is required to bring about radical change un-

doubtedly exist. Black South Africans and their white allies are ready to learn from the best practices of any country, and to adapt them to their own needs as well as to adopt them. Grassroots community education in the Freire tradition will undoubtedly make a significant contribution. For rapid transformation "each one teach one" will be an effective model. Namibia, independent only since 1989, has made tremendous strides in a short time and the outstanding plenary contribution of Tulhi Nghiyounanye, the young personal assistant to the Namibian Minister of Education and Culture, was a great encouragement to the conference delegates.

Importantly, black South Africa must be made more aware that it has friends and supporters among leading educationists in the Western World. I would like to see the International Community Education Association develop a higher profile in this field in the months to come. At the very least it must make its members and affiliated associations more aware about what is happening in a country with such potential, at best for multiracial development and social process, at worst for catastrophe and civil strife.

16.2 SOUTH AFRICAN INTERNAL PROGRAMME 1991/92
by World University Service

1. TITLE OF PROJECT: ADULT LITERACY AND ADVICE CENTRE (ALAC)

The Adult Literacy and Advice Centre (ALAC) was established in July 1986 with a central office in Umtata, Transkei. At the beginning of 1988, the Literacy Programme and the Advice Centre became two separate entities operating independently from each other in terms of function and fundraising. The literacy programme focuses on promoting basic literacy and communication skills primarily among women, migrant workers and residents within rural communities in the Transkei. Constant attention is given to expanding the number of learner groups particularly in more remote areas where levels of illiteracy are estimated to be 75 %. The project also produces resource material for Xhosa literacy learners, as well as extending literacy group work to include self-help activities such as the formation of pre-schools.

2. TITLE OF THE PROJECT: ADULT LEARNING PROJECT (ALP)

ALP started in 1980 as an attempt to respond to the great demand for literacy education in the Western Cape. Initially the target group was mainly workers from the local trade unions, unorganized workers and people in the community. Other areas covered now include the squatter areas, civics and recently contact is being developed with church groups. The project aims to assist adults to read in their first language and English as a second language, raise awareness and empower the learners to understand and thus better influence the world around them.

3. TITLE OF PROJECT: CALA UNIVERSITY STUDENTS ASSOCIATION (CALUSA)

The Cala University Students Association (CALUSA) was started in 1983 by a group of UNISA students in the village of Cala in the Transkei. The main aim was to establish a study group that could offer mutual support and assistance to the local community. The project runs different subprojects which offer a comprehensive and alternative educational initiative within the village. The project runs a Community Li-

brary which provides the core for the other CALUSA activities. Other areas include the adult literacy project which offers classes in basic Xhosa to adult learners; the children's programme provides for the creative and artistic needs of pre-primary and primary schoolchildren. The career guidance centre offers guidance and coordinates the winter school programme as well as internal training within the organization. The bursary scheme provides grants to local students in secondary school.

4. TITLE OF PROJECT: CAPE EDUCATIONAL COMPUTER SOCIETY (CECS)

CECS is a non-racial democratic organization aimed at giving relevant direction to the use of computers and empowering students and teachers to play a more assertive role in a changing and future SA. In this regard, the use of modern technology is seen as part of the development of alternative education and culture, while also reinforcing the idea that people can take control of their own lives. The project also seeks to ensure that computers are not used to reinforce traditional apartheid based instructional practice. It services and trains activists from the various progressive organizations on basic computer skills needed for specific areas of activity. In this way it enhances the empowerment of community based organizations on the use of computers.

5. TITLE OF PROJECT: COMMUNITY AGENCY FOR SOCIAL ENQUIRY (CASE)

CASE is a non-profit company that acts as a core structure under which two projects operate, the Policy Research Project (PREP) and the Computer Literacy Project (CLIP). The projects are active in three regions, namely, the areas around Johannesburg, Cape Town and Pietermaritzburg. It runs a policy research programme on national issues, services research for local organizations and computer literacy training in word-processing, record-keeping and desktop publishing. These activities are aimed at advancing the policy knowledge and infrastructure of mass-based organizations such as political movements, trade unions, youth congresses and civic associations.

6. TITLE OF PROJECT: CRITICAL HEALTH

Critical Health is a publication established in 1979 to deal with the social and political aspects of health and health care in South Africa. It emerged in response to the gross inequalities which characterize South African society at large. Its main objectives are to enable people to understand the way in which apartheid policies impact on health and health care; to produce material for education and discussion on health care in South Africa, as well as provide ideas for the role that health workers can play in promoting a healthy society.

7. TITLE OF PROJECT: COMMUNITY HEALTH PROJECT

The Community Health Project was set up in 1982 in response to the health needs of community organizations and area residents in the Cape Town area. Its main function was to organize the community around health-related issues by assisting them in the development of alternative health-care initiatives in the area.

The project is involved in numerous programmes ranging from Child and Women Health Screening which focuses on the health status and access to health care for women and children in the area. Other programmes include developing appropriate child and women health programmes. Seminars are also organized on various health problems ranging from common childhood diseases, nutrition to community physiotherapy and emergency services.

8. TITLE OF PROJECT: COMMUNITY RESEARCH UNIT (CRU)

CRU developed out of the Phoenix Child Screening Project, one of the activities of the Health Care Trust (HCT). The project is based in Durban and aims to provide a research and resource facility for community organizations, maintain a resource centre, train people in community-action research, planning and media. It also promotes self-help community development activity through community organization.

CRU undertakes training at three levels. Firstly, it runs a practical training programme for activists from different mass organizations in data collection, processing and utilization. Secondly, it administers an intensive sixmonths training course for students at matric level. Thirdly, it gives university graduates an opportunity to work in an applied

research environment and acquire skills and approaches necessary to make them more available to their communities.

9. TITLE OF PROJECT: EASTERN CAPE NEWS AGENCIES (ECNA)

The Eastern Cape News Agency (ECNA) is an umbrella group of three independent progressive news agencies: the East London News Agency (Grahamstown), Albany News Agency and the Port Elizabeth News Agency (PEN). ECNA is committed to a non-racial, democratic future in South Africa and to the democratic right to information as counterpoised to the existing media establishment and government curbs which reinforce the status quo. These associated progressive news outlets aim to provide an accurate news service on events and developments in the underreported Eastern Cape, and to assist disadvantaged communities to get their concerns into the news media.

10. TITLE OF PROJECT: ENVIRONMENTAL AND DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (EDA)

EDA is an independent development organization working with rural communities mostly in "homeland" areas. Operating as a democratic collective, EDA focuses on basic issues such as primary health care, sanitation and food supply. It also promotes local organization in rural villages in order to address these issues. EDA's fieldwork involves organizational and basic skills training as well as the development of democratic and cooperative methods of work. The project's Resource Centre provides written materials for fieldworkers, rural people and people generally concerned with rural and land questions.

11. TITLE OF PROJECT: ENGLISH LITERACY PROJECT (ELP)

ELP was first founded in 1987/88. The project started off providing a basic English course which underwent significant expansion as a result of demands placed upon the courses. At present, ELP aims to provide literacy at the work place; trains shop stewards and workers as literacy teachers; develops basic education and literacy materials as well as lobby for adult basic education in the new South Africa.

12. TITLE OF PROJECT: EDUCATION PROJECTS UNIT-NATAL (EPU-NATAL)

Located within the University of Natal in Durban, the Educational Projects Unit (EPU) is a joint initiative with the University of Natal and community based education initiatives. The EPU aims to facilitate and support the development of cooperation between community organizations and the broader masses; monitor educational developments and needs; frame responses to specific educational issues and needs; as well as contribute towards a post-apartheid education system.

13. TITLE OF PROJECT: EDUCATION POLICY UNIT (EPU-WITS)

The Education Policy Unit (EPU) was established in response to the grave crisis in the South African education system and in recognition that the university should play a significant role in addressing the crisis. The unit conducts systematic scholarly investigation of alternative education proposals and curricula; evaluate the academic worth of alternative education models; provide academic backup in order for these alternative models to evolve in a more informed way; as well as focus on educational policy for a future South African social order.

14. TITLE OF PROJECT: EDUCATION; RESOURCE AND INFORMATION PROJECT (ERIP)

ERIP is a resource agency base in Cape Town. The project is a semi-autonomous unit within the University of the Western Cape's Institute for Counselling and Careers, with ERIP providing educational and practical resources to a variety of popular organizations around the area of Cape Town. It also runs training programmes in organizational skills, democratic processes, education and socio-political issues, and community struggles. A new programme has been introduced on Sex and AIDS education among students and youth. Research on popular education and various issues of concern to the democratic movement are also provided.

15. TITLE OF THE PROJECT: HENK VAN ANDEL TRUST (HVAT)

The Henk Van Andel Trust is a scholarship organization aimed at providing financial assistance, bursaries, scholarships and loans to students, teachers, and other members of the black community. It also fund-raises for educational projects, seminars, conferences and exhibitions, consistent with the objects of the Trust.

16. TITLE OF PROJECT: INTERNATIONAL LABOUR RESEARCH AND INFORMATION GROUP (ILRIG)

ILRIG is a non-profit-making service organization founded in mid-1983. It produces a range of educational publications and information dossiers, and offers courses and seminars on international labour issues to numerous popular writers. It has also helped to revive and strengthen the growing movement of educationalists involved in popular writing.

17. TITLE OF PROJECT: KHANYA COLLEGE (KHANYA)

Khanya College is a non-racial, independent and residential college offering students a first year "bridge" to higher education. It is a project of SACHED Trust. Khanya students experience a learning environment free from the spirit of apartheid and it is designed to promote critical social awareness. In cooperation with the University of Indiana, the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town, SACHED/KHANYA staff have developed university credit courses in African Literature, African History, Economics, Mathematics, Physics, Psychology and Sociology.

18. TITLE OF PROJECT: KHANYISA LITERACY PROJECT (KHANYISA)

Khanyisa is a rural-based literacy project established in February of 1990 by community organizations from Alice and Middledrift in the Eastern Cape. The participants include representatives from Women, Youth, Civic, Trade Union, Students, Teachers, Church and Political organizations. The project provides basic literacy and communication skills to rural people in border regions and ensures that the people, who can only read Xhosa, have access to alternative information. It also

mobilizes learners to take an active role in influencing the decisions affecting their communities, especially women.

19. TITLE OF PROJECT: LEARN AND TEACH PUBLICATIONS (L & T PUB.)

Learn and Teach Publications is an educational magazine that deals with a variety of topics such as labour, legal and practical advice, community issues, social history, politics, humor and sports. The publication is written in easy English and is designed to promote reading skills in people, who have achieved a basic level of literacy in English. The magazine has a wide readership with a circulation of 35,000 magazines per edition. The magazine is distributed through a national network of township sellers and distributors as well as to outlets in neighbouring states (Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe).

20. TITLE OF PROJECT: LABOUR AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH (LERP)

The Labour and Economic Research Project (LERP) is a community-based research organization. It broadly aims to develop the consciousness of workers, to build a united, non-racial democracy in South Africa and to work for a society in which "the wealth should be shared among those who work it". The project also attempts to ensure democratic participation of workers and community organizations in planning and implementing of activities.

21. TITLE OF PROJECT: NATIONAL LITERACY COOPERATION (NLC)

The National Literacy Cooperation is an initiative developed to facilitate greater coordination of the work among progressive literacy organizations. It strives to create greater awareness in progressive circles generally on the importance of literacy in particular for a Post-Apartheid South Africa. The project focuses mainly on developing cooperation in the areas of curriculum development, both for learning groups and training courses. It also develops teaching and reading materials, and undertakes research in the field of illiteracy/literacy in South Africa. The overall aim of the project is to contribute towards establishing a national literacy syllabus for South Africa.

22. TITLE OF PROJECT: NAMIBIA LITERACY PROGRAMME (NLP)

The Namibia Literacy Programme (NLP) was set up in 1971 as a regional branch of the Bureau of Literacy and Literature (BLL) based in Johannesburg. The project separated from the Johannesburg group in 1984. At that point it became a non-governmental organization active in literacy and adult education work all over Namibia. It is dedicated to enhancing the training of learners, instructors and regional organizers in literacy work. Training is offered in the vernacular languages, and learning materials in all those languages are produced by NLP. The materials used attempt to reflect the daily realities and struggles of learners.

23. TITLE OF PROJECT: OPEN SCHOOL (OS)

The Open School is an independent educational trust, which aims to create a learning environment for "self-expression, self-confidence and social awareness; critical and analytical thought processes; decision-making and problem solving." The focus of Open School programmes is on alternative education for young black people through culture. These aims and objectives are met through a Central Programme of weekly workshops in art, dance, drama, kung fu, creative English and resource centre programmes, creative maths and computer programmes and special projects in photography and video.

24. TITLE OF PROJECT: SACHED TRUST (SACHED)

SACHED was established in 1958 with the intention, at the outset, to assist students desiring to pursue degrees through the University of London. In the 1970s, SACHED's work evolved considerably from efforts linked largely to assisting students within the framework of the traditional academic requirements to highly innovative work primarily directed toward adult education and to bridging the enormous gaps created by the discriminatory and deprived content of the infamous Bantu Education System.

In the early eighties it became a leading alternative educational institution development programme in the country. Its publishing and al-

ternative curricula development programme, together with correspondence courses for students are a focal point for access to alternative education.

25. TITLE OF PROJECT: THE SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR BULLETIN (SALB)

The SALB is a journal which reports on and analyses issues in the South African labour movement. The SALB was founded in 1974 at the time when fledgling independent unions were being formed. The SALB aims to make information, economic and political analysis available to the trade union movement and thus by doing so assist unions in becoming more effective in serving the needs of their members and overcoming the injustices in SA. It also seeks to increase understanding of the labour movement among employers, so that they will treat unions with respect and sympathy.

26. TITLE OF PROJECT: SOUTH AFRICAN MEDICAL SCHOLARSHIPS TRUST (SAMST)

The South African Medical Scholarships Trust (SAMST) was launched in 1965 by the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). Now an independent trust, SAMST helps in the training of community health workers (particularly from the black community) in order to contribute to the health care needs of South Africa's deprived communities. Assistance is given in the form of loans, repayable with modest interest on completion of studies. SAMST students are chosen on the basis of their interest in community health service and financial need.

27. TITLE OF PROJECT: SOUTH AFRICAN PRISONERS EDUCATION TRUST (SAPET)

The South African Prisoners' Education Trust (SAPET) was established in 1976. It grew out of the Prison Education Scheme set up by the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). The project sought to respond to numerous requests from ex-prisoners and others, who were serving sentences in South African prisons and who wished to continue their education. In this way, SAPET has been of vital importance in

ensuring that the talents and resourcefulness of prisoners of conscience do not go to waste during and after their incarceration.

With the possibilities of mass releases, following the political developments of 1990 SAPET's role has become even more crucial. Whether in terms of social, economic or political integration, the programme continues to be pivotal in ensuring that the disadvantages of years of incarceration to the ex-prisoners and their dependents are ameliorated, and that expolitical prisoners can contribute to the democratization process taking place in the country.

28. TITLE OF PROJECT: SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS EDUCATION TRUST (SASET)

Formed in 1972 by the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), SASET is now an independent trust extending support to deprived students with a commitment to social change and community improvement. Special consideration is given to those, who for reasons of their antiapartheid activities have been penalized by the state in terms of bursary or other provisions.

29. TITLE OF PROJECT: SPEAK

SPEAK produces a magazine which was started in 1982 by a group of women linked to community-based women's groups in Durban. On a more general level, the magazine works towards raising awareness on women's issues and to provide a publication that could act as an organizing tool and educational resource in relation to women's struggles. More specifically, the project aims to create a greater awareness of the necessity for sustained organization and mobilization of women around their needs, provide a forum for the sharing of organization and experiences among women, so that organizational methods may be shared and the confidence of women to act may be increased. The magazine thus creates a greater awareness by women of the specific problems that they experience and of the opportunity for women to relate and share such problems with each other, as well as provides the opportunity among women to share writing, production and distribution skills through active participation on SPEAK production as well as through workshops run by the SPEAK Collective.

30. TITLE OF PROJECT: THE OTHER PRESS SERVICE (TOPS)

TOPS is a media training and production collective based in Johannesburg. It was founded in 1986 by three journalists working for the weekly newspaper City Press. The project is involved in the production of print media such as newsletters, pamphlets, stickers and poster for organizations such as youth congresses, community groups, street committees, trade unions, church service organizations and political groupings.

31. TITLE OF PROJECT: UNION OF DEMOCRATIC UNIVERSITY STAFF ASSOCIATION (UDUSA)

UDUSA is a newly-formed non-racial organization of university staff. The organization was formed after more than two years of consultation with progressive academics at universities throughout the country. The project strives for the elimination of discrimination on the basis of race, gender, class and creed in universities and in the South African society; defends academic freedom and university autonomy; promotes critical research and education; examines the role of the university in a changing society in order to promote the equitable and fullest possible utilization of universities' resources by all; facilitates the organization of branches, which can defend and promote interest of their members; coordinates the responses of its members to current issues especially in the educational terrain.

32. TITLE OF PROJECT: VILLAGE HEALTH WORKER PROJECT

The Village Health Worker Project was started in 1980 following a conference at the University of Cape Town on the Economics of Health care in South Africa. It is an integrated health and community development project based in the Cala District of Transkei, which else has very little if any possibility of meeting the basic needs of the community such as basic health care, water, sanitation, housing, food, land education and work opportunities.

The primary objective of the project is thus to try and assist the community by responding to the immediate needs confronting the area. One of the primary areas of focus is the development of an alternative approach to the training of village health workers in preventative and some curative health care. The project also emphasizes on setting a new direction in organizing and encouraging the building of latrines and vegetable gardens in the community.

NEW PROJECTS SUBMITTED TO DONORS FOR THE 1991/92 FUNDING YEAR

1. TITLE OF PROJECT: ALEXANDRIA EDUCATION CAREER CENTRE (ALEXED)

The project is a community-based education centre situated in the rural Eastern Cape. The area within which it operates has a black population of about 17,000 people, most of whom are farm workers. Although the project is targeted for the local Alexandria community, it also services other villages beyond Alexandria. It is run by a management committee made up of teachers, youth, women and civic members. The project trains teachers in career guidance and development initiators in initiating employment-creation programmes. It also provides library facilities, which serves to supplement the educational resources of students in the area.

2. TITLE OF PROJECT: BULAMAHLO

Bulamahlo is a literacy project based in Tzaneen, an area in the Northern part of South Africa. It has seventy-four groups totalling 743 learners mainly in Lebowa and Gazankulu. The project provides basic reading and writing skills in English and mother tongue for the people of Gazankulu and Tzaneen. It also produces materials and resources to run literacy and post-basic literacy classes. In addition, the project also strives to empower learners, socially and politically through literacy.

3. TITLE OF PROJECT: CAREER INFORMATION CENTRE (CIC)

The project is implemented by Career Information Centre (CIC) which is an experienced career guidance and training organization based in Durban. It aims to build on community-based initiatives that service youth directly. The project designs and develops training programmes for volunteers and workers in career guidance and other organizational issues, eg. civics, women's groups etc. as well as develops reading material for workers. It also strives to link these initiatives together through a regional forum to share insights, strategies and problems.

4. TITLE OF PROJECT: DETU RESOURCE AND INFORMATION CENTRE (DERIC)

The Democratic Teacher's Union of the Western Cape was founded in 1985 to address some problems arising out of the continuing education crisis. During this period, the majority of students and youth were on the streets as a result of the ongoing crisis in the school system caused by a shortage of books, overcrowded classrooms, staff shortages etc. It was out of these conditions that the idea of a progressive, non-racial, and democratic teacher's union emerged. DETU aims to provide resources for teachers, run subject workshops on method and content of teachers, provide a facility which will disseminate educational information for teachers and students, as well as organize training in basic computer usage.

5. TITLE OF PROJECT: ECUMENICAL BURSARY FUND (ECUM)

The Ecumenical Bursary Fund is a non-racial non-profit organization established in 1988 in response to the need for a bursary programme in the area of Natal. It was formed following extensive consultation with various community church groups and other service organizations on the existing funding crisis in education. The project provides bursaries to students from the urban and rural areas of Natal at all levels of education as well as provides counselling and advice service to students.

6. TITLE OF PROJECT: EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT TRUST TRAINING SERVICE UNIT (EDTSU)

The EDT Service and Training Unit is a subproject of the National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC). It aims to address the human resource development needs of the members of staff and political functionaries of EDT and NECC. The major objectives are to promote efficiency, democratic leadership style, higher productivity and good resource management within the organization. It also seeks to enhance and manage strategic processes in the coordination of NECC and EDT programmes, including workshops and conferences, promote administrative independence, cohesion and cooperation between NECC and EDT as well as strengthen the effectiveness of decentralized/regional structures.

7. TITLE OF PROJECT: IKAGENG COMMUNITY EDUCATION AND INFORMATION CENTRE (IKAGENG)

IKAGENG is a community-based education and information organization. It is aimed at students, workers and the community who are generally denied access to information and resources on career, counselling and education opportunities. The project provides free counselling/guidance, advice on bursaries, writing curriculum vitae and job placement. It also organizes educational support programs, such as the winter and autumn school for local students and the community. The centre also runs a library and mobile education and career advice clinics for surrounding rural areas.

8. TITLE OF PROJECT: EDUCARE PARENT TEACHER PROJECT (IELP)

IELP is a community-based project that works together with community organizations in encouraging the establishment of home-based educare centres. It fosters the provision of preventative health care and early learning opportunities for black children in Gugulethu and surrounding squatter areas. The project provides ongoing-training in educare for teachers and parents as well as promotes the rights of children. Emphasis is placed on families keeping small, backyard vegetable gardens; children being taught correct nutritional habits, the basic three

"R"s, as well as ensuring early learning issues become a part of the broad education movement in South Africa.

9. TITLE OF PROJECT: ISIMAMVA DEVELOPMENT CENTRE (ISIMAMVA)

Isimamva is a rural development oriented project serving people in the rural areas of Mount Frere in the Transkei. The project arose out of the need to improve the social, economic and political conditions of these communities. It focuses on primary health care, bakery, pre-school, brick-making, agriculture, sewing and knitting, youth programmes, bursaries for local students and bulk-buying schemes and runs classes in nutrition.

10. TITLE OF PROJECT: NKWENKWE ART CENTRE AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECT (NACP)

In June 1989 a development consultation was held with the people of Nkwenkwe in Natal, out of which the need to engage actively in planned development programmes was expressed. Subsequently the Nkwenkwe Arts Centre and Development Projects (NACP) was launched. Several areas were identified as priority: Literacy, Primary Health Care, Agricultural Project, Research and Training on organizational development as well as the development of arts and culture. The project also aims to develop self-reliance and empower the community of Nkwenkwe socially, economical and politically.

11. TITLE OF PROJECT: PUBLIC POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION PROGRAMME (PPDAP)

The Public Policy and Development Administration Programme (PPDAP) is a training programme targeted at managerial level staff from NGO's, development agencies, political organizations, and civil servants. The project is a response to the growing administrative demands being placed upon the ANC and the realization that the bureaucratic structures of the Apartheid state represents a serious obstacle to a resolution of the Apartheid problem. The training focuses in the areas of: management and planning, organizational development and design, policy planning and research, and development strategy and implementation.

12. PROJECT TITLE: SIBEKOKUHLE WOMEN'S PROJECT (SIBEWO)

The worsening situation in the country, the realization that the formal sector will not employ all those who need work, and the fact that women will always have to struggle harder to get employment, have seen more women seeking to acquire skills which they can use for self-employment. Sibekokuhle is one such initiative. The women feel that combining production skills and business skills can enable them to improve their economic status as well as their overall socio-economic situation. Through its training in production and business skills, the project aims to empower women to become less dependent on their spouses and relatives, thus enabling them to take charge of their lives.

13. TITLE OF PROJECT: UMTHOMBO WOLWAZI LITERACY CENTRE (UMTHOMBO)

Concerned parents and some farmers' wives in Colesberg in the Cape Province got together to address some of the problems of lack of adequate education facilities confronting the Colesberg black community. In response to some of these challenges, the Hantam Education Trust embarked on an Adult Literacy Project for the farm workers. The main objectives are to provide basic and post basic literacy to farm workers in the Colesberg area, provide boarding facilities to a primary school to enable more children to complete their schooling, supplement and enhance teacher skills so as to improve the quality of teaching in the higher primary school,, as well as to train pre-school teachers and literacy coordinators.

14. TITLE OF PROJECT: USE, SPEAK, WRITE ENGLISH (USWE)

USWE is a Cape-Town based literacy organization, which trains trainers in literacy work. The programme provides mother tongue and second language literacy training. It is also developing integrated syllabuses for adult basic education, teaching material, teacher training and support as well as developing and distributing literacy resources. The project runs regular training courses at teacher training level and trainer training levels to meet the demand for training as effectively as possible. They

also undertake research and have developed pilot "distance" trainer training programmes to cater particularly for rural projects.

16.3 LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

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