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A comparative analysis of educational opportunity for blacks and whites in the United States and South Africa.

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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR BLACKS AND WHITES IN THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTH AFRICA

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR BLACKS AND WHITES IN THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTH AFRICA

by Veronica M. Ulrich

This study traces the historical similarities and differences of the educational systems of the United States and South Africa with regards to provision of equal educational opportunity for blacks and whites. The premise of the thesis is that South Africa and the United States have similar educational histories when comparing them on the variable of the denial of equal educational opportunities to black students up until the 1950's when the provision of educational opportunity in the two countries developed in totally opposite directions. Educational provision in both countries is analyzed during five different time periods: the colonial period, the period of industrialization, the period of de jure segregation, the period of resistance and change, and the situation in the two countries today. It is found that starting in the 1950's, the United States has taken significant steps to

reduce educational inequalities for blacks. Black educational outcomes and adult economic opportunities, however, persist in being inferior, and reforms are thus still part of an unfinished agenda. In South Africa, little to no progress has been made in reducing educational inequalities between blacks and whites. Blacks continue to be disadvantaged in educational provisions, outcomes and economic opportunities in later life.

For my husband and family.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The phrase "white supremacy" applies with particular force to the historical experiences of two nations -- South Africa and the United States. As generally understood, white supremacy refers to the attitudes, ideologies, and policies associated with the rise of blatant forms of white or European dominance over "nonwhite" populations. In other words, it involves making invidious distinctions of a socially crucial kind that are based primarily, if not exclusively, on physical characteristics and ancestry. In its fully developed form, white supremacy means "color bars", "racial segregation", and the restriction of meaningful citizenship rights to a privileged group characterized by a light pigmentation. White supremacy refers to more than racial prejudice and discrimination: it suggests systematic and self-conscious efforts to make race or color a qualification for membership in the civil community. More than the other multi-racial societies resulting from the "expansion of Europe" that took place between the sixteenth century and the twentieth, South Africa and the United States (most obviously the southern United States during the era of slavery and segregation) have manifested over long periods of time a tendency to push the principle of differentiation by race to its logical outcome, a kind of society in which people of color, however numerous or acculturated they may be, are treated as permanent aliens or outsiders. Forced racial segregation has constituted the greatest institutional expression of white domination in both the United States and South Africa. (Fredrickson, 1981, xi).

It is the premise of this thesis that South Africa and the United States have similar educational histories when comparing them on the variable of the denial of equal educational opportunities to black students, up until the 1950's when the provision of educational opportunity in the two countries developed in totally opposite directions. Inferior education was used as a tool in both countries to subjugate the black population for reasons of both economic and racial domination of the white ruling class. Starting in the 1950's, the United States has taken significant steps to reduce educational inequalities for blacks. Black educational outcomes and adult opportunities in the job market persist in being inferior, however, indicating that the reforms made are still part of an unfinished agenda. In South Africa, little to no progress has been made in reducing inequalities between blacks and whites in education. Blacks continue to be disadvantaged in educational provision and outcomes, and consequently in economic opportunities in later life.

Discrimination against blacks in education was part of a broader socio-political discrimination in both countries. In the United States, prior to the Civil War, there was no constitutional safeguard against depriving persons of rights or privileges because of their race. The American system legitimized slavery. The Civil War amendments extended civil liberties to the now-freed slaves but segregation and

discriminatory practices continued in the United States (Nowak, 1986, 559) between the 1890's and the 1960's while the infamous Jim Crow laws were in operation restricting access to public institutions and facilities. The separate amenities provided for blacks were vastly inferior despite the "separate but equal" myth, and a sign of a degraded social position. In the political arena most blacks were excluded from the electorate through contrived restrictions. The most obvious parallels with South Africa can be found in the turn of the century conditions in the American South. Only when a powerful civil rights movement arose in the 1950's and 1960's did legally enforced racial separation and disfranchisement start to break down.

In South Africa, conscious segregation began with the establishment of the country as an independent union in 1910 although traces of it can be found earlier. A series of laws sought to separate black from white. Separate living areas, schools, public facilities and political institutions were ordained to restrict black privileges and ensure the continuing dominance of the white minority. When the Nationalist Party triumphed in 1948 on a platform of "apartheid", the policy of racial segregation was brought to fruition.

Differential education for blacks in both countries proved an effective device for discrimination. Educational segregation and inequality served to limit economic

opportunities and caused a deterioration in the social position of blacks relevant to whites. The two patterns of educational discrimination provided similar advantages to the dominant class. Unskilled, politically isolated laborers abounded, willing to work for low wages. Racial and economic domination for whites was ensured.

Although many historical parallels can be drawn in the educational development of the two countries, however, there are also definite differences. Most notable of these are the Brown (347 U.S. 483 [1954]) rulings in the United States, the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's and their resulting reforms in educational provision.

The Brown (347 U.S. 483 [1954]) case of 1954 in the United States resulted in the first judicial decision regarding the destruction of separate education. Just the year before, in 1953, the Bantu Education Act was passed in South Africa, officially launching segregated education in that country. Whereas, the United States has taken significant strides in the last few decades to bring equality of educational opportunity to minority citizens, South Africa has failed to introduce any meaningful reform bills in the area of public education. In the United States today, numerous inequities in public education still exist and many would argue that the ideal of equal educational opportunity for all is still a long way off. In South

Africa gross inequities in the provision of education for blacks remain and schools are in chaos.

In the United States, the desegregation of schools was the first step in the desegregation of society. In South Africa, at the time this thesis is being written, Parliament is in session working out the scrapping of some of the last remaining apartheid laws. Thus far government rhetoric has not made significant mention of reforms in public education. It remains to be seen whether the present South African government will move to desegregate schools, unify the separate education departments and take the desperately needed steps to provide a more equitable system of education.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

In both the United States and South Africa educational outcomes for blacks and whites are unequal. Blacks are consequently disproportionately under represented in high status occupational positions. In South Africa this is due to an unequal education system, justified by the philosophy of apartheid. In the United States, despite reforms in education, the gap between black and white educational outcomes has not yet been closed.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this study is to trace the historical similarities and differences of the educational systems of the United States and South Africa with regards to provision of equal educational opportunity for blacks and whites.

IMPORTANCE

This study will examine the question of the historical similarities and differences in the provision of educational opportunity in the United States and South Africa. It is an important study of how the ruling class entrenched a position of racial and economic supremacy through denying equal educational provision to its underclass.

PROCEDURES AND METHODOLOGY

The researcher will review educational literature to make a historical comparison of the educational systems in South Africa and the United States concentrating on factors which prohibit or allow for equality of educational opportunity. The researcher will review literature on recent developments in education in South Africa and the United States. This data will be analyzed and conclusions drawn.

DEFINITIONS

Apartheid: lit. apartness, separation.

Segregation: The policy and practice of imposing the social separation of races, as in schools, housing, and industry, especially discriminatory practices against nonwhites in a predominantly white society (American Heritage Dictionary).

Trek: Journey.

Voortrekker: Participant in the Great Trek.

Bantu: lit. The People, but used as a singular noun to denote a black man.

Boer: Farmer.

Coloured: South African of mixed race.

Burgher: Dutch word for "citizen".

Matriculation: South African High School graduation examination.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD

THE UNITED STATES

When the Pilgrims landed in Plymouth, Massachusetts in 1620 they brought with them educational and social traditions from Europe. From Luther's Reformation came the idea of universal education: that all children, regardless of their socio-economic standing, should be taught to read the Bible in order to work out their salvation. Although this was a powerful motivating force in the provision of education, the inheritance from Europe of a rigid class structure had even more influence on the development of schools.

In the new colonies social class stratification was marked. Southern plantations contained every social class from African slaves to owners of estates. Indentured servants and at least a few slaves lived in all of the colonies. Rightless slaves occupied the lowest rung on the social ladder. In New England ministers, magistrates and

wealthy merchants had great prestige. The Middle Colonies, like Maryland, had well-developed middle classes. Shortage of skilled labor made it easy for the ambitious man to improve his social status through hard work.

> While social class mobility was a feature of colonial society, the schools long remained class-centered. Latin preparatory schools and theological colleges favored the upper classes. For many years, Harvard College class roles were arranged by social rank. Public demand for new skills resulted in a special school -- the academy -- which catered to the practical requirements of the commercial class. Nevertheless, many students obtained only rudimentary education and many of the earlier settlers of the lower classes could not read or write. Even in New England where schools were in operation by 1636, the level of instruction was low and not all children could attend. (Pulliam, 1987, 21).

The provision of equal educational opportunity as we understand it today was absent in the early American colonies. Schools were marked by social and racial elitism.

Schools were also religious in nature. The earliest schools in the colonies were private, parochial and sectarian. The desire for greater religious freedom contributed to the doctrine of separation of church and state. The various sects obtained freedom of worship and since there was no concensus concerning religious principles to be taught in schools founded by civil authorities, the various denominations conducted and controlled their own schools. (Pulliam, 1987).

SOUTHERN COLONIES. The Southern Colonies, with their wealthy plantations and large population of black slaves, provided the least opportunity for universal education. Social stratification was enormous here. Both church and state favored the landed gentry and social equality did not develop. Puritanical zeal to educate everyone to read his Bible was absent. There was no formal education in large areas of the South: it was held that every man should instruct his own children according to his means. Rich planters' sons were sent on to Oxford and Cambridge in England. There were few to no opportunities for indentured servants, slaves, and poverty-stricken free men to get an education. Opportunities for blacks were virtually nonexistent. Blacks were excluded from white educational institutions and were educated (if at all) in separate "African schools". (Pulliam, 1987). In 1931, an educated black slave preacher, Nat Turner, led the largest slave revolt in American history. He was captured and hanged. The uprising caused the Southern States to pass strict laws for the control of slaves. In a system which ligitimized slavery, there were no constitutional protections against depriving people of color of rights and privileges. The empowering force of education was realized, and along with other rights that were taken away, laws were instituted, in fact, banning the education of slaves.

MIDDLE COLONIES. Educational opportunities in the middle colonies during this time were slightly better. Denominations set up their own schools, independent of the state and out of the hands of civil government. Vocational education was more significant and the academy, a terminal secondary school which prepared students for a vocation, was started. Class divisions were less distinct than in the South. Education for blacks was still limited.

NEW ENGLAND COLONIES. The New England Colonies showed the greatest interest in education. Here, too, were to be found the greatest opportunities for universal education as Puritan zeal dictated that everyone must be educated in order to bring him to salvation. A large merchant class developed economically necessitating a large number of people who could read, write and handle accounts. Schools were established to cater to this demand. The Legislature, too, had more involvement in education. In 1647, the Massachusetts legislative body passed the Old Deluder Satan Act that required every town to set up a school, or pay money to the closest larger town for the support of education. The first tax on property for local schools was in Massachusetts in 1648. The Puritans established Harvard College in 1636 for education of ministers of the Gospel. Elementary education was broad-based, but secondary education was still for the socially and intellectually elite. (Pulliam, 1987).

SOUTH AFRICA

After 1652 Europeans from Holland, France, Germany and England began to settle around the Cape. These first European settlers were part of the Dutch East India Company (D.E.I.C.) sent to set up the Cape as a half-way station to the East. They remained, however, and the Cape became a permanent settlement populated by farmers and traders. The local people at this time were the Khoi hunters and San herders around the Southern Cape, the Xhosa people in the Eastern Cape, the Nguni in Natal, and the Sotho in the Interior. Most were subsistence farmers who kept cattle and other animals.

A group of the Dutch cattle farmers called "trekboers" moved further inland, so expanding the borders of the settlement. Khoi, San and Xhosa pastoralists in the Interior resisted the "trekboers". Frontier wars between the Xhosa and Boers over land resources for cattle were waged in the Eastern Cape for the next 100 years. In the Southern Cape, slaves were imported from West Africa or the East to aid with farming. Education in the Cape up until 1652 had been of an informal nature. The European settlers introduced formal education to the region. (Christie, 1985).

CAPE COLONY. There were few schools in the Cape during this early colonial period. As in the early American colonies, education was rudimentary and religious in nature,

instruction resting in the hands of the church. Reading, writing and math were taught along with the doctrines of the Dutch Reformed Church. (Ravan, 1985).

Schools were neither free nor compulsory. Not all children in the towns went to school, and in the country, education was even less accessible. There was no education for trekboer children besides traveling teachers whom the boers would sometimes pay to teach their children to read the Bible.

The first school that opened in the Cape was, in fact, for slaves who were mostly adults. On April 17, 1658, Van Riebeek, Governor of the Cape, wrote in his diary: "Began holding school for the young slaves. To stimulate the slaves to attention while at school, and to induce them to learn the Christian prayers, they were promised each a glass of brandy and two inches of tobacco, when they finished their task." (Horrell, 1970, 3).

Racial integration was common practice in the early Cape schools. The government authorized schools established in the eighteenth century were open to whites, free blacks, and slaves if their masters would pay the fees. Many of the latter would receive just as good an education as the white Burgher children. In 1663 the second school in the Cape opened. It was attended by twelve white children, four slaves and one Khoi. Although the first schools were not segregated, not many slaves and Khoi attended.

The integrated schools in the early Cape constituted a very different educational situation from that found in colonial pre-Civil War America where blacks, with few exceptions, were excluded from white educational institutions. Negroes in the antebellum South were educated (if at all) in separate "African schools" largely supported by blacks themselves.

BRITISH CONTROL. The British took over the Cape from the Dutch in 1815 as a result of the wars in Europe. The British, wanting to set up a large trading empire throughout the world, took more interest in controlling the colony than the Dutch had. When they set up a government in the Cape, there was an increase in trading activity and a growth of towns. As a result of the frontier wars, the Xhosa people lost their land and independence and were forced to work for the farmers and trekboers.

The British wanted to use education as a means of social control, of spreading their language and traditions in the colony. They declared English the official language, set up schools in the British tradition, and tried to anglicanize the existing educational institutions. Schooling was better organized under the British. In 1839 they set up a department of education and gave financial help to local schools. Primary schools were free although secondary education was fee-paying. (Christie, 1985).

Unfortunately, Dutch-mixed education did not last into the period of British rule. Although there was no formal color bar, the new schools established by the government in 1822 to teach English to the Dutch speaking population seem to have been almost exclusively white. Nonwhites were excluded although this was not official policy. When a dispute arose in Stellenbosch in 1832 as to the right of colored children to attend one of these schools, the precedent of the previous ten years was used as a basis for denying admission. Although full school segregation did not come about until the early twentieth century, a definite pattern of differential access to educational opportunity was evident. A trend toward limiting nonwhites to an inferior grade of education had begun. (Fredrikson, 1981, 264).

The period of British rule was one of social as well as racial elitism in the schools. Government schools were mainly elite institutions requiring fees that most whites could not afford. A general system of public education was, therefore, not provided for the majority of either racial group during the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

MISSION SCHOOLS. Beginning in the late 1830's, many mission schools were set up in the Cape to cater for the gaps left by the government education system. Almost all education for Africans during this period was provided by

mission schools. These schools varied greatly in quality. In 1882, the Inspector General of the Cape said that Lovedale (a famous mission school established in 1841) was probably the greatest educational establishment in South Africa." But he said that half of the other mission schools "could be closed without loss to educational advancement." (Horrell, 1963, 54).

> In 1862, Dr. Langhan Dale, the Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape, went on a tour of inspection. He found that only 5% of the African pupils in these schools had any useful knowledge of reading, writing or arithmetic. Few of the teachers had passed even Standard IV [sixth grade]. At outstations, unqualified African assistants were in charge of so-called schools, with the nearest missionary some day's journey away. No school books were available in African languages. There was sufficient school accommodation to admit only a very small fraction of the children of school-going age, and those who did attend came irregularly. (Horrell, 1963, 11-12).

In 1828, Ordinance 50 was passed giving equal rights to Khoi and other "free persons of color." In 1833, all slaves in the British Empire, and therefore in South Africa, were freed. As in the United States, the education of freed men was left in the hands of the church, and many of these former slaves attended missionary schools. Here they were given basic elementary education in reading, writing, mathematics, Bible, and manual skills. Farmers could no longer rely on free, disciplined labor to work on their farms. Schooling was seen as a way of "instilling social

discipline," and the government tried to use the mission schools to bring the Africans under their influence.

> If we leave the natives beyond our border ignorant barbarians they will remain a race of troublesome marauders. We should try to make them a part of ourselves, with a common faith and common interests, useful servants, consumers of our goods, contributors to our revenue. Therefore, I propose that we make unremitting efforts to raise the natives in Christianity and civilization by establishing among them missions connected with industrial schools. The native races beyond our boundry, influenced by our missionaries, instructed in our schools, benefiting by our trade, would not make wars on our frontiers. (Rose and Tunmer, 1975, 205).

The mission schools also catered for the poorer white students who could not afford to attend the government schools. Both black and white students attended the same schools. B. M. Kies, a historian of educational segregation, noted that between 1839 and 1859 there were more white children in mission schools set up for Africans than were to be found in state schools. (Fredrikson, 1981, 265). In direct contrast to the strictly segregated schools of the American antebellum South, here again was an example of an integrated complex of schools. Similar to early American schools was the elitism and class differentiation in access to educational opportunity.

Different access to the elite schools during this period reinforced both color and class divisions. Class divisions often cut across color as can be seen by the

poorer whites in mission schools. There was a nonracial qualified franchise in the Cape at this time. Some well-educated middle class Africans met the educational and property ownership qualifications to vote.

TREKKER STATES. In 1836, the Great Trek began. Farmers wanting to get away from the British moved inland. In Natal, the Zulu speaking people consolidated themselves into a powerful nation and waged war on the Nguni and Sotho people in the Interior. Mzilikazi led his Ndebele people into Zimbabwe. Because of this national upheaval, the Trekkers could move easily. They set up states in Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal. In a few years, Britain annexed Natal. The Transvaal and Orange Free State remained autonomous Trekker States, where many Africans still lived independently. (Unsure, 1985)

During the early years of these states, education was in the hands of the parents and highly religious in nature. There were very few schools and attendance was irregular. As the Transvaal and Orange Free State became more established, more attention was paid to schooling. In 1872, the Orange Free State appointed an Inspector General of Education whose job was to improve the quality of education and set up more schools. In 1895, the first steps towards compulsory attendance were taken. White children between the ages of 14 and 16 who lived within two miles of a school

were ordered to attend. The schools were almost all primary. In 1892, 92% of students in the Transvaal were in primary school and less than 1% in high school. Many children received no schooling at all.

There was even less schooling for African children than for the Boers. Mission schools, once again, catered to African students, but most children did not attend.

In Natal the responsibility for education was taken over by the British government. A schooling system with state schools and state aided schools was established with a large English influence and many teachers being imported from England. Schooling was neither free nor compulsory and there was not much schooling in rural areas.

There was more attention paid to African schooling in Natal than in the other trekker provinces, although a general policy of segregation prevailed. Money was originally given to missions to set up schools but in 1884 control and organization of African schools became the responsibility of the Government Council of Education. Separate curricula were drawn up for black and white schools. It was held that blacks should be taught to do manual work. In 1881, the Natal Native Commission wrote:

> Industrial instruction should form the most important part of native schooling. There are certain natives who can be taught to get their living without working with their hands; a few of them are clergymen and there are some schoolmasters. There are also some interpreters in the magistrates

> office and so on. But the bulk of the native people must work with their hands in order to gain an honest living. To teach them to read and write, without teaching them to work, is not doing them any good. (Rose & Tunmer, 1975, 213-16).

The Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal set up education which met the needs of the ruling class. Segregation in education was evident from the earliest days, and patterns of class differentiation, too, were set up early. (Christie, 1985).

CHAPTER III

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND EDUCATION

THE UNITED STATES

EARLY NATIONAL PERIOD. "During the period of the American Revolution, the rising democracy threatened a dual system of education in which the elite enjoyed good schools and the masses were largely ignored." (Pulliam, 1987, 44). Latin grammar schools decreased in influence, and the more practical academies became popular. Town and frontier schools became more numerous. The war itself directed men's energies away from education, but in its aftermath provided the seeds for intellectual development independent of Europe. People realized the importance of an educated electorate and education was, once again, emphasized.

Of particular importance to the development of the concept of educational equality during this era were the ideas of Thomas Jefferson. He introduced the ideology for giving educational opportunity to all citizens and said that

no democratic society was safe without an educated population. The basic theme of his educational policy was "academic excellence with equality of opportunity for all." (Pulliam, 1987, 55). The reality of educational reform was economic rather than idelogical, however. More skilled manpower was needed which accounted for the upgrading of white education, but there was still a need for manual laborers. "Equality of opportunity for all" did not refer to blacks. Educational reforms excluded black schools.

During the early national period, there was much heated debate about whether education should be privately or government controlled. For this reason, the Constitution contains no reference to education, although the passage of the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1791 resulted in the reserving of education to state control and guaranteed nonsectarian public schools. A number of proposals for a national school system were made by revolutionary statesmen although none of them was ever adopted.

COMMON SCHOOL IDEAL. The period of time from the War of 1812 through the Civil War is often referred to as the age of the common man and education saw the rise of the common school ideal. This era saw great strides in the development of the ideal of equal educational opportunity for whites. Throughout the United States the advancement of the common man carried the belief of education as a "basic

right and opportunity that should not be denied any citizen." (Pulliam, 1987, 66).

> The doctrine of equality of all citizens demanded mass education and made a system of separate schools for the elite unacceptable. Equality lead to the belief that all should read in order to participate in government and have opportunity to improve. The idea that schools could provide a ladder by which one might climb socially and economically was widespread. (Pulliam, 1987, 66).

It was believed that schools should be public in curriculum and tax supported.

The industrial revolution demanded terminal secondary schools to train boys for their work. The industrial working class became a political factor. Workers could not afford to send their children to school at private expense: the demand for universal free education became more pressing. The theory of taxation of all for the education of all was accepted in most parts of the country. Education for whites was free and tax supported and the curriculum the same for all students.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION PRIOR TO THE CIVIL WAR.

> Prior to the Civil War there was no constitutional safeguard against depriving persons of rights or privileges because of their race, the inevitable position of a system which legitimized slavery. (Nowak, 1986, 556).

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery in the territories, however, in the states slavery was allowed. Article I forbade Congress to restrict the slave trade prior to 1808 (U.S. Const., Art. I, #9, Cl. 1) and the rights of slaveholders were recognized in the fugitive slave clause of Article IV (U.S. Const., Art. IV, #2, Cl. 3). Before the Civil War, the Supreme Court had no conception of a right of free blacks to equal protection of the laws. (Nowak, 1986, 558).

In 1820, the Missouri Compromise (3 Stat. 545-48) divided the states into "free" and "slave" states, the "slave" states mainly being in the South and the "free" in the North. Even so, the North did not have more meaningful protection against racial discrimination. It was, in fact, the Supreme Court of Massachusetts who created the concept of "separate but equal," upholding a separate school system for black students. (Roberts v. City of Boston, 59 Mass. 198 [1850]).

In 1857, in an attempt to solve the slavery conflict, the Court severely damaged any possibility of an extension of rights to blacks. In Dred Scott v. Sanford, 60 U.S. (19 HOW) (1857), the Court, presided over by Chief Justice Taney, found that neither black slaves nor their descendants could be considered citizens of the United States or persons who received any individual rights under the Constitution. The conclusion was based on the majority's historical and

legal perception of blacks as persons of an inherently inferior position in society. (Nowak, 1986, 559). Before the Civil War, the Court showed no interest in limiting discrimination and slavery. It was not until the Civil War Amendments that a basis for black citizenship and constitutional rights for minorities were established.

Educational opportunities for rightless minorities during this period were therefore few. Co-education was rare and few women were educated. There was little progress in providing education to native Indians. School laws in most states before the Civil War did not provide for black students. Black education was limited and schools segregated in the northern states and in the south it was almost nonexistent. Most southern states, in fact, prohibited the teaching of blacks after Nat Turner's rebellion of 1831. Before the Civil War the Constitution did not prohibit slavery. The Declaration of Independence stated that all men were created equal. This, however, excluded slaves. The ideas of equal opportunity in education at this stage referred only to equal opportunity for anglo-saxon males. None of these opportunities were extended to blacks. The four million slaves liberated by Lincoln after the Civil War were almost all illiterate.

THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION. The passing of the Civil War saw the addition of three new amendments to the

Bill of Rights, potentially guaranteeing freedom and equal treatment to black Americans. The 13th Amendment freed slaves. The 14th Amendment contains the equal protection clause which is the one applied by courts in cases affecting education. It states that "no state shall . . . deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws". Customary interpretation in that all persons similarly situated must be treated alike. The 15th Amendment gave black men the vote. These Amendments overturned the Dred Scott decision, giving citizenship to blacks. The will to ensure freedom and safety, if not social equality, for free black people was shared by a large part of the population in the North. The South still resisted these ideas. (Nowak, 1986).

The Civil War interfered with education all over the nation but northern states were able to continue their school programs where in the South the education system was severely crippled. The war left the southern states in physical and economic ruin. A military reconstruction government dominated by northern interests was imposed in the South. This period saw a forced improvement in egalitarianism in southern schools although the social and educational problems caused by the freeing of the slaves resulted in a very low level of public schooling for both races.

A small amount of money for educating the newly freed citizens came from private and religious associations which sent many teachers to the South. In 1869, there were about 9,000 of these teachers working in schools for freed men. Societies, such as the American Freed Man's Union and the American Missionary Association, were formed to help freed slaves. Congress established the Freed Men's Bureau in 1864. Its leader, O. O. Howard, considered education to be the most urgent need of blacks in the South. Although there was considerable enthusiasm for schooling among the former slaves in the period immediately after the war, there was little economic support and freed men's schools were ill-equipped and of poor quality.

Industrialization in the United States caused an enlargement and development of the then education system. A modern public school system was introduced during this era. Despite the Equal Protection Amendment, this period also saw an increasing disparity in educational provision for blacks and whites. At the turn of the century, educational reforms took place which benefitted whites only. Free, compulsory education for whites was introduced, and per pupil expenditive for whites increased. Black education remained of poor quality. Between 1900 and 1915, education became an even more important cause of black disadvantage. "In South Carolina in 1915 white school children received twelve times

as much as Negroes, a disparity which has doubled since 1900." (Fredrickson, 1981, 276).

SOUTH AFRICA

INDUSTRIALIZATION. The discovery of the world's largest goldfields on the Witwatersrand in the Transvaal radically altered the way of life in South Africa. During the time from 1880 through 1914, industrialization and the development of mining changed the economic, social and political orders of the country. It is to this period that one can trace the roots of many of today's social and educational patterns.

As the mines were established, towns grew around them. Business, trade, farming, road and railway construction boomed. Many blacks and whites moved to the mining towns in search of employment. South Africa was no longer mainly a rural society. Mining caused the development of new social classes. Wealthy mining capitalists needed a large supply of both skilled and unskilled labor although unskilled labor was especially in demand. The capitalists tried to keep unskilled labor as cheap as possible, and used unskilled African migrant workers to provide this force. During this period, the working class was divided along lines of color: white workers were given skilled jobs, higher pay, freedom of employment, and the right to unionize; black workers were

relegated to unskilled jobs, given lower pay, had their freedom of movement controlled by pass laws, and were denied any bargaining rights. These differences were gradually brought into law and later became the policy of racial segregation. (Christie, 1985).

UNION. Britain became interested in the independent Transvaal because of the gold, and in 1899 the first Anglo-Boer War began. Britain eventually took over the Boer States of the Transvaal and Orange Free State and in 1910 the four states in South Africa were united into a single British colony, the Union of South Africa.

After the Anglo-Boer War even more people moved to the towns. Skilled jobs were still reserved for whites and unskilled for blacks. By 1920 the job color bar was official: several laws put black workers in inferior positions to whites and removed many of their freedoms.

The Land Act of 1913 set up reserves (later called homelands or Bantustans) where Africans were zoned 13% of the total area of South Africa although they formed 80% of the population. Not allowed to buy land elsewhere, blacks no longer had enough land area to live as subsistence farmers and were forced to work for wages on white farms or in the mines and factories.

In 1920, the Civilized Labour Policy and Apprenticeship Act further entrenched the job color bar.

The Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 stated that blacks were allowed in urban areas "as long as they ministered to the needs of whites". Pass laws and influx control restricted blacks' right of movement to the towns. (Ravan, 1985, 46).

There were important changes in education during this era. During this time of economic upheaval, the educational system could not meet the changing needs of the society and changes in education were, therefore, needed.

Gold created new jobs needing new skills but the Transvaal school system was poorly organized and ill equipped to meet this demand. The government, without money, teachers or facilities could not provide a large-scale compulsory education system or cope with the demand for schooling. When the British took control of education in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, they concentrated on developing a free, compulsory education system for whites.

The British were concerned about upgrading the poor whites in the cities. In 1902, a new education ordinance was passed in the Transvaal. In a highly significant step in South African education, free, compulsory primary education was introduced for whites only. This was followed up in all states by laws for compulsory schooling for whites between the ages of seven and fourteen, which was later extended to seven and sixteen. At the same time black education was neither free nor compulsory. It remained the

responsibility of the church, not the state. According to the historian Horrell, in 1905 there were 184 mission schools with 310 teachers and about 10,000 black pupils. (Horrell, 1963, 23).

SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL. As in the United States, the period of industrialization in South Africa forced an enlargement and sophistication of the existing educational provisions. During this period both countries saw the development of a modern school system and the introduction of free, compulsory education for whites. Both nations also saw an increasing disparity in educational provision for blacks and whites.

Turn of the century educational trends in the Cape and the southern United States show some striking parallels. Both had campaigns for school reform which ended up benefiting whites only. In the South, segregation was already in evidence in public education before 1900, but after this date became a more decisive source of unequal opportunity. In the pre-Civil War era, public schools for blacks and whites were of a low quality and many poor whites and blacks had no schooling. But education became a more serious cause of black disadvantage between 1900 and 1915 when "public school campaigns" upgraded white schools and increased per pupil expenditure for whites, leaving blacks the same or less. Southern states also passed compulsory

attendance laws that were only for whites. (Fredrickson, 1981, 276).

"In South Carolina in 1915 white school children received twelve times as much as Negroes, a disparity which has doubled since 1900." (Fredrickson, 1981, 274). In Alabama, in 1890 and 1891, $6,545 was spent for 9,931 black pupils compared to $4,397 for 2,482 white pupils. By 1907 and 1908, this had changed to $28,108 spent on 2,283 white students compared to $3,940 spent on 10,745 black students in schools.

In a similar vein, in South Africa, in 1890, Sir Langham Dale, Superintendent General of Education for the Cape Colony, recommended not just educational segregation, but radically different types of schools for whites and nonwhites. He believed that Europeans should be trained to be employers and Africans for manual labor: literary education was thus relevant for whites only. He started a campaign to establish a new type of government school to provide a segregated educational opportunity for those poorer whites still in mission schools. (Fredrickson, 1981, 275).

In 1905 the School Board Act passed by the Cape Parliament introduced local taxation to support education of children of European ancestry and introduced the principle of compulsory attendance for whites. This legislation resulted in excluding most blacks and coloreds from the

newly established system of public education. They were left to the now inferior mission schools with no compulsory attendance law.

In 1925 the central government began to give per pupil subsidies to provincial schools. Initial grants were 14 pounds for each white pupil, and 5 guineas for each nonwhite. The principle of separate and unequal was given further recognition.

CHAPTER IV

DE JURE SEGREGATION

THE UNITED STATES

JIM CROW. By 1876, when the reconstruction government ended and the Union army no longer occupied the South, very little progress had been made in education. Bitter and fearful southerners set about overturning the acts of the reconstruction era. Acts concerning public education and racially mixed schools were ignored or eradicated. No money was available to be spent on education and especially not on the hated black schools. The living standard of blacks did not improve and they were as subject to exploitation as they had been in slavery.

The post-reconstruction period in the South is known as the "Jim Crow" era. Between the 1890's and 1960's the notorious Jim Crow laws regulated inter-racial contacts in public facilities and places in such a way as to exclude blacks from most accommodations available to whites. The

separate amenities and institutions provided for blacks were glaringly inferior. Blacks were excluded from the electorate through a variety of voting restrictions. "It was not until the rise of a militant and influential civil rights movement in the 1950's and 1960's that the walls of legally enforced racial separation and disfranchisement began to crumble." (Fredrickson, 1981, 239). Forced racial separation, or de jure segregation, radically influenced equality of educational opportunity in the South and has constituted the most striking institutional expression of white supremacy in both the United States and South Africa.

The first real Jim Crow, or segregation, law was passed in 1881 when the Tennessee legislature required that separate first-class facilities be provided for blacks on railroads. Parallel institutions rapidly developed during the Reconstruction period. In the area of education, black schools were inferior to whites' and per capita expenditure on black students was far less than whites. The public schools for blacks and whites established during the period of reconstruction were quickly eliminated in the 1880's. Thereafter, laws were made in the southern states to say that schools could not admit children from both races to the same school and segregation began. The dual school system which resulted made the problem more acute as it was expensive to implement and inefficient in its running. All

southern schools lacked resources from the 1880's through the 1950's but black schools were below all the rest.

In the north, there were no laws prohibiting racially integrated schools but schools were segregated because of population patterns. Only after the Brown case did children attend racially integrated schools.

THE "SEPARATE BUT EQUAL" POLICY. During the period 1896 through 1956, there existed a concept known as "separate but equal". Under this principle persons of minority races could be given separate services or treatments so long as it was equal to that provided for whites. This concept made its first appearance in a pre-Civil War decision of the Massachusetts Supreme Court. The Roberts v. City of Boston suit (59 Mass. [S. Cush.] 198 [1850]) was brought on behalf of a black child who was denied admission to an elementary school nearest her home, as it was an all-white school. The applicable statutes said that each child should attend the school nearest to his/her home. But the Massachusetts Court ruled that the child should go to a school for blacks across town. It was more than a century before this position was rejected.

The separate but equal doctrine was officially adopted by the United States Supreme Court in the Plessy v. Ferguson case of 1896 (163 U.S. 537 [1896]). A Louisiana statute required railway companies to provide "separate but equal

accommodations" for black and white passengers. Plessy tried to use a coach for whites. The Louisiana Supreme Court denied his writ of prohibition against the judge who was to try him for violation of the statute. The Supreme Court of the United States affirmed the denial of the writ and held that the statute was not violative of the 14th Amendment.

In this court case, the equal protection guarantee of the 14th Amendment was derailed. The majority of justices accepted the separate but equal doctrine. The 14th Amendment was to provide equality for the two races under law but not to abolish distinctions based on color or to enforce social as opposed to political equality. This constituted a severe blow to schools in the United States. Although the separate but equal doctrine in Plessy applied to accommodations on public transport, it was used to uphold widespread segregation in the public schools and other state institutions. Also, whereas, "separate" was strictly upheld, "equal" was totally neglected. Black schools were sorely inferior in every way to those provided for whites, and with little hope of improvement.

The problems of separate education during the Jim Crow era are similar to those of apartheid education in South Africa.

THE PROBLEM OF ENROLLMENT. The number of blacks enrolled in schools increased during this period but remained significantly lower than whites. There was a high attrition rate for blacks resulting in most black students being found in the lower grades.

Table 1. School Enrollment Rates by Color: 1850 to 1957

[Statistics for 1954-1957 are estimates based on Current Population Survey sample; 1950 based on 20-percent sample. Rate per 100 population. Figures for 1890 and 1940-1957 refer to population 5 to 19 years old; 1850-1880, enrollment refers to all ages and population base to those 5 to 19 years old; 1900-1930 figures refer to population 5 to 20 years old.]

Year	Total	White	Nonwhite
	374	375	376
Current Population Survey			
1957	87.8	88.2	85.3
1956	87.2	87.8	83.6
1955	86.5	87.0	82.9
1954	86.2	87.0	80.8
Decennial Census			
1950	78.7	79.3	74.8
1940	74.8	75.6	68.4
1930	69.9	71.2	60.3
1920	64.3	65.7	53.5
1910	59.2	61.3	44.8
1900	50.5	53.6	31.1
1890	54.3	57.9	32.9
1880	57.8	62.0	33.8
1870	48.4	54.4	9.9
1860	50.6	59.6	1.9
1850	47.2	56.2	1.8

Department of Commerce: Bureau of Census, Current Population Reports, 1954

Table 2. Percent Distribution, by Type of School, of Persons 5 to 34 Years Old, Enrolled in School, by Age and Color: October 1953

Age	Total Enrolled	Elementary School	High School	College or Professional School
		White		
Total 5 to 34 Years	100.0	69.8	22.4	7.8
5 to 13 Years	100.0	98.1	1.9	---
14 to 17 Years	100.0	10.9	86.5	2.6
18 to 24 Years	100.0	.4	18.5	81.1
25 to 34 Years	100.0	.4	4.4	95.2
		Nonwhite		
Total 5 to 34 Years	100.0	76.4	20.3	3.4
5 to 13 Years	100.0	98.6	1.4	----
14 to 17 Years	100.0	30.1	68.6	1.3
18 to 24 Years	-----	----	----	----
25 to 34 Years	-----	----	----	----

Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 52, 1954.

THE PROBLEM OF ILLITERACY. In 1860, 70% of blacks illiterate compared to 5% whites. By 1952 the number had lowered to 10.2% blacks were illiterate compared to 1.8% whites.

Table 3. Percent Illiterate in the Population, by Color and Nativity: 1870 to 1952

[Data for 1870 to 1940 are for population 10 years old and over; data for 1947, 1950, and 1952 are for population 14 years old and over.]

Year	Total	White Total	White Native	White Foreign Born	Nonwhite
	407	408	409	410	411
1952	2.5	1.8	*	*	10.2
1950	3.2	*	*	*	*
1947	2.7	1.8	*	*	11.0
1940	2.9	2.0	1.1	9.0	11.5
1930	4.3	3.0	1.6	10.8	16.4
1920	6.0	4.0	2.0	13.1	23.0
1910	7.7	5.0	3.0	12.7	30.4
1900	10.7	6.2	4.6	12.9	44.5
1890	13.3	7.7	6.2	13.1	56.8
1880	17.0	9.4	8.7	12.0	70.0
1870	20.0	11.5	*	*	79.9

*Not Available

THE PROBLEM OF EXPENDITURE. In South Carolina in 1915, white school children received 12 times as much as Negroes. In Alabama in 1890 and 1891, $6,545 was spent for 9,931 black pupils compared to $4,397 for 2,482 white pupils. By 1907 and 1908, this had changed to $28,108 spent on 2,283 white students compared to $3,960 on 10,745 black students. (Fredrickson, 1981, 274).

SOUTH AFRICA

APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA. De Jure segregation was found in the school system and society at large in both the United States and South Africa. From 1890 to 1960 the Jim Crow laws in the southern states sanctioned separate amenities for blacks and whites. A "separate but equal" euphemism was widely upheld and used to mask the reality of the grossly inferior schools and facilities provided for blacks.

In South Africa the deliberate policy of segregation emerged close to the emergence of a self-governing union in 1910. There were traces of the policy further back in the colonies but only later was segregation fully implemented. When Afrikaner Nationalists triumphed in 1948 on a platform of "apartheid" or "separate development," previous ideas of white domination came to fruition. In the ensuing years a series of repressive laws were passed which together made up what is known as Grand Apartheid. (Ravan, 1985).

In 1913, the first apartheid law, the Native Land Act, was passed. This law provided for territorial segregation of blacks and whites. The law prevented Africans from purchasing land outside designated native reserves later to be called "bantustans" or "homelands." Reserves were the only places blacks could live except to the extent that white interests required them to be elsewhere. Blacks were

reduced to the status of migrant workers. Influx controls were organized to control their movement and Africans had to carry passes indicating their current employment status. The function of the homelands was to provide a supply of cheap, coercible labor, and to restrict the power of the black majority in such a way as to ensure the continuation of white minority rule. (Fredrickson, 1981, 241). The more idealistic justification given for separation was that because Europeans and "natives" were so different they should be allowed to develop independently of each other to preserve their cultural uniqueness:

> In 1926, the Colour Bar Act secured a monopoly on skilled jobs for white mine workers. In 1936, Africans were removed from the common voters role in the Cape Province. In 1948, the Nationalists gained victory over the United Party in Parliamentary elections. In 1949, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act was passed. 1950 saw the introduction of the Population Registration Act. This act required everyone to carry an identity card indicating his or her racial classification. This provided the bureaucracy with a device for assigning each person a definite racial status that would permit the application of segregation laws to anyone who was not "obviously white in appearance." (Fredrickson, 1981, 271). Also passed in 1950 was the Group Areas Act assigning different residential areas to different race groups. In 1951, the Bantu Authorities Act established a new system of government for African reserves. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act and the Bantu Education Act were passed in 1953. In 1956, so-called "coloured" (people of mixed descent) were removed from the common voters roll in the Cape Province.

With these Acts the policy of separate and unequal was established and justified. These developments had a dramatic effect on educational opportunity in South Africa.

APARTHEID EDUCATION. Long before 1948, there was a system of segregated and unequal education in South Africa. White education was free, compulsory and growing; black education was neglected and inferior. In 1936, the government set up a Commission of Inquiry into African education which pointed out the problems of the system, but nothing was done to improve things. As more and more African people came to the towns, so the shortages of schooling became worse and worse. Under the apartheid system, patterns of educational inequality were entrenched. The National Party viewed education as part of an overall plan for developing South Africa. In 1949, the government appointed the Eiselen Commission to look at African education. The Commission recommended "resorting to radical measures" for the "effective reform of the Bantu school system". (Ravan, 1985, 55).

THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT.

> I just want to remind the Honorable Members of Parliament that if the native in South Africa is being taught to expect that he will lead his adult life under the policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake. The native must not be subject to a school system which draws him away from his own

> community, and misleads him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze. (Rose and Tunmer, 1975, 266).

With these notorious words, Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd introduced Bantu education to Parliament in 1953. So began the era of apartheid education.

For the Nationalists, education was the key to preparing future generations for their role in the apartheid system. The white man was to be superior; men of color must be taught to accept the position assigned to them. Bantu education was to bring about this goal.

Most black schooling and teacher training was in the hands of the mission schools. With the Bantu Education Act, Verwoerd moved control of black education from the provinces to the central government, and reduced government aid to the mission schools, so forcing them into the state system. Next, the government took over the training of black teachers. Teachers transferred to the government payroll had a decrease in salary. A qualified black teacher started out at a salary of 2 pounds a week.

> The immediate result of Verwoerd's measures was that the number of black teachers in training dropped from 8,817 in 1954 to 5,908 in 1961. In 1953 the pupil-teacher ratio in black schools was 40 to 1; by 1960 it had risen to 50 to 1. Correspondingly, examination results deteriorated. In 1953, 259 blacks passed matriculation; in 1961 the total was down to 115. (David Harrison, 1985, 191).

These statistics were of no concern to the Nationalist government. As Dr. Verwoerd explained in his Senate debate on the Bantu Education Act:

> The school must equip the Bantu to meet the demands which the economic life of South Africa will impose on him . . . There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labor . . . Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life. (Harrison, 1985, 189).

Verwoerd's policy of unequal opportunity was most clear in his allocation of money to the new Department of Bantu Education. The number of black children at school doubled between 1954 and 1965, but government spending showed no corresponding increase. Expenditure in real terms of each black pupil dropped from R 8.7 to R 4.9. At the same time, spending on a white child rose from about R 50 to R 75. (Harrison, 1985, 192).

> By 1975, although government funding had hugely increased, nearly half of black children aged between six and nineteen were not in school, and of the four and a half million who were, one in four was being taught through double sessions because of the shortage of schools and staff. That involved dividing each age group into two section, one attending in the morning, the other in the afternoon, using the same classrooms and the same weary teachers. As far as the qualifications of black teachers were concerned, by 1977 only one in fifty had a university degree and only one in nine had passed matric. (Harrison, 1985, 192).

It is interesting to note that the able black leaders of today, men like Gatsha Buthelezi, Nelson Mandela, Nthatho Motlana, were brought up pre-Bantu education. According to Dr. Chris Cresswell of the University of Witwatersrand, the product of the black schools today is disastrous. "The legacy of all these years of calculated neglect is not easily erased." (Harrison, 1985, 192).

Black educational aspirations were further affected by another government measure. In 1959, universities were segregated. The Extension of University Education Act was passed. This act set up separate "tribal colleges" for black university students. Blacks could no longer freely attend white universities. Integration at university level was at an end.

The government exercised rigid control over the five tribal colleges. Faculty who did not support apartheid were dismissed. The courses offered were limited to mainly arts and humanities with little science and engineering. The reason given was that there were as yet "no prospects of employment for qualified Bantu engineers." The political and economic agenda of apartheid education was now in full swing. In the apartheid scheme, education was the tool used to relegate blacks to an inferior social and economic position.

In 1963, a separate education system for "coloureds" was set up with the passing of the Coloured Person's

Education Act. Control of "coloured" education was placed under the Department of Coloured Affairs. "Coloured" education was made compulsory and the schools forced to register with the government. Indian education followed in 1964. In 1965, the Indian Education Act placed control of Indian Education under the Department of Indian Affairs and made Indian education compulsory. An Education Act for Whites was passed in 1967. This National Education Act set out the principles for the Christian National Education for white schools. (Ravan, 1985).

Separate education systems entrenched the inequities in education for the different population registration groups. The problems and inequalities of apartheid education are well known.

THE PROBLEM OF EXPENDITURE. Different amounts were spent on the education of different population registration groups. In 1953 and 1954, R17 was spent to educate each African child compared to R128 for each white child. By 1982, R146 was spent on each African child compared to R1,211 on each white. In ratio form it can be seen that whereas in 1953 and 1954, seven times as much was spent on each white child; in 1969 and 1970, sixteen times as much was spent; in 1975 and 1976, fourteen times as much, reverting in 1982 and 1983 to about eight times the amount spent on each black child. (SAIRR Survey, 1981).

In 1975 and 1976, for every R1 spent on an African child, R3,33 was spent on a "coloured" child, R4,52 was spent on an Indian child, and R14,07 was spent on a white child. (Ravan, 1985, 100).

THE PROBLEM OF ENROLLMENT. For African children there is a high attrition rate after Grade 1. This means that many African children have only one year of schooling. Looking at statistics for the years 1970 to 1982, it can be seen that 57.3% of the African children then at school were in the first four years of schooling. At the same time there was a very low dropout rate for whites. (Christie, 1985).

Very few African children got to Standard 10 (12th grade), whereas the majority of white children did. In 1982 only 1.4% of African children who were at school were in matric. 5.7% of white students were in matric. (Christie, 1985).

Although the number of Africans in matric rose slightly between 1976 and 1982, matric exemptions (school-leaving exam entitling university entrace) for Africans did not keep pace with the number of candidates. The results for white candidates are traditionally very different. For example, in 1981, 94% of white candidates passed Standard 10, and 49% of these obtained matric exemption. In the same year, 53% of Africans passed

Standard 10 and only 13% obtained matric exemption. (Ibid., 110).

THE PROBLEM OF ILLITERACY. In 1960, 62.5% of Africans were illiterate and 1.9% of whites were illiterate. In 1980, 33% of Africans were illiterate and 0.7% of whites were illiterate. (SAIRR Survey, 1981).

THE PROBLEM OF PUPIL-TEACHER RATIOS. It is well known that black schools in South Africa are overcrowded. There are shortages of classrooms and teachers. Facilities like libraries or laboratories are inadequate or absent. These problems are particularly bad in rural areas. Pupil-teacher ratios help to illustrate the problem of overcrowding.

In 1971, there was one teacher for every fifty-eight children in the African schools and one teacher for every twenty children in the white schools. By 1983, there was one teacher for every forty-three African children and one teacher for every eighteen white children.

THE PROBLEM OF UNEQUAL UNIVERSITY ENROLLMENT. The number of black students in universities rose slowly over the years although there were still large disparities. For example, in 1969 there were 8,862 Africans enrolled in universities compared to a total of 68,550 whites. By 1983,

the numbers had changed to 50,554 blacks to 126,609 whites. (SAIRR Survey, 1981).

DE JURE SEGREGATION: SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES.

> The term "segregation" came into common use both in South Africa and the American south at about the same time -- in the early years of the 20th Century. South African white supremacists may, in fact, have borrowed the term from their American counterparts . . . (However) despite some resemblances in practice and a good deal of similarity in ideology and spirit, the institutional foundations and socio-economic implications of the pattern of social discrimination and political exclusion that is usually summed up by the term "Jim Crow" differed substantially from those of native segregation and apartheid. (Fredrickson, 1981, 241).

The aspect of segregation familiar to most Americans -- the social separation of racial groups living in the same metropolitan areas and the provision of separate public facilities for blacks and whites -- is known as "Petty Apartheid" in South Africa. Segregation of the Jim Crow type thus represents a relatively superficial part of the more serious aspects of apartheid.

Fredrickson, in his book, White Supremacy, sums up the similarities and differences between Jim Crow and Apartheid:

Similarities

1. Legalized social separation.
2. Disfranchisement of blacks.

3. Inferior facilities for blacks.

Differences

1. Southern mode of segregation was directed at a minority not a majority. Legalized discrimination was not a requirement for white pre-eminence.

2. Afro-American freed men were more influenced by white culture than most 20th century black South Africans. Unlike apartheid, Jim Crow was never intended to preserve and accentuate cultural differences.

> 3. A third difference was that southern blacks were theoretically citizens of a democratic nation and not conquered aliens. This meant that they could be consigned to separate and inferior facilities, disfranchised and denied economic opportunities only by legal subterfuge or extra-legal community pressure. Such a difference of legal status from officially rightless Africans did not save them from the ravages on Negro-phobia during the hey-day of Jim Crow, but it did give an aura of tenuousness and illegitimacy to the whole segregationist enterprise. (Fredrickson, 1981, 250).

4. Blacks and whites in the South were never geographically separated.

SEGREGATION AND THE SCHOOLS: SOUTH AFRICA AND THE SOUTH. In both South Africa during the era of apartheid and the American South at the time of Jim Crow, one can find striking similarities in the relative educational opportunities for blacks and whites provided by the school

systems despite differences in the two overall segregation systems.

Both countries had:

1. Dual school systems for blacks and whites.

2. Legalized social separation in the schools.

3. Inferior and inadequate facilities for black students.

4. An overall inferior standard of education for black students.

5. Unequal expenditure on black and white students, to the detriment of students of color.

6. Overcrowding and high pupil-teacher ratios in black schools.

7. A disproportionately high attrition rate for black students.

8. A disproportionate level of illiteracy among the black population.

The South African courts never challenged the legality of social segregation in schools or other public places, but in decisions in 1934, 1943 and 1950, they held that segregation was valid only if facilities for nonwhites could be considered equal to those provided for Europeans. To make social segregation comprehensive throughout the country and get rid of the need for equal provisions, the Nationalist Government pushed through the Separate Amenities Act of 1953. The act not only required segregation in all

public facilities, but explicitly authorized inferior amenities for nonwhites. This law laid the platform for the Bantu Education Act of 1953 which introduced a dual school system, and sanctioned the inferior facilities for blacks that Bantu education provided.

The separate but equal doctrine was officially adopted by the United States Supreme Court in 1896 in the Plessy v. Ferguson (163 U.S. 537 [1896]) case and held sway until 1954. During this time, however, facilities for blacks in the United States were grossly unequal. Despite the rhetoric, black schools found themselves in the situation that schools later in South Africa under the doctrine of separate and unequal would find themselves. The inequities in the American system, though, had a fragility and illegitimacy that would help make them vulnerable to the reform attacks of the 1950's and 1960's.

CHAPTER V

RESISTANCE AND CHANGE

THE UNITED STATES

THE ROAD TO BROWN. In 1906, the Niagara movement was started by W. E. B. Du Bois. It lead to the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909. This organization began to energetically oppose segregation laws. In the 1930's, the NAACP began to challenge these laws on the grounds that facilities for blacks were not even remotely equal to those provided for whites. Black lawyers, such as Thurgood Marshall and Charles Huston, decided to make the schools the frontline of their attack. They believed that discrimination in education was a sign of discrimination in society at large. Huston, in particular, pushed for the equalization of black schools. He believed that this would prove so expensive that separate schools would have to be

abandoned, at which point he could begin campaigning for integration.

> Given the fact that unequal education was such a major impediment to black economic and social advancement, it is not surprising that the struggle for integrated schools assumed such crucial importance in the 1950's and 1960's. By that time there had been a reduction of the statistical gap (a comparative educational provisions), but the south, as a whole, still provided patently inferior schools for blacks. (Fredrickson, 1981, 274).

Much investigation was done by the courts and the NAACP into educational provision for blacks. Schools were found to differ vastly in quality for blacks and whites. Illiteracy rates varied significantly. Black colleges were found to be substandard. In 1954, in Arkansas, $102 was spent on each white child's education compared to $67 for each black child. Several successful public school cases were adjudicated, e.g. Murray v. Maryland (Murray et. al. v. Curlett, et. al., Const. School Board Commissioners of Baltimore City, 371 U.S. 944), Sipuel v. Board of Regents of University of Oklahoma (332 U.S. 631 [1948]), and Gaines v. Missouri cases of 1938 (Missouri ex. re. Gaines v. Canada, 305 U.S. 337 [1938]). Here, for the first time, the Supreme Court began to talk about "federal right" to equal education, "discrimination" in education, and "equality of right" in education. The decisions in this case contain clear statements of the right of the individual

to receive (and the duty of the state to provide) an equal educational opportunity. (Hogan, 1985, 28).

The Supreme Court, while not attacking the segregation laws on principle, began to require admission of black students to southern professional schools unless the states could prove that they had equal facilities for blacks within their borders.

The Sweatt v. Painter case (339 U.S. 629 [1950]) of 1950 posed an important challenge to segregated education. The applicant was denied access to a Texas law school on the basis of color. He held that the black school provided for him was inferior. The Supreme Court ordered his admission saying that "separate but equal" was impossible. The ruling was made on the basis of the 14th Amendment. The Court stated that "the petitioner may claim his full constitutional right: legal education equivalent to that offered by the State to students of other races." (Hogan, 1985, 28).

The 1940's and 1950's were an era in which the courts were striking down statutes in education as well as other areas that classified people on the basis of race. The stage was set for the Brown cases.

BROWN. The advent of the Brown cases marked a watershed event in the provision of educational equality in the United States. In the Brown v. the Board of Education

(347 U.S. 483 [1954]) case of 1954, the United States Supreme Court, for the first time since Plessy, fully examined the validity of the separate but equal doctrine. Defense lawyer for the NAACP, Thurgood Marshall, argued that segregation was construed to deprive minority group children of equal educational opportunity and that separate schools could in no way be equal. Questions were asked, such as "Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities?". (374 U.S. 483 [1956]).

The Court ruled that:

> Segregation of white and Negro children in the public schools of a state solely on the basis of race, pursuant to state laws permitting or requiring such segregation, denies Negro children to equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the 14th Amendment -- even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors of the white and Negro may be equal. (374 U.S. 483 [1954]).

The justices also found that:

> Separating black children from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race, generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way ever likely to be undone.

The Court decided that segregated school systems violated the equal protection guarantee and that "separate but equal" had no place. The Court ordered involuntary segregation to cease within a "reasonable time." The justices' decision was unanimous. The death knell for segregation was sounded.

In Brown v. Board of Education II (349 U.S. 294 [1955]), the Court heard new arguments about the scope of its decree. The Court addressed the manner in which relief should be accorded to black students in segregated public schools. Generally, when the Court finds there has been a constitutional violation, it will order an immediate end to the unconstitutional practice. In Brown II, however, because of the nationwide complexities anticipated, the Court required that school authorities dismantle segregated school systems with "all deliberate speed." Lower courts, like school authorities, were given no specific guidelines. They were to be guided by equitable principles; unfortunately, local courts did not measure up to this task. (Nowak, 1986, 581).

REACTION TO BROWN. The Brown decision met with massive resistance in states with official segregation. Several major cities like Baltimore, Washington and St. Louis made complete transitions to integrated schools on the basis of the 1954 decision, but there was opposition by many in the deep south. Boycotting, non-support of public

schools or closing of public schools, creation of new school districts, legislative modifications of federal and state desegregation remedies were all adopted to thwart segregation plans. The most infamous case is that of Little Rock, Arkansas in 1957. School authorities had developed a plan for desegregation, but state legislature started a plan to perpetuate racial segregation. An amendment to the state constitution was passed to oppose desegregation. When black children arrived to attend the formerly all-white high school, the governor sent state troops to physically prevent them from entering. The national government responded by sending federal troops to escort black children into school and so enforce national legislation.

School authorities of Little Rock as well as many other southern towns requested a postponement of their desegregation plan. This was denied. Many districts, however, continued in the use of dilatory practices to avoid complete desegregation.

A flood of court cases followed Brown. In the name of securing compliance with Brown, courts have organized broad control over public schools. In 1964, in Griffin v. Prince Edward County Board of Education (377 U.S. 218 [1964]), the Court stated that the time for mere deliberate speed had run out and that black children should have quick effective relief. In Green v. County School Board (391 U.S. 430 [1968]), the Court restated the need for a plan to quickly

disestablish a dual system. School boards were charged with coming up with plans which would work immediately. (Nowak, 1986, 583).

In 1969, in Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education (396 U.S. 19,20,90 [1969]), the Supreme Court was no longer willing to tolerate delay. They said that "all deliberate speed" was no longer constitutionally permissible. They ordered that every school district must terminate its dual school system at once. If there had been a showing of deliberate segregation of schools, school authorities must devise a plan which would give immediate relief. State legislatures were barred from hindering plans for desegregation. If schools failed to come up with the goods, courts were given sanctions to act on their behalf. (Nowak, 1986, 586).

Although Brown technically invalidated the separate but equal doctrine only as applied to education, a series of court decisions soon came down which the invalidity of that doctrine in other areas as well: public beaches, golf courses, parks, athletic contests, airports, restaurants and so on. Desegregation of society as a whole was beginning.

DESEGREGATION: THE DE JURE - DE FACTO DISTINCTION. Neither Brown I nor later decisions of the Supreme Court require all public schools to be racially integrated.

Rather, decisions require that public schools not be racially segregated.

> School systems which have not been segregated by law need not take steps to integrate their school systems even when their schools have racially unbalanced student populations. If a school district has operated a racially segregated system, it must entirely eradicate that practice by integrating its schools. (Nowak, 1986, 585).

A distinction is made in the law between de jure - de facto segregation. De jure (by law) is racial segregation which is the product of some purposeful act by government authorities. De facto (by the facts) segregation occurs because of housing and migration patterns and is unconnected to any purposeful government action. (Nowak, 585).

If a school system has de jure segregation, it violates the equal protection guarantee, and courts will intervene to remedy the situation. If the district has become unintentionally segregated (de facto), there is no constitutional violation and the courts will not intervene.

In the South, it was easier to show that schools had been segregated by law and desegregation laws were, therefore, put into operation. In the north and west there was no express authorization of segregation in schools. Purposeful discrimination or gerrymandering of school districts had to be shown in order for the courts to take action. The result is that by 1970 the south had 39.4% of

black students in predominantly minority schools, whereas the north and west had 57.6%.

The central issue in school desegregation suits today is whether the school system constitutes de jure or de facto segregation. Discriminatory purposes are sometimes difficult to prove.

Desegregation has had a long and arduous path. Despite rulings, many black children are still denied their right to equal educational opportunities. School boards rarely take action to desegregate schools except under the threat of a court order. Courts can only desegregate if purposeful segregation has been shown. Orders for integration in city schools lead to "white flight" from a city, increasing black public schools, and lead to disadvantaged schools.

BUSING. In 1970, the Superior Court in Swann v. Charlotte-Medenburg Board of Education (402 U.S. 1, 91 [1971]), decided that the school district was substantially segregated in violation of federal and state constitutions. The Court ordered the district to prepare and implement a "reasonably feasible" plan for desegregation. The power of the state courts to order busing came in and the district was ordered to bus. This became a widespread practice in the United States as a measure to enforce integration.

In Winston-Salem/Forsyth City Board of Education v. Scott (404 U.S. 1229-30), on the limits to the use of busing to correct state-enforced racial school segregation, Chief Justice Burger said:

> The District Court's conclusion that assignment of children to the school nearest their home serving their grade would not produce an effective dismantling of the dual system supported by the record . . . In these circumstances, we find no basis for holding that local school authorities may not be required to employ bus transportation as one tool of school desegregation. Desegregation plans cannot be limited to the walk in school. An objection to transportation of students may have validity when the time or distance of travel is so great as to either risk the health of the children or significantly impinge on the educational process . . . It hardly needs stating that the limits on time or travel will vary with many factors, but probably with none more than the age of the students. (404 U.S. 1229-30).

White flight to the suburbs had left many big city neighborhoods and schools mostly black -- hence the proposal for abandonment of geographical criteria (school district boundaries) and busing across existing school district lines. At first there was much bitter opposition to busing. The debate about busing still continues. It is still widely practiced.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND EDUCATION. The Civil Rights movement had a huge impact on education rights, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 codifying Brown. It stated that no person could be

discriminated against on the basis of race, color, sex or national origin in any program which received federal assistance (42 U.S.C.A. #2000d). As a result of this, federal funding could be withheld from school districts or states which didn't adopt acceptable plans for integration, a means often used to threaten uncooperative schools. Today, nevertheless, some schools are still unwilling to integrate. The Supreme Court still upholds the Brown decision but pockets of resistance and segregation still remain.

SOUTH AFRICA

RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA: THE 1950'S. The early 1950's saw watershed decisions made in education in both South Africa and the United States. These decisions were to turn the two countries in totally opposite directions regarding access to educational opportunity. The Brown case of 1954 set the United States on the long road of school desegregation. The Brown case opened the way for a host of other court cases securing more equal opportunity for black students. The Civil Rights Campaign was successfully waged in the 1950's and 1960's resulting in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 in South Africa saw the official introduction of apartheid education. The Bantu Education Act was followed by years of protest which

have failed to result in any meaningful legislative reform.

THE 1950'S. In South Africa, apartheid education has met with continued resistance, the earliest resistance coming from the teachers. In 1952 the Cape African Teachers' Association condemned the Eiselen Report and called on teachers and parents to do everything in their power to oppose the new system. The Transvaal African Teachers' Association (TATA) also condemned Bantu Education, and many of these teachers were, thus, forcibly dismissed. In May, 1954, the ANC launched a "Resist Apartheid Campaign" with Bantu Education as one of its six issues. Schools throughout the country went out on boycott but the government soon took action and the protest was again crushed. (Christie, 1985).

The Extension of University Act in 1959 denying black students access to previously "open" universities and relegating them to new "tribally-based" universities was met with protests and boycotts.

THE 1960'S. In the 1960's, the black student body SASO lead by people like Steve Biko was founded. SASO inspired the formation of the Black Conciousness movement which was to spearhead resistance in the 1970's.

THE 1970'S. On June 16, 1976, things came tragically to a head.

> A protest about the enforced teaching of various subjects in Afrikaans in the black schools of Soweto developed into a full-scale confrontation. The government had been warned for months that young blacks were no longer prepared to accept the system imposed from Pretoria but answered protest only with force. In the riots which spread across South Africa, six hundred people died. (Harrison, 1985, 196).

The protest began with 20,000 students marching through the streets of Soweto. The police opened fire and the first victim, Hector Petersen, died. The country exploded. Students reacted with violence. Bantu Affairs offices and vehicles were attacked and destroyed. Post offices, banks, hotels, buses and taxis were burned. Within a day, unrest had spread throughout Soweto. In the following weeks it spread throughout the country. At the University of Zululand students burned down the library and administrative buildings and the university was closed for the rest of the year. On July nineteenth, the Teachers' Training College at Lovedale in the Cape was badly damaged by fire. The administrative buildings at the University of Western Cape for Coloreds went up in flames on August fifth. There was rioting and attempted arson at Fort Hare. Strikes and violence disrupted both the University of the North and Durban-Westville. It was an outpouring of years of

discontent. (Harrison, 1985, 197). The police were instructed to maintain law and order at all costs, and the costs were high. Dogs, guns, teargas, armoured cars and helicopters were used. People were shot, detained without trial and huge numbers of them were rounded up. Among them was Biko, the Black Conciousness leader, whose death in detention in 1977 shocked the world.

Throughout 1976 and 1977 there were repeated skirmishes between students and police. In October, 1977, virtually all Black Conciousness organizations were banned. According to the writer Kane-Berman: "These bannings constituted the severest act of political suppression by the state since the outlawing of the ANC and the PAC in 1960." (Kane-Berman, 1979, 1).

It was only in 1978 that the uprising finally settled. Many saw the riots not only as a protest against Bantu Education, but as a protest against the South African system as a whole. As a result of the demonstrations, Afrikaans medium was withdrawn in education, more attention was paid to schooling conditions, the De Lange Committee was set up to investigate the provisions of education of equal quality, and in 1979, the Education and Training Act, placing African education in the hands of the Department of Education and Training, was passed to replace the Bantu Education Act of 1953. But education for Africans remained virtually the same. All this failed to bring an end to segregation and

inequality. Kane-Berman writes of the uprising: "June 1976, like Sharpeville 16 years before, was another turning point at which South Africa did not turn." (Kane-Berman, 1979, 232).

RESISTANCE IN THE 1980'S. April, 1980, marked the beginning of the famous schools boycott that started in Cape Town and rapidly spread throughout the country. Tens of thousands of students left school to protest against the education system. In certain regions colored, Indian and black schools were completely closed down and the boycott was soon supported by 140,000 students across the country.

Students protested poorly equipped schools, the shortage of qualified teachers, the dismissal of political teachers, corporal punishment, the presence of security police at schools, and they demanded independent Student Representative Councils. Again, the state responded with police action. People were injured and killed. By the beginning of 1981 most of the schools went back and the boycott was over.

The greatest achievement of the boycott was the reaction of the government setting up the De Lange Committee in 1981 to conduct an in-depth investigation into education and to make recommendations for an education policy for South Africa. The De Lange Report recommended a single department of education for all and education of equal

quality for all, and a changed schooling structure. In 1983, however, the government issued a White Paper, accepting De Lange guiding principles but refusing to accept the major recommendation of a single education department for all. (Ravan, 1985).

Through the 1980's, schools' protest against apartheid education continued. Tragically, no meaningful reform resulted, and a generation of school children had their education irrevocably disrupted.

CHAPTER VI

THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTH AFRICA: RECENT YEARS

THE UNITED STATES

THE 1960'S AND 1970'S. The racial demography of thousands of public schools was transformed in just a few years. In the late 1960's, hundreds of school districts were compelled to implement desegregation plans that redistributed large numbers of black and white students among schools. (Desegregation of Public School Districts, Karl Taeuber, Phi Delta Kappan, Sept., 1990, p. 19.)

Desegregation plans had to fight against a phenomenon known as "white flight," an issue that remains a problem today. Most central-city school districts have experienced massive losses of white enrollment and sharp increases in the percentage of black students in the years since desegregation began. Change in the racial composition of the student population in a public school district is

conceptually distinct from resegregation; however, it has the same effect of polarizing schools.

Federal policies, primarily the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Titles IV and VI) and the Higher Education Act of 1965 (Title IV) have contributed to increased opportunities for blacks in education. But how far have these reform policies practically impacted on education? Although access and persistence in education have improved, outcomes for black students have not yet equalized those of whites.

> In the late 1960's and early 1970's, the later phases of the modern civil rights era, there was significant but uneven progress for blacks in the United States. Black access, distribution and persistence in education have improved. But attainment of education is only one measure of group progress, and equality of opportunity in education cannot ensure economic progress. On social indices such as family income and unemployment, there is a widening gap between blacks and whites. The persistently low economic status of blacks as a group in the 1970's indicates that sustained progress is more a promise than a reality. (Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, Equal Educational Opportunity Report, 1978, p. 1).

FINANCE (1980'S AND 1990'S). Per pupil expenditure is a frequently used measure of financial resources available to the public schools, although it does not provide information about individual school districts. Between 1949-50 and 1988-89 school years, total expenditure in dollars almost quadrupled.

Table 4. Total Expenditures Per Pupil in Average Daily Attendance in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools

School Year Ending	Total Expenditure Per Pupil (in Constant Dollars)
1950	$1,396
1954	1,659
1958	1,987
1962	2,184
1966	2,606
1970	3,212
1974	3,721
1978	4,066
1982	4,049
1986	4,755
1989	5,172

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Statistics of State School Systems, various years; Revenues and Expenditures for Public Elementary and Secondary Education, Common Core of Data survey, various years; and unpublished tabulations.

The national index gauging per pupil revenues in relationship to per capita income has risen 64 percent since the school year ending in 1940.

Table 5. National Index of Public School Revenues Per Pupil in Relation to Per Capita Income: Selected School Years Ending 1940-1988

School Year Ending	National Index
1940	16.5
1950	15.5
1960	18.4
1970	23.2
1980	25.8
1981	26.1
1982	25.1

Table 5. Continued

1983	25.8
1984	26.5
1985	26.7
1986	27.2
1987	27.3
1988	27.1

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics, 1989

THE 1980'S AND 1990'S. How far has the United States come today in securing desegregation of schools and the ideal of equal opportunity for all?

Many people are disillusioned. In spite of the apparent finality of the 1954 decision, Linda Brown-Smith, five years old when her father sued the Topeka Board of Education resulting in the outlawing of segregation in the public schools, found herself back in court in 1979 filing a suit on behalf of her daughter. She requested that Brown v. Board of Education be reopened, charging that vestiges of segregation remained in Topeka schools. "It's very disheartening," Brown-Smith said, "that we are still going through the same arguments." (Robbins, 1989, p. 16).

Although physical separation of school-age students is far less common than it was prior to the 1954 Supreme Court ruling, some segregation remains all over the United States,

there is some evidence that the number of students attending racially isolated schools is on the rise, and there are those who suggest that we have now come full circle and are in the process of resegregating our public schools. (Bates, 1990, p. 9).

Early efforts at desegregation were directed at bringing students of all races under one roof. Resegregation of Public Schools, a recent report prepared by the directors of ten federally funded Desegregation Assistance Centers (DACs), describes three generations of desegregation efforts since the Brown decision. (Simon-McWilliams, 1989, p. 1).

The first generation focused mainly on ending physical desegregation and court-ordered plans to do so. There was much foot-dragging, and not until the late 1960's was any substantial progress made in dismantling the dual school system. Some efforts were successful; others merely cosmetic. (Simon-McWilliamas, 1989).

Schools then faced a second generation of desegregation problems: inequities within rather than between schools. These included in-school segregation by race, gender and national origin, unequal access to classrooms and programs, and a disproportionately high rate of attrition among minority students. The passage of Title

IX of the Education Amendment of 1972, and the 1974 Supreme Court decision in Lau v. Nichols (414 U.S. 563 [1974]), expanded the scope of desegregation strategies.

Resegregation of Public Schools states some of these second generation problems that continue to plague schools today:

> * school policies and procedures that result in sexually or racially identifiable outcomes (e.g. referrals, suspensions, expulsions).
>
> * program counseling or assignments by school staffs that creates classes that are racially, ethnically, or sexually identifiable (e.g. assignment to special education or gifted programs, assignment to vocational or college-prepatory programs).
>
> * grouping practices between or within classes that create racially, sexually or ethnically identifiable groups for extended periods of time.
>
> * assigning faculty members to specific academic courses or positions according to race, ethnicity or sex.

Right now, enrollment in special education and honors classes is racially disproportionate. Black children are suspended at nearly three times the rate of their white counterparts. (Elementary and Secondary Schools Civil Rights Survey, 1986).

According to Resegregation of Public Schools, there is a third generation of problems that is even more challenging: the achievement of equal learning opportunities and outcomes for all students. The average

performance of black and Hispanic students on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), for example, is more than fifty points lower than the average performance of white students. Scores on the Academic College Testing (ACT) Program reveal a similar pattern. The national average ACT score for whites is 18.6 and 14.0 for blacks. (Ibid., 32-33).

Table 6. Scholastic Aptitude Test Score Averages, by Race/ Ethnicity: 1981-88 to 1988-89

Racial/Ethnic Background	1987-88	1988-89
SAT-Verbal		
All Students	428	427
White	445	446
Black	353	351
Mexican-American	382	381
SAT-Mathematical		
All Students	476	476
White	490	491
Black	384	386
Mexican-American	428	430

Source: College Entrance Examination Board, National Report on College-Bound Seniors, 1989

"Clearly we must address these third generation issues if desegregation is ever to be more than just a cosmetic

response to previous and current forms of prejudice and discrimination." (Bates, 1990, p. 11).

BARRIERS TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY. High school noncompletion shows the greatest resistance to change and continues to severely limit equal opportunity for blacks in higher education. High school noncompletion limits the possibility of college access for a large number of blacks, especially in low income residences of inner cities. Blacks are overrepresented among high school dropouts for reasons related to family, income, etc. Low income students are more likely to drop out of school than any other group and black students largely come from this group.

Declining black family income also influences opportunities for black students. Their low income continues to influence the quality of high school training, dropout rates, academic test scores, and the choice of schools.

Statistics indicate that high school attrition is still higher for blacks than for whites, although the margin between black and white graduation numbers has narrowed significantly. Statistics show that a highly significant margin between blacks and whites is evident at the higher education level.

Table 7. Highest Level of Education Attained by 1980 High School Seniors, by Selected Student and School Characteristics: Spring 1986

Student Race/ Ethnicity	Total	No High School Diploma	High School Diploma	License*	Associate Degree	Bachelor's Degree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Total	100.0	0.9	61.8	11.9	6.5	18.2
White	100.0	0.8	60.0	11.5	6.6	20.2
Black	100.0	1.2	69.4	13.9	5.3	9.9
Hispanic	100.0	1.7	70.2	13.8	7.3	6.8
Asian	100.0	**	49.6	12.6	8.7	27.3
American Indian	100.0	**	61.3	18.6	9.3	10.8

*Persons who earned a certificate for completing a program of study.
**Less than .05 percent.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, High School and Beyond survey. (This table was prepared September, 1987.)

Table 8. Percentage of High School Dropouts Among Persons 16 to 24 Years Old by Race/Ethnicity: October 1967 to October 1989

Year	All Races	White	Black	Hispanic Origin
1	2	3	4	5
1967	17.0	15.4	28.6	---
1968	16.2	14.7	27.4	---
1969	15.2	13.6	26.7	---
1970	15.0	13.2	27.9	---
1971	14.7	13.4	23.7	---

Table 8. Continued

1972	14.6	13.7	21.5	34.3
1973	14.1	12.9	22.3	33.7
1974	14.3	13.2	21.3	33.0
1975	13.9	12.6	22.8	29.2
1976	14.1	13.3	20.4	31.3
1977	14.1	13.4	19.7	32.9
1978	14.2	13.4	20.2	33.1
1979	14.6	13.6	21.2	33.8
1980	14.1	13.3	19.3	35.2
1981	13.9	13.8	18.5	33.1
1982	13.9	13.1	18.4	31.7
1983	13.7	12.9	18.1	31.5
1984	13.1	12.7	15.6	29.8
1985	12.6	12.2	15.7	27.6
1986	12.1	11.9	13.7	30.0
1987	12.7	12.5	14.5	28.6
1988	12.9	12.7	14.9	35.8
1989	12.6	12.4	13.8	33.0

Note: Dropouts are persons who are not enrolled in and who are not high school graduates.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Survey, unpublished tabulations; and U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, "Dropout Rates in the United States." (This table was prepared May 1990.)

Newsweek magazine, in an article, "The New Politics of Race," presents some educational statistics comparing the 1970's to the 1980's and 1990's suggesting that educational equality of the college level has not advanced significantly. "College enrollment among black 18-to-24 year olds was 15.5 percent in 1970; in 1989 it was 23.5 percent."

In 1976, 6.6 percent of all master's degrees went to blacks; only 4.6 percent were awarded in 1989. Blacks received 4.3 percent of all professional degrees in 1976; in 1989, 4.4 percent. Only 811 doctorate degrees were awarded to blacks in 1989, compared with 1,056 given in 1979. (American Council on Education quoted in "The New Politics of Race," Newsweek, May 6, 1991, p. 27).

The book, The Condition of Education, gives the following summary on black education:

> * The number of blacks falling below modal grade has risen sharply during the 1980's.
>
> * The percentage of black dropouts remains higher than whites.
>
> * But the dropout rate for blacks is declining and high school completions are increasing.
>
> * Black scores on achievement tests are well below those of whites, but there has been significant progress on reducing the gap between blacks and whites. (National Center for Education Statistics, The Condition of Education, 1990, p.11).

The 1990's have shown that merely physically desegregating schools has not achieved the goal of improving academic achievement and performance of black students and closing the gap between black and white education outcomes. Desegregation in the United States clearly has a long way to go. Second and third generations' problems need to be dealt with. Also, emphasis needs to be put on providing quality

education in all schools. In the United States in the 1990's, equal opportunity in education as a societal goal has not yet been fully realized; it is an unfinished agenda.

SOUTH AFRICA

Politics and education are inextricably linked. 1989 was a watershed year in South African politics. It saw the resignation of State President, P. W. Botha, and the installation of the new State President, F. W. de Klerk. Since the commencement of de Klerk's term of office, he has introduced legislative reforms of unprecidented magnitude. He began with the unbanning of anti-apartheid political organizations such as the ANC. On February 12, 1990, he released anti-apartheid leader Nelson Mandela. He proceeded to repeal the South African apartheid laws including Group Areas Act, Land Act, Population Registration Act, etc.

How have these changes impacted on education?

> President F. W. de Klerk's address to open this Session of the South African Parliament has moved the struggle against apartheid into a new phase. For many people outside South Africa, the most startling and obnoxious manifestation of apartheid has been the formal entrenchment of racial segregation in the country's laws; features such as separate living areas and schools reserved for children of one race only.
>
> With one major exception, de Klerk's speech on February 1 has brought within sight the end of legally enforced racism in major areas of social and public life. The exception is in the area of

> education. The overwhelming majority of schools will remain segregated by law and de Klerk still refuses to place all schooling in South Africa under one, integrated education ministry. (Bishop Desmond M. Tutu quoted in The Los Angeles Times, Wednesday, February 6, 1991).

While de Klerk needs to be commended for his reforms, the burning issue of education has not yet been adequately addressed.

In 1983, the government issued a White Paper turning down the De Lange Report's major recommendation of a single education department for all. This still stands in 1991.

Where does educational provision in South Africa find itself in the 1990's? To answer this question, let's look at some of the facts and figures in the Race Relations Survey of 1989/1990 put out by the South African Institute of Race Relations. (Cooper, McCaul, et al., 1990).

ADMINISTRATION. (According to the SAIRR Survey of 1989/1990). Education in South Africa in 1989 continued to be administered by fifteen different major education departments.

African education was administered by eleven departments.

* The Department of Education and Training (DET) which administered the education of Africans in white designated areas.

* The education departments of the four "independent" homelands.

* The education departments of the six nonindependent homelands.

Coloured education was administered by the Department of Education and Culture of the House of Representatives.

Indian education was administered by the Department of Education and Culture of the House of Delegates.

White education was administered by the Department of Education and Culture of the House of Assembly.

The Department of National Education was responsible for certain aspects of education for all race groups in South Africa.

According to the South Africa's constitution, education is defined as an "own affair". In 1989/1990 the government enforced separation in pre-primary, primary, and secondary institutions. Tertiary institutions were free to decide which students to admit.

Where does educational provision in South Africa find itself in the 1990's? Carol Simpson in a Nightline on Black Education sums it up:

> For years, the black schools of South Africa have been centers of political unrest, plagued by boycotts, demonstrations and violence. In 1976, riots erupted when the government ordered that children receive instruction in all subjects in the white Afrikaans language. In 1984, children left the schools in droves to join the battle against

apartheid which, they protested, was responsible for their inferior education.

But now the attention of both black and white leaders is beginning to focus on black education. Both sides know that if a new South Africa is to prosper, it must have a skilled and educated African workforce.

But the problem of improving black education is enormous. Years of segregation and inadequate funding have left black schools deteriorated, severely overcrowded and lacking some of the most basic teaching aids. Half of all black teachers not only haven't gone to teachers' college, they haven't received their own high school diplomas. Critics of South Africa's segregated school system blame the crisis in black education on the fact that the government spends, by some estimates, as much as seven times more on white students than it does on black students. Last year, of the nearly 200,000 black students who took the examination required to get the equivalent of a high school diploma, only 42 percent passed. Of the 37,000 white students who took the same test, 97 percent passed. (Carol Simpson, Nightline in South Africa, February 14, 1990).

South African education is indeed still in crisis. Some of the inequities mentioned in the above report are officially documented in the 1989/90 SAIRR Report on Education. (South African Institute on Race Relations, Race Relations Survey, 1989/90).

FINANCE. Total expenditure on education for the different race groups for 1989/90 was as follows (SAIRR 1989/90, p. 787):

Table 9. Total Education Expenditure: 1989/90

	R
African education in the white-designated areas	1 952 284 000
Education in the non-independent homelands	1 886 585 820
Education in the 'independent' homelands	1 371 395 200
Sub-total (African education)	5 210 265 020
Coloured education	1 370 445 000
Indian education	589 284 000
White education	4 392 681 000
Total	11 562 675 020

Per capita expenditure by the state during 1988/89 on pupils of the different race groups was as follows (SAIRR 1989/90, 795):

Table 10. Per Capita Expenditure: 1988/89

	Including capital expenditure R	Excluding capital expenditure R
Africans (in the white-designated areas only)	764,73 (28%)	655,96 (30%)
Coloured	1 359,78 (-10%)	1 221,47 (-5%)
Indian	2 227,01 (11%)	2 066,85 (11%)
White	3 082,00 (13%)	2 882,00 (14%)

There was not much change in the above situation in the 1990/1991 budget. An article in the Christian Science Monitor voices the criticism of many:

> A look at the new 1990/91 budget passed by the South African Parliament exposes a glaring disparity in allocation of resources between white and black education. Of approximately 10.6 billion rand ($4 billion) allocated for education, 25 percent will go to black education despite the fact that total black enrollment is almost seven times that of whites. A full 50 percent goes to white education. (Christian Science Monitor, August 2, 1990, p. 19).

Explaining the lack of real progress in this area, the then minister of education, F. W. de Klerk, said, when introducing the budget vote for national education in 1989, that a shortage of available funds was responsible. He said that he had announced a ten-year plan in 1986 to "upgrade the provision of education in South Africa with a view to making dramatic progress towards the long-term objective of equal educational opportunities for all". Sanctions, disinvestment and a decline in the economy, he said, had put the plan beyond the country's financial capacity. The plan had thus been abandoned. (SAIRR Survey, 1989/90, 788).

Education reporter for a Johannesburg newspaper, The Star, Phil Molefe, gives a grim scenario on the budget for national education. According to Molefe, almost half the present national budget would have to be allocated to education to achieve parity on government spending between black and white pupils. The Minister of Finance, in his 1991/1992 budget, gave education R 18,225 billion, 21 percent of the total budget. This made the share of education in the Gross Domestic Product about 6,2 percent.

On the face of it, the budget was hailed as a step in the right direction; 6,2 percent is favorable compared to other developing countries. But Molefe points out that South Africa is not a normal developing country "because it has massive backlogs based upon race". In the ensuing year, South Africa will be pressured to wipe out this backlog by expanding expenditure on education. He contends that, in fact, in the 1990/1991 budget, the government has hardly taken a step to expel apartheid from the classroom. Expenditure between white and African students remains 5:1. (Phil Molefe, The Star, April 1, 1991).

MATRICULATION RESULTS. Recently released statistics reveal the stark results of similar disparities in past budgets. According to the South African Institute of Race Relations, only 42 percent of black students who took the national high school matriculation examination passed, compared to 96 percent of white applicants.

Table 11. Matriculation Examination Results: 1989

	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Candidates	177 076	22 666	14 191	70 666
Total passes	72 787	16 475	13 282	67 825
Proportion	41,1%	72,7%	93,6%	96,0%
Passed with matriculation exemption	17 170	4 044	6 004	29 933
Proportion of total number of candidates	9,7%	17,8%	42,3%	42,4%
Passed with school-leaving certificate	55 617	12 431	7 278	37 892

Table 11. Continued

Proportion of total number of candidates	31,4%	54,8%	51,3%	53,6%

Also alarming is the high attrition rate of black students. In 1988, 76% of black students were in primary school compared to 2.7% in Standard 10 (seniors). In contrast, 57.2% of white students were in primary school and 42.8% made it to Standard 10. Numbers here were relatively constant. (SAIRR, p. 824, 825).

Table 12. African Pupil Enrollment by Standard: 1988

Standard	Proportion
Sub A	16,6%
Sub B	12,4%
Std 1	11,4%
Std 2	10,1%
Std 3	9,9%
Std 4	8,5%
Std 5	7,4%
Total primary	76,3%
Std 6	7,1%
Std 7	5,8%
Std 8	4,5%
Std 9	3,6%
Std 10	2,7%
Total secondary	23,7%
Combined total	100,0%

Table 13. Coloured, Indian and White Pupil Enrollment by Standard: 1988

Standard	Proportion
Sub A	8,9%
Sub B	8,2%
Std 1	7,9%
Std 2	7,8%
Std 3	7,9%
Std 4	8,2%
Std 5	8,3%
Total primary	57,2%
Std 6	8,9%
Std 7	8,9%
Std 8	8,9%
Std 9	8,4%
Std 10	7,7%
Total secondary	42,8%
Combined total	100,0%

CLASSROOM AND PUPIL/TEACHER RATIOS.

> In response to a question in Parliament in May, 1989, Dr. Viljoen said that based on a calculation of 40 primary pupils per classroom and 35 secondary pupils per classroom, there was a shortage of 1,782 classrooms at primary and 2,730 classrooms at secondary schools under the control of the DET as at March, 1988. (Ibid., 815).

According to Jan Steyn of South Africa's Urban Foundation, if one combines the other black education departments with the D.E.T., black schools have a total

shortage of 6,200 classrooms and 7,000 teachers. (Kristen Engel, The Christian Science Monitor, Aug. 2, 1990, 19).

There is still a large disparity in pupil-teacher ratios in black and white schools. The 1989/1990 statistics are as follows:

Table 14. Pupil/Teacher Ratios in White Areas: 1989

African	38 to 1
Coloured	18 to 1
Indian	19 to 1
White	14 to 1

OPEN SCHOOLS. In September, 1989, Minister of Education and Culture, Piet Clase, announced a new government policy on school admissions. Three models were proposed to enable schools to determine their own admissions policies. (Samantha Weinberg, The Weekly Mail, Nov. 30, 1990).

Under the terms set by Clase, a minimum of 72 percent of the total parent body has to vote in favor in order for the school to open to all races. The Minister then has the right to veto the decision. Black enrollment is allowed only after all whites have enrolled.

Under this plan, dozens of public schools opened their doors to all races for the first time in January, 1991, cracking an apartheid barrier that has relegated black pupils to separate and unequal township education for more

than four decades. (Scott Kraft, Los Angeles Times, Jan. 10, 1991, p. 4). Note: Private schools have been racially open for years.

Parents of pupils in 200 of the country's 2,000 whites-only public schools took advantage of the program and an overwhelming majority voted to accept blacks for the 1991 school year. Hundreds more are planning to put the question to a vote next year.

Although the decision to open schools is a historic one, it has not gone without criticism as being a half measure and mere superficiality.

Democratic Party education spokesman, Roger Burrows, said the parent vote requirement was an "almost total entrenchment of the racist concept of whites-only schools . . . it appears that Minister Clase has quite deliberately made it as difficult as possible for schools to open". (Samantha Weinberg, Weekly Mail, Nov. 30, 1990, 43).

Azapo Public Secretary, Strini Moodley, said the voting condition "illustrates the high racist standard against which the government wants to judge and control the imminent influx of black students in white schools". (Samantha Weinberg, Weekly Mail, Nov. 30, 1990, 43).

Among the other criticized aspects of Clase's terms was the insistence that the schools must retain a majority of white pupils and adhere to a "Christian National" character of education.

The African National Congress and other anti-apartheid groups have criticized the program as a half-measure that falls far short of their demand for a single, multiracial educational system. "We pay tribute to the white parents . . . who have acted to have the white schools opened to all the children of our country," Nelson Mandela said in reaction to the plan. But, he added, the government's open schools plan "is designed to slow down . . . the process of desegregating schools." (Kraft, 1991, p. 4).

By partially opening white schools, the government chose the middle ground, partly meeting the black demand for fully integrated schools while holding to its 1989 election promise to maintain whites-only schools for those who want them. Dozens of white schools have closed because of a lack of white pupils, while black schools are severely overcrowded. Anti-apartheid leaders say that allowing 2,000 or so black children to attend white schools doesn't help much in a black school system with 1 million too many students. (Kraft, 1991, p. 4).

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY

This thesis has attempted to historically compare the education systems of South Africa and the United States on the variable of unequal educational provision for blacks. Educational provision was analyzed during five different time periods, not necessarily overlapping chronologically, but eras of significant analogous or opposite educational development in the two countries.

These periods were thus: The early colonial period; the period of industrialization; the period of de jure segregation; the period of resistance and change; and the situation in the two countries today.

EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD. During the early colonial period, a definite pattern of differential access to educational opportunity and of limiting nonwhites to an

inferior grade of education was evident in both South Africa and the United States. The education systems of both countries were marked by classism and elitism. During the period of British rule at the Cape, exclusion of blacks from white educational institutions, though not official policy, was common practice. In the southern states of America, education for blacks was limited, separate and inferior.

In contrast to the American colonies, the early colonies in South Africa support two complexes of integrated schools where blacks and whites were accorded equal opportunities; the early Dutch schools in the Cape and later the mission schools.

The different status of the black inhabitants of the two countries was, and is, one of the greatest factors affecting educational provision. In America, blacks were slaves, a small, rightless and alienated minority. In Africa, though there were some slaves, blacks mainly constituted the vast majority of an independent local population, competing for resources with the white settlers. Though later a conquered people, the blacks in South Africa have always constituted a threat to white minority rule. Far more than in the United States then, education for blacks in early South Africa had a strong element of political and social control.

PERIOD OF INDUSTRIALIZATION. In both the United States and South Africa, industrialization forced an enlargement and sophistication of the existing educational provisions. It is in this era that the public school system began in both countries and free, compulsory, tax-supported education was introduced.

It is in this era, too, that both nations saw an increasing disparity in educational provision for blacks. Education became a more serious cause of black disadvantage. While free, compulsory, state education was introduced for whites, blacks were excluded from the public education system. The responsibility for their education remained in the hands of the church. There was increasingly unequal expenditure between black and white schools. Black schools were separate and inferior.

THE PERIOD OF DE JURE SEGREGATION. De jure segregation was to be found in the school system and society at large in both the United States and South Africa. In the southern United States, from 1890 to 1960, Jim Crow laws sanctioned separate amenities for blacks and whites. A "separate but equal" policy prevailed, but schools and other facilities provided for blacks were grossly inferior. In South Africa, previous policies of segregation came to fruition in 1948 with the triumph of the "apartheid" ideal, and apartheid education prevails today.

There were many similarities in educational provision in the two nations during this era. Both countries had: dual school systems for blacks and whites; legalized social separation in the schools; and inferior and inadequate facilities for black students.

Differences in the two systems can be found in the areas of legal legitimacy, political motive, and extent. Unequal facilities in the United States persisted despite the separate but equal doctrine adopted by the United States Supreme Court in 1896. In South Africa, the Separate Amenities Act of 1953 explicitly authorized the inferior amenities for nonwhites.

The political motive of separate education in both South Africa and the United States was similar. In both countries, education had a definite political and economic agenda: it was the tool used to relegate blacks to an inferior social and economic position. In South Africa this motive was just more extensive. Legalized discrimination in education was a requirement for maintaining white pre-eminence in the country.

PERIOD OF RESISTANCE AND CHANGE. Massive resistance campaigns were waged against segregated education in both countries. In the United States, the main battle ground was the courts. The famous Brown case of 1954 outlawed segregation and ushered in an era of educational reform.

The Civil Rights Campaign in the 1960's resulted in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, codifying Brown and further guaranteeing equal educational access to blacks and whites.

The picture in South Africa was a very different one. Protest never reached the courts but took place on the streets and in the schools. Demonstrations were violently suppressed by the state, and no progress was made. There were no meaningful reforms in education provisions. Today, apartheid education remains virtually unchanged. It is in this era of resistance that the United States made a dramatic change in direction towards equal educational provisions; whereas South Africa failed to turn.

THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTH AFRICA TODAY. In the United States today, despite significant reforms in equalizing access and provision of education, inequalities between black and white students still exist. These inequalities are mainly in the areas of high school and college attrition; educational outcomes, such as scores on national tests; and are ultimately evident in the disproportionate under-representation of blacks in high status occupational positions.

In South Africa, educational provision remains virtually unchanged since the installation of Bantu education almost 40 years ago. Apartheid education

continues to mete out patently inferior opportunities to black students.

CONCLUSIONS

In drawing conclusions to this study, a clearer definition of the meaning of "equal educational opportunity" is needed.

> The term "equality of educational opportunity" has occasioned in recent years enormous confusion. The confusion centers around one issue: the question of whether such equality implies equality of input school resources or equality of results of schooling. Neither definition, inputs or outputs, is viable when taken at the extreme.
>
> If equality of outputs is taken as the definition, then it appears incapable of being achieved, because of the massive unequal (socio-economic) influences in the environments of different children. If equality of input is taken as the definition, then two serious objections arise: one in that such equality would be upheld even if total school resources provided were minimal or absent. Secondly, some children (e.g., handicapped or educationally disadvantaged) may require more input school resources if any kind of reasonable results are to be achieved. Consequently, no one would want to restrict those children to the same input school resources other children receive. (Coleman, 1990, 63).

Coleman finally defines the idea as one of education leading to equality of adult opportunity rather than equal educational opportunity. He sees education as a means to an end, not an end in itself, and equal opportunity refers to later life rather than the educational process itself. What appears achievable is public schooling that leads in the

direction of equal adult opportunities. This implies that public schooling should attempt to reduce handicaps that children face as a function of their early environments, without committing the educational system to an unachievable end. "Reduction in inequality" is thus a more appropriate term to use when referring to educational provision, than "equality".

Educational provisions in the United States and South Africa can be compared at various stages of the countries' developments as being characterized by white supremacy; that is, the unequal dispensing of educational privilege to whites and failure to reduce inequalities in education for black students.

In recent years, the United States has taken significant steps to reduce educational inequalities for blacks. These reforms are clearly still part of an unfinished agenda, however, as black educational outcomes and adult opportunities in the job market persist in being inferior.

In South Africa, little to no progress has been made in reducing inequalities between blacks and whites in education. Black students continue to be disadvantaged in educational access, provision, quality, outcomes, and employment and economic opportunities in later life.

Although the crisis in education is infinitely more severe in South Africa than the United States, the legacy of

disadvantage, and neglect in educational provision for blacks is still felt in both countries today. Neither has yet experienced a reduction in inequality sufficient to equalize adult employment opportunity.

The United States has made significant reforms in reducing educational inequality. There are, however, many second and third generation equalization problems, such as achievement, which still need to be addressed. Desegregation and parity in American education is an unfinished business. National attention needs to be refocused on this agenda, the concerns of minority students and their families addressed, and further strategies for effective schooling emphasized.

Certain lessons can be learned by South Africa from the United States in the area of reform, although the vastly different socio-political situations in the two countries makes possible parallels limited. South Africa, with its large third world and tiny first world sector, its large areas of rural and urban disadvantage, and its half century of apartheid, has huge problems to contend with should it commit itself to equalizing educational opportunity. The first steps, as in the United States, would be the dismantling of all forms of apartheid, the dismantling of separate school systems, and the establishment of a single, unitary education department for all.

It is arguable that achieving equal opportunities in adult life through education is possible. It is the moral imperative of every society, however, to work towards this goal.

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