THE R/EVOLUTION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S PUBLIC EDUCATION SYSTEM POST-1994 IN AN ERA OF PRIVATISATION

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

4IR	Fourth Industrial Revolution
ANC	African National Congress
ASIDI	Accelerated School Infrastructure Delivery Initiative programme
DBE	Department of Basic Education
DEIC	Dutch East India Company
ENE	Estimates of National Expenditure
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
NA	National Assembly
NCOP	National Council of Provinces
NECC	National Education Coordinating Committee
NECT	National Education Collaboration Trust
NEPI	National Education Policy Investigation
NP	National Party
NPEP	National Policy for an Equitable Provision of an Enabling School, Physical, Teaching and Learning Environment
NPF	Narrative Policy Framework
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
SOMAFCO	Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College
SONA	State of the Nation Address
TLSA	Teachers' League of South Africa

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to investigate how the concept of education as a public good in South Africa has been affected by privatisation since 1994. This study locates itself within a human rights framework, which is premised upon South Africa's (seemingly progressive) Constitution of 1996 and seeks to investigate the potential shift of education as a public good (that truly benefits the public) towards a more market-based and neoliberal approach to education provision. In this regard, I analyse the annual South African education budget vote speeches presented in the South African Parliament by successive post-apartheid Ministers of Education from 1994 to 2021. As its core focus, this study theorises that the notion of education as a public good has shifted and changed in meaning since 1994. I investigate this by tracking its perceived change in meanings using a qualitative research design known as the Narrative Policy Framework, which I leverage using a Thematic Analysis approach. This approach is used as a data reduction and analysis strategy. This study argues that the re-articulation of public education under the broad rubric of neoliberal thought has fundamentally impacted the concept of education as a public good and education as a fundamental human right in South Africa in the post-apartheid era. Furthermore, despite the goal of making education universally available, the increasing encroachment of 'the market' in public education provision consolidates and creates new forms of inequalities, thereby enlarging the general inequality gap.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Rationale

South Africa's Constitution (Republic of South Africa [RSA], 1996b) is considered one of the most progressive constitutions across the globe (Myambo, 2011:66). In it, the right to a basic education[1], irrespective of "race," age, culture, religion, or sexual orientation, is affirmed in Section 29(1).

Menashy (2009:317) notes that the idea of education as a right is embedded within a human rights framework, whilst the notion of education as a public good is rooted in a market-based framework. Despite there being a sense of compatibility between the economic and human rights frameworks, the two are, arguably, only superficially similar and fundamentally distinct.

'Rivalry' and 'Excludability' are amongst the characteristics that determine education's economic classification.' Ingham (2010:1119) details these characteristics as follows:

> A good is non-excludable if one cannot exclude individuals from enjoying its benefits when the good is provided. A good is non-rivalrous if one individual's enjoyment of the good does not diminish the amount of the good available to others.

In this regard, public goods theory, advanced by economists Musgrave and Buchanan (Kaul, Grunberg & Stern, 1999), states that a good can only be considered purely public (or collectively consumed) if the good is considered both non-rivalrous and non-excludable (Oakland, 1987:485-486). Education is non-excludable in nature and rivalrous in consumption thereby defining it as an impure public good (Menashy, 2009:309-311).

Considering the traditional economic classifications above, education is now also widely considered to be a global impure public good, meaning that educational goods and services

[1] A somewhat obvious (but nonetheless important clarification) must be made early on, and that is that the term "basic" does not refer to the quality or excellence of education, but rather to the level of education. It is a given assumption (and a certain ethical and moral requirement) that the education provided in South Africa, in its "basic" form, be of the highest and most excellent quality (Ahmed & Sayed, 2009; Christie, 1998; Christie, 2008:123).

are promoted on a global scale[2] (Stewart, 1996:327). Samoff (2009:143) is amongst many others, who note that the push to re-define education as a global public good towards privatisation is the expression of an underlying neoliberal impulse that embraced globalisation, and began during the dawn of the Neoliberal project[3] in the 1970's (Harvey, 2005:2). Furthermore, the globalisation and privatisation of education has been enthusiastically pushed by international organisations, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund as a suitable framework for the provision of public education systems across the world (Stoneman, 1993:87).

The private provision of education and privately provided public education are what many consider a violation of the State's role in upholding our human rights (Menashy, 2009:313-317). Despite the legal framework of our Constitution as found in Section 29(1) (RSA, 1996b:12), the notion of education as a public good has been challenged on several fronts, and has undergone dramatic alteration across the globe (Giroux, 2015:61-64). The discourses that are [seemingly] driving the evolution of the public good have arguably been mostly detrimental to the overall health and success of the education system in South Africa in the post-Apartheid era (Carmody, 2002:271).

1.2 Aim of the Study

This study locates itself within a human rights framework and seeks to investigate the potential shift of education as a public good towards a more market-based and neoliberal approach to education provision. This study argues that a neoliberal approach to education fundamentally undermines the right to a quality public education, and despite the goal of making education universally available, consolidates and creates new forms of inequalities, thereby enlarging the general inequality gap in post-apartheid South Africa.

In this study I analyse the annual South African education budget vote speeches presented in the South African parliament by post-apartheid Ministers of Education from 1994 to 2021 inclusive. I contend that it is possible through these speeches to detect a number of discourses

[2] Kaul (2000:2) develops this concept a bit further by stating that "a global public good is a public good whose benefits reach across borders, generations and population groups."
[3] Neoliberalism refers to a theory of political practice that proposes human well-being by encouraging entrepreneurship, free markets, little to no government services and intervention, privatisation, and individualism (Harvey, 2005:2).

which can be seen to exhibit the evolution of the notion of public education[4]. Furthermore, I contend that the re-articulation of public education under the broad rubric of neoliberal thought has fundamentally impacted the thinking around, and the provision of education as a fundamental human right in post-apartheid South Africa. The study examines the manner in which the concept of education as a public good has changed over a 28-year period in post-apartheid South Africa by analysing the contents of education budget vote speeches, presented in national parliament by South African education ministers[5], from 1994 to 2021 inclusive.

1.3 Research Design

This study theorises that the notion of education as a public good has shifted and changed in meaning since South Africa's dawn of democracy in 1994 (Vally, 2007:17). I examine this by tracking its perceived change in meanings using a Qualitative Narrative Framework. This approach "challenges traditional practices of history, philosophical assumptions and established conceptions of knowledge, truth and power" by decoding historical elements, and attempts to identify the context which influences each moment (Crowley, 2009:1-2). This research design is further narrowed into the Narrative Policy Framework, leveraged by Thematic Analysis, which allows me to create themes with which to describe narratives. This design will be explained in detail in Chapter 3.

Furthermore, the study attempts to look at the historical context of education as a public good (and a human right) as evidenced in South African literature from pre-colonial times up to and including the end of the apartheid era. Upon establishing this background, the study turns its lens to the speeches of the South African ministers of education in the post-apartheid era, beginning with the very first education budget vote speech by Professor Sibusiso Bengu[6] on 16 September 1994. This was the first speech by an education minister in our newly formed post-apartheid government. Like any policy text (Ball, 2006:11), it cannot be taken at face

[4] Or education as a public good.
[5] In 2009, the previous National Department of Education was separated into the Department of Basic Education (DBE) and the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET). The DBE oversees schools from Grade R through to Grade 12 and adult literacy programmes, while the DHET coordinates South Africa's tertiary education sector (DBE, 2014). It must be noted that any references to Education Ministers, pre-2009, refers to the Minister of the National Department of Education and any references to Education Ministers, 2009 and onwards, refers to the Minister of the Department of Basic Education.
[6] A reading of several documents has highlighted that Education Minister Sibusiso Bengu's name and surname is spelt using several variants. In the majority of cases, as found in Government publications, his name is spelt as 'Sibusiso Bengu.' This is the spelling that will be adopted in this study.

value and understood in isolation of its context (Osborne, 1991:337). For this study, the context in relation to the budget vote speeches refers to the historical events that have directly or indirectly shaped the moment of the speech; the political climate at the time; the profile and significance of the person presenting the speech; the actual presentation of the speech; the interpersonal (both social and professional) relationships between the role players in and of education and the relevant policy documents surrounding education, which are among the promises and intentions of Government. From the maiden 1994 speech, subsequent speeches will be handled in the same manner, using the previous speech itself as the first point of intertextual reference (Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012:15).

The 'societally shaped structures' (i.e., South Africa's parliament and the political discourse that occurs therein) will be helpful to understand how the concept of education as a public good has evolved in South Africa since 1994. More specifically, these structures will be used as a backdrop as I attempt to engage selected authors to develop a conceptual map of how policy thinking, and policy trajectories interact to inform an analysis of the budget vote speeches. This approach facilitates an analysis of the education budget vote speeches from that of a text to the various textual and discursive elements that are brought together in time and space to form the intended 'official' meanings of the text as well as its potentially unintended meanings. In this way I attempt an understanding of the notion of education as a public good through the various iterations of the education budget vote speeches in the post-apartheid era.

Throughout this study I attempt to maintain a focus on the guiding questions that direct my research:

Main research question

How has the concept of education as a public good been positioned within, and shaped by, national education policies since 1994 in South Africa?

Sub-research questions

1. How have education priorities attached to the public good been addressed in national education budget speeches in the period 1994 to 2021?
2. How, if at all, has education as a public good been changed, adapted or evolved in post-1994 South Africa?

3. What has changed in the ways education (and the provision thereof) have been conceptualised and positioned within education budget vote speeches in the period 1994 to 2021?
4. How, if at all, has the changing notion of education as a public good affected education provision as a human right?

1.4 Outline of Chapters

This first chapter has introduced the study, provided an overview of its purpose, rationale, research design methodology and research questions.

Chapter Two will chart a historical and contextual account of public education in South Africa, focusing on selected events, policies, laws, and power structures related to the provision of, and rights to, public education in South Africa up to 1994. Chapter Two also examines the origins of modern-day privatisation and includes a section specifically related to the World Bank, a significant role player in the global education landscape. Furthermore, the chapter attempts to provide a brief abstract of the discourse of parliamentary politics and considers the literary genre of parliamentary speeches by looking at their nature, function, and purpose in a democratic society. Chapter Two ends with an explanation of key related concepts.

Chapter Three provides details on this study's methodological approach and includes a note related to my personal worldview, both of which, affect the outcomes of this study. The chosen methodological approach for this study is qualitative in nature, where I employ the use of a Narrative Policy framework leveraged by Thematic Analysis. The chapter also includes an explanation on the actual method and procedures that I have undertaken during this study. Lastly, Chapter Three ends with a consideration of ethical issues, matters of reliability, validity, generalisability, and limitation concerns.

Chapter Four presents the data derived in this study. The data set refers to thirty-one speech extracts selected from education budget vote speeches between 1994 and 2021 (inclusive), presented by national education ministers in South Africa's parliament. This data set began with 93 000 words and, due to the limited word count requirement of a master's dissertation, had to be reduced to a final data set, of workable nature, consisting of 1458 words. In Chapter Four I have attempted to provide descriptions of selected extracts highlighting the content, context, and conditions in South Africa's public education system.

In Chapter Five, I use the Narrative Policy Framework, literature review and conceptual framework to analyse my data set. Several analysis categories are presented:

- Constitutionally-mandated school provision and governance
- Parliament's squandered chances to achieve equitable education
- Infrastructure Deficit
- Current realities of South Africa's quintile system and the public good
- Systems Analysis' role in South African Education
- Public-Private Partnerships
- Human Capital Theory, The Access Doctrine, and the Fourth Industrial Revolution

The latter part of Chapter Five includes deeper insights from the analysis discussions and attempts to answer this study's research questions using specific analysis themes.

In Chapter Six, I summarise the main findings of the study. These are followed by insights, critical conclusions and lessons learned in relation to the equity and moral imperative of education as a public good. The chapter concludes with recommendations for further research as well as a selection of final thoughts.

The study ends with a detailed bibliography and two appendices that provide context to my selected education budget vote speech extracts.

Chapter Two: Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

2.1 General Orientation To Chapter

This chapter defines public education and attempts to present a concise contextualising account by examining noteworthy historical moments (and their nature) of South African public education, policies, laws, and varying power structures that inform the complex history of public education in South Africa[7]. Section 2.2, therefore, follows Carr's understanding of history, i.e., a recollection of facts that form a truth-conforming reconstitution of the past (Carr, 1961:27-28).

Section 2.3 examines the origins of modern-day privatisation. A significant sub-heading in this section relates to the World Bank and its role as funder and global advisor in the privatisation of education in South Africa.

Section 2.4 considers the functions of and within public education (pre-and post-1994) by examining the values of public and privatised education, the re-socialising of society and the stabilisation of privilege.

In Section 2.5, I attempt to summarise the discourse of parliamentary politics[8], while Section 2.6 considers the literary genre of parliamentary speeches by looking at their nature, function, and purpose in a democratic society.

I end this chapter by highlighting key concepts within Chapter Two. This conceptual framework standardises terminology to limit the risk of misinterpreting ideas, thoughts, or viewpoints later in the study[9].

[7] I note that this historical recollection of public education in South Africa is by no means exhaustive. Due to the limitation of a restrictive word count in a master's dissertation, several events have been omitted. I have endeavoured however, to select the most relevant events as they relate to this study's main rationale and research questions.

[8] This becomes an important lens of analysis in Chapter Five.

[9] This study attempts to draw on the seminal work of several authors who have written extensively about the complexity related to race, neoliberalism, the World Bank's role in education, education and the public good, and funding in public education. The work of Motala and Vally (2014), Rose (2002), Stoneman (1993), Pithouse (2003), Ball and Youdell (2007), Samoff (1996), Harvey (2005), Kallaway (2002), Verger and Bonal (2012), Soudien (2002), Mizala et al. (2022) and Menashy (2009) are amongst the authors cited as I attempt to draw on previous literature in this study.

2.2 The History And Nature Of Public Education In South Africa

2.2.1 Public Education Defined

The Western notion of public education can partly be traced back to the Greek Agora[10] of the early eighth century B.C. (Feinberg, 2012:1). It was here that teaching, learning, debating and philosophising took place[11] (Jaeger, 1967:140). Feinberg, discussing this original idea of 'public,' notes that:

> Aristotle's idea of a 'public' concerned a shared identity… as well as a shared fate. Only citizens could be members of this public… because only citizens were conscious of a shared identity, and only they were able to put private interest aside in deliberating about a course of collective action (Feinberg, 2012:4).

According to Lengrand (1970:69), everyone is a citizen[12] and is entitled to an education that shapes identities and society according to the group's aspirations. The State that governs its citizens must therefore set up systems and procedures that support lifelong learning and that prepare citizens to think critically to ensure their own, their environment's, and the State's well-being (Giroux, 2015:4-7).

In addition, South Africa's Constitution (RSA, 1996b:12) declares that, "Everyone has the right to a basic education." Veriava, Thom and Hodgson (2017:15) comment that, "the State has extensive duties under the Constitution… to respect, protect, promote and fulfil the rights in the Bill of Rights." Public education in South Africa is therefore provided by the State, available to all within a geographical region, and is of benefit to individuals and society at large (Ball & Youdell, 2007:4).

[10] A place to exchange goods and ideas and discuss State matters (Feinberg, 2012:1).
[11] Albeit with the regrettable exclusion of women and slaves, which is somewhat paradoxical to the term "public" as it implied that some were barred from participating.
[12] Lengrand (1970:69) notes that the term 'citizen' refers to "man as a public entity at all levels of his commitment, whether to the nation, the community, the international fraternity or various groups of a social character."

2.2.2 A Note On The Pre-Colonial Era

Walter Rodney (1972:263) notes that:

> The colonizers did not introduce education into Africa, but rather a new set of formal educational institutions which partly supplemented and partly replaced those which were there before.

Moumouni (1968:15) further asserts that pre-colonial education was never conducted in isolation, but "involved a collection of individuals [who] were taught progressively as they grew in age and maturity." These views are in stark contrast to the prevailing notion amongst most apartheid historical scholars which held that "an indigenous person[13] was a savage, a pagan with no history and culture to transmit, and that he was primitive… [because he lacked] formal schooling" (Seroto, 2016:37).

It is worth noting that the characteristics associated with a public education[14] in the pre-colonial era did not have a modern State framework (Binder, 1986:3-8). The nature of pre-colonial education, I suggest, can therefore be summed up by the well-known African proverb 'it takes a village to raise a child'[15]. This proverb emphasizes the concepts of group responsibility and shared concern for the next generation, which are critical to this study.

2.2.3 Education Under The Governance Of The Dutch East India Company (1652-1795)[16]

Formal Western schooling in South Africa can be traced back to 1652 when the Dutch East India Company[17] (DEIC) launched an economic and military occupation at the Cape of Good Hope (Stapleton, 2010:1). This occupation was later euphemised as a 'refreshment station' (Le Roux, 2016:58). Schutte (1989:285) on the DEIC's influence on its overseas territories[18] notes that:

> As with any commercial firm, the object of the [DEIC] was to make a profit… The ownership of overseas territories was by no means the primary object of

[13] Includes the Khoisan and Bantu-speaking peoples who were inhabitants of Southern Africa before any European settler arrived (Seroto, 2016:37).
[14] As mentioned in Section 2.2.1.
[15] This African proverb is common in popular culture, but the origins of the phrase are difficult to trace.
[16] Although the region was not yet a formal State, the funding and arranging of schools was the responsibility of a joint church-DEIC arrangement (Soudien, 2012:101-102, 158).
[17] A merchant organisation.
[18] The Cape region is included in this account.

> [DEIC] policy; it simply was, in places, the solution to problems of security posed by competitors.

The DEIC's capitalist inclinations therefore led to the brutal colonisation of Southern Africa and emphasised company loyalty (Schutte, 1989:287). Six years after van Riebeek's[19] arrival, the first formal school for the growing slave population opened (Soudien, 2012:99). The DEIC's 'public' education had little to do with communal responsibility and shared concern for others, but rather prepared slaves to serve their capitalist masters more efficiently, while respect for superiors was physically beaten in[20] (Molteno, 1984:45-46).

Around 1676, colonists began separating their own children from school-aged slaves[21], believing that the colonists' children were racially superior (Soudien, 2012:101). This period was characterised by cruelty and contempt for the identities and histories of slaves and indigenous people because taught content had to conform to Dutch Reformed church doctrine (Le Roux, 2016:68).

2.2.4 Public Education Under The Governance Of The British (1795-1899)

Kallaway (2020:30-32), discussing the entwined historical interactions of global Christianity and public policy, notes that beginning in 1795[22], the Anglican Church, through the London Missionary Society[23], and the State steadily extended their cooperation in colonial education[24].

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[19] The first commander of the DEIC's refreshment station (Ephick & Shell, 1989:186).

[20] Soudien (2012:99, 101) confirms that the underlying rationale for this barbaric approach was the "re-socialising [of] the slaves," who "were prepared for servitude and docility." Van Riebeek's personal journal lays bare the cruelty that befell the learners in this first South African school, "The sick comforter… has been entrusted with the task of giving them instruction in the morning and the afternoon… To encourage the slaves to attend and to hear or learn the Christian prayers, it is ordered that after school everyone is to receive a small glass of brandy and two inches of tobacco… All this is to be done in the presence of the Commander, who will attend for a few days to put everything in order and subject these people to proper discipline, signs of which are already apparent" (Van Riebeeck, 1954:258).

[21] As a result, numerous schools for slave and indigenous children were established.

[22] European political conflict between the French Republic, the Dutch and the British meant that the Cape region passed from Dutch to British control in 1795, from British to Batavian (French) control in 1803 and finally back to British control from 1806 onwards (Le Roux, 2016a:71).

[23] The British established numerous missionary schools/organisations in an effort to "bring the gospel" to the local population (Freund, 1972:339). One such organisation was the London Missionary Society which held infamous status in the Cape region as it was often suggested that "black people in Missionary schools run by the London Mission Society were better provided than those schools for the European children" (Mckerron, 1934:159).

[24] Church and State cooperation was based on an overwhelming colonial demand for social, medical and educational support. Furthermore, sensing a need for cost-effective education, the Cape colony adapted and

According to Soudien (2016:573), education in the Cape became a fully 'public' matter in 1839, when the first Secretary-General of Education, James Rose-Inness, stated that:

> Adequate provision... for the educational wants of this densely populated settlement... of whatever race or colour... will be my duty (Cape of Good Hope, 1854:3).

Similarly, John Herschel[25] improved public education for all races in the Cape whilst William Govan, a Scottish missionary, founded the Lovedale Institution in 1841 to "provide Africans with an education that was up to European standards" (Kallaway & Swartz, 2016:8-9). Govan, Herschel, and Innes-Rose rejected the segregationist views of biological racism that were gaining traction locally and internationally[26] (Kiwan, 2016:7-9). The moral dilemma of whether to follow their inclusive beliefs or to listen to the colonial authorities regarding race was tremendous. Their counter political and societal views eventually cost some of them their reputations and careers (Kallaway & Swartz, 2016:9), and it is this moment in South African history that remains significant for this study[27].

In this regard, Le Roux's (2016:78-79) claims that public education under British rule[28] seemed to have dismantled the prior notion of educational inequality are erroneous and inconsistent with reality. Upon closer inspection, the segregationist approach clearly remained intact throughout this period. In fact, when Sir George Grey was appointed Cape Governor in 1854, his first task was to subsidise missionary institutions so that they could "train the black youth to act as interpreters, evangelists and schoolmasters amongst their own people" (Seroto, 1999:21).

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partially State-funded Joseph Lancaster's Monitor system of education, which was significantly cheaper and used older, high-performing pupils to teach lower levels (Swartz, 2019:39).

[25] A British mathematician who worked tirelessly in the 1920s to further public education.

[26] The concept of race can be linked with the formation and preservation of European empires in the 18th and 19th centuries (Kiwan, 2016:7) and as Breckenridge (2014:36-39) points out, it was an anthropologist and relative of Charles Darwin named "Sir Francis Galton [who] used his expedition experiences in [Africa] to develop the theory of eugenics", which essentially classified people into 'races' according to physical characteristics. People classified as 'white' were attributed with higher intelligence and a greater sense of morality, while other groups were fixed lower and less desirable qualities.

[27] I note that these three men wrestled with the notion of the 'human' good (in education) as opposed to the institutional good, which was clearly race-based and segregationist in nature. Similarly, this study investigates the dilemma evident today between the public good (which I frame as that which must benefit all people) and privatisation which only benefits a select few.

[28] Through the instrument of missionary societies.

2.2.5 Public Education Under The Governance Of The Afrikaner Republics (1835-1877)

By the 1830s, the Dutch had evolved into their own national identity, the Afrikaners, and had grown intolerant of British rule. This disagreement climaxed in the mid-1830s and was aggravated by the Abolition of Slavery Act of 1833[29], which contributed to the Afrikaners' migration from the Cape[30] (Christie, 2020:38). The Afrikaners knew that migrating inland would cause political, social, and economic upheaval and that their children's education would not be a priority (Christie, 2020:59-62). Concerning the education of black[31] and coloured children, the Afrikaners "permitted no equality between [other races] and themselves" because teaching these children[32] had no political benefit (Seroto, 1999:22).

2.2.6 Public Education During And After The South African War (1899-1910)

In 1899, British colonies and Afrikaner republics entered the South African War[33] (Booyse, 2016a:169). Malherbe (1925:209) says British education hardly suffered during the war, but most male instructors in the Afrikaner republics were asked to contribute, halting education (Booyse, 2016a:170). Moreover, the British began placing Afrikaner women and children in concentration camps, driving their men to surrender out of fear for their families. Venter and Verster (1986:109) report that English camp schools were rapidly formed for these children to "indoctrinate accordingly" (2016a:170).

"The War of Abraham Esau: 1899-1901" by Bill Nasson (1988:239) details the "experiences and traditions of subordinated black people drawn into the [‘white man’s war’[34]]" and centres around the story of Abraham Esau, who, like many other black and coloured people at the time, used English mission schooling for his children until he was thrust into the battle between the British and Afrikaners in and around Calvinia in the early 1900s[35] (Nasson, 1988:241). Esau's narrative is an important contribution to this study as it demonstrates the

[29] The Act was passed by both houses of British parliament and came into effect, in the Cape Colony, on the 1st December 1834 (Swartz, 2019:18).
[30] A journey which became known as ‘Die Groot Trek.’
[31] In this study, I use the identity classification terms of black, white, coloured and indian. This should not be taken to imply acceptance of their validity as scientific human ‘races,’ but rather recognised as social constructs and “historical realities” of human beings that have been classified as such (Molteno, 1983:19-20).
[32] Consequently, all education for these groups were conducted by the church and its mission organisations, such as the London Mission Society (Booyse, 2016c:164).
[33] Also known as the Anglo-Boer War.
[34] Nasson refers to the South African War as the ‘white man’s war’ partly because of the fact that black people were asked to contribute to the war efforts, on both sides, but were not to benefit from their inclusion (Nasson, 1988:239).
[35] Esau’s rebellion against the Afrikaners and attempt to protect his hometown, ended with his gruesome murder (Nasson, 1988:252).

complexity of culture and the important role that black and coloured people played in the war effort. Scholars estimate that 100 000 black and coloured people evacuated war-torn areas for unaffected areas in the Cape and Natal (Stapleton, 2010:88), damaging the already limited education of black and coloured learners.

After a 1902 peace declaration, education became a joint enterprise between the British and the Afrikaners[36] (Bot, 1951:44). The Education Ordinance of 1903 (Union of South Africa, 1936:22) and the School Board Act of 1905 of the Cape Colony (Soudien, 2019b:22-24) were soon implemented entrenching racial segregation (Seroto, 1999:23).

2.2.7 Public Education Under The Union Of South Africa (1910-1961)

The Union government[37] was inaugurated on May 31, 1910, by a white minority of Afrikaners and British that completely delegitimized the already marginalised political voices of blacks, indians, and coloureds (Lapping, 1987:24-27).

Malherbe (1925:398) notes that each union province had a chief educational executive officer who faced many challenges, including the transfer of educational maintenance to the Union treasury and the uncoordinated variety of curricula, education services, standards and strategies in public education[38] (Booyse, 2016a:183). These challenges led to several inquiries[39] that advocated forming a central department for all education facilities in the country, including those for black, indian, and coloured children. However, this never materialised and the decentralisation and racialised segregation of education in the union continued (Booyse, 2016a:183-184)[40].

It was from within this fragmented backdrop that a number of revolutionaries emerged. Alie Fataar, for example, an exiled teacher and activist, contributed significantly to revolutionary

[36] Mission schools continued in this period without State support across the country, but Pells (1938:141-145) notes that, until the Union of South Africa was established, schools (of any type) for black learners in the former Transvaal were few and far between and exceedingly under resourced.
[37] Consisting of the Cape Province, Transvaal Province, Natal Province, and Orange Free State Province.
[38] I note that the parallels between the 1910 union formation and the 1994 advent of South African democracy are striking as the ANC also had to deal with several challenges that accompany the transfer of resources, manpower and knowledge to the new envisaged non-racial education system.
[39] These enquiries were chaired by (and consequently took their name from) J.W. Jagger (1916), J.H. Hofmeyer (1924), J.G. van der Horst (1928), W.M. Nicol (1939), E.C. Wilks (1946), F.J. de Villiers (1948) and W.J. Pretorius (1951). These investigative educational commissions are by no means an exhaustive list. There were several other commissions that were conducted throughout South Africa's history, but for purposes of brevity only a select few (which I considered to be most relevant to this study's research ambit) were chosen and listed.
[40] Examples of this would be the continuation of the Cape's School Board Act of 1905 that, by 1919, saw the age limit of compulsory schooling increase to 16 years for white children (Booyse, 2016a:189; Soudien, 2019b:31) while schooling for other 'races' was not compulsory.

movements in South African education (Omar, 2015:2, 19, 136, 323). One such movement, the Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA) emphasised "non-collaboration" with the Union's discriminatory ideologues (Hendricks, 2010:105). It gradually developed alongside[41] interconnected organisations such as the Non-European Unity Movement, Anti-Coloured Affairs Department and the Cape Teachers' Federal Council who all had similar objectives, i.e., the "opposition of a racist-capitalist order" (Omar, 2015:200)[42]. By 1937, several members affiliated to these (and other) organisations created a cultural society, called the New-Era Fellowship (NEF). Soudien notes that:

> Their aim was to bring into being an organisation that would disrupt prevailing ruling-class thinking… that the primary framing upon which the modern world was constructed, namely, race, was false (Soudien, 2019a:1).

Despite engaging with society and preparing intellectuals and activists, the NEF (and its allies) could not dethrone racial categorisation. The NEF disbanded in 1960 (Soudien, 2019a:xi) but the vision of a progressive, equitable, de-racialised public education system persisted in other organisations[43].

2.2.8 Public Education Under The Governance Of The National Party (1948-1994)

The National Party (NP), an ethnically nationalistic Afrikaner political party was founded in 1914 and came to national power in 1948 (Rakometsi, 2008:12-15). Despite the NP's emergence, South Africa's Union[44] was dissolved in 1961. Lewin (2008:1) notes that:

> After independence [from the British] many countries… embarked on rapid educational expansion, often with the ambition to universalise access to primary education. This was promoted by the UNESCO conferences of the early 1960s.

The NP formulated, despite UNESCO's prompting for universal basic education, "the most comprehensive and explicitly racist plan for education in South Africa" (Jansen, 1990:22).

[41] Apart from developing alongside these movements, the TLSA was also affiliated to them and supported their agendas.
[42] These organisations were heavily influenced by Socialism (Omar, 2015:60) and included a host of activists and intellectuals such as Goolam and Jane Gool, Leo Sihlali, Isaac Bangani Tabata, Ben Kies and Richard Dudley, to name a few (Omar, 2015:182, 219; Soudien, 2019b:14).
[43] The Non-European Movement and the TLSA still exist today and continue their proud heritage of anti-capitalist and anti-racist activism.
[44] A Constitutional monarchy loyal to British sovereignty.

This plan, known as the Bantu Education Act of 1953, was labelled by critics, as 'schooling for servitude[45].' Hendrik Verwoerd[46] said of the Act[47]:

> 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 certain forms of labour... What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice (Lapping, 1987:109)?

This oppression[48] ignited protests and defiance across the country throughout the apartheid era (Booyse, 2016b:222-243). Bird (2015:64) notes that the South African Communist Party was one of the first organisations to "challenge the ruling racist ideology" by teaching future resistance comrades in the country's first effective adult night school movement[49].

During this time, the Freedom Charter[50] was created. In 1955, the South African Congress Alliance[51] gathered to respond "to the NP's post-1948 apartheid legislation and demand an end to discrimination" (Rakometsi, 2008:101). The Freedom Charter (South African Congress Alliance, 1955) made two important contributions to the struggle against apartheid education. Firstly, it declared that "all shall be equal before the law" and that education should be, "free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children." Pampallis (2007:26) notes that this charter "became a symbol of popular aspirations [for activists]… and its demands became internalised in the consciousness of the [liberation movement]."

[45] It re-established the already known fact that this form of education would continue to serve white interests to the detriment of the black majority (Rakometsi, 2008:59).
[46] A former politician who held several government posts (including Prime Minister). He was a known Nazi supporter and was commonly referred to as the architect of apartheid (Evans, 2017:82-83; Uys, 1959:3-7).
[47] Presented in a speech as Minister of Native Affairs on the 7th of June 1954.
[48] The Race Classification Act of 1950, The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, The Pass Laws Act of 1952 and the Immorality Act of 1957 were instrumental policies to fix them (a single and united white 'race', 11 separate African nations, coloureds and indians) in specific geographical parts of the country, while controlling and monitoring all their social and economic behaviours (Soudien, 2016:576).
[49] In the late 1950's, political pressure had forced these nights school's underground. Their goal, however, of moulding the population's mindsets in terms of public benefits, schooling and human rights was firmly entrenched (Bird, 2015:62-66).
[50] The Freedom Charter's purpose was to capture the hopes and dreams of the oppressed and to act as a blueprint for the liberation struggle (Asmal, Chidester & Lubisi, 2005:60).
[51] The South African Congress Alliance included the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats, and the Coloured People's Congress.

2.2.9 Public Education In The 1970s

In the 1970s, a political vacuum emerged after the State jailed and banned ANC and PAC members (among other anti-apartheid groups). The Black Consciousness Movement[52], conceptualised by Steven Biko, emerged to become an integral component of anti-apartheid activism throughout this period, both in education and in the labour movement. The South African Students Organisation[53], for example, called for the formation of the Black Workers' Project which evolved into the Black Allied Workers' Union (Brown, 2010:35). These organisations (amongst others) embarked on several protests in Natal around 1973[54] (Cooper et al., 2002:111).

The Soweto uprising of 1976[55] was a clear rejection of apartheid education policies (Molteno, 1983:1-7). After the uprising, exiled ANC leaders who were wary of learners fearing for their lives (and consequently fleeing), formed the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College[56] (SOMAFCO) in 1978 in Tanzania to house exiled students (Bavusile, 2004:299). The SOMAFCO had a dual role, articulated poignantly by Chris Hani, who visited the College in the 1980's:

> This is not an ordinary college… the idea behind this college [is] to prepare the South African youth, [who are] deprived of so many opportunities inside the

[52] An ideology that empowered the black population to recognise their inherent dignity, self-worth and vital role in combatting the ills in society (Barnes & Haya, 2002:146-148). The Black People's Convention became the national coordinating body for the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa (Cooper et al., 2002:115).

[53] The South African Students Organisation (SASO) was an organised compilation of South African Students that fundamentally opposed apartheid and its ideological underpinnings. Formed in 1968 by Steven Biko, and heavily influenced by the Black Consciousness Movement, SASO played an important role in the restructuring of student politics which shaped the development of protests throughout the 1970s (Brown, 2016:40-43).

[54] The bulk of black employees had essentially little organised training in industrial skills throughout the first 100 years of South Africa's capitalist growth. For those few who had the training, a number of laws compelled them to perform their labour without being compensated or recognized for it, and typically only allowed them to work in menial or semi-skilled positions. These, and other, injustices were at the forefront of the strikes in 1973 and thereafter (Cooper et al., 2002:114). Another important milestone of labour resistance during the 1970s is the Fattis and Monis strike of 1979, which saw the Food and Canning Workers' Union call for a public boycott of products until their demands for higher wages and better working conditions were acceded to (Carson, 2010:60).

[55] An estimated 20 000 students took part in the protests which killed around 575 and wounded more than 2300 (Lapping, 1987:160). It was brought about by, amongst other factors, the State's forceful inclusion of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools. English was generally seen as the language that ensured black learners had future political and social participation in South Africa and on a global stage (Jansen, 1990:23), and it's exclusion seemed to reinforce the apartheid regimes efforts of undermining black learners and making them docile.

[56] SOMAFCO's rendering of a 'public' education placed a high emphasis on anti-capitalist (and non-privatised) education while focusing on the subjects Mathematics and Science, which were subjects that black people had limited access to in South Africa. It also created compulsory courses which focused on the history of the anti-apartheid struggle and a course on the development of societies, which served to orient future leaders (Morrow, Maaba & Pulumani, 2004:84-95).

> country, for a role not only in the [current] struggle, but [also] a role in the future [running of our country] (Hani, 2012).

When the Eastern Bloc and Soviet Union, major financial contributors to the SOMAFCO project, disintegrated in the late 1980s, socialist ideas at SOMAFCO were quickly diluted with notions of capitalism, neoliberalism, and privatisation (Bavusile, 2004:307) leading to its closure in 1992 (Serote, 1993:55).

2.2.10 Public Education Leading Into The Early 1990s

After the 1976 Soweto uprising, caused partly as a reaction to the imposition of Afrikaans as a language of learning and teaching in black African schools, the business sector complained that the education system was crippling the economy and cited a "shortage of skilled black manpower" (Booyse, 2016b:228). Consequently, the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) was requested to investigate a suitable replacement. Its report recommended the creation of a single, national department of education (Human Sciences Research Council, 1981:14-16). Regrettably, the government opposed this recommendation indicating that it "had to take community values… and… self-determination for each population group [into account]" (RSA, 1983a:2, 6-7).

Soon thereafter, a new constitution, Act 110 of 1983 (RSA, 1983b), came into effect and introduced a three-chamber parliament[57]. This complicated political arrangement was fiercely opposed by several political role players (Soudien, 2012:108). Despite widespread rejection, by 1984 public education had become a complex and increasingly segregated endeavour, consisting of 19 distinctive education departments (National Education Co-ordinating Committee, 1992:11).

It was into this complicated and segregated education system that the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee (SPCC) was formed and in 1985, its first National Consultative Conference held[58] (Booyse, 2016b:250-252). The term "People's Education" was coined at this conference and a key resolution was drafted, namely creating a public education system that:

[57] A House of Assembly for white members, a House of Representatives for coloured members, and a House of Delegates for indian members. Booyse (2016b:230) notes that, "no provision was made for black people since they were expected to exercise their political rights in their own pre-determined and self-governing homelands."
[58] This ground-breaking conference was attended by 160 different organisations, all interested in pursuing a public education for the people (Mathebula, 2013:4-8; Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee, 1986:1-6).

> Eliminates capitalist norms of competition, individualism and stunted intellectual development and replaces it with one that encourages collective input and active participation by all (Booyse, 2016b:252).

In 1988, once the SPCC realised that its work needed a wider audience, the National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC) was launched[59]. It is important to note that the apartheid government, sensing their political demise, unbanned the ANC, PAC and Azapo (amongst other organisations) and released most political prisoners in February 1990. Furthermore, the apartheid State published several documents[60] to "prepare the way for sensible leaders to begin talking about a new dispensation" (De Klerk, 1990). Unconvinced, organisations such as the NECC took it upon themselves to investigate policy options for a future education system in South Africa. Thus, it was that the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) was launched in December 1990 (Kallaway, 2002:5).

The NEPI documents were a collection of twelve comprehensive research reports that analysed most aspects of education[61]. It did not propose a policy, but rather investigated policy options, and became instrumental to stakeholders when advocating for their preferred policy selection[62].

As a result, the ANC formalised their policy position using NEPI concepts, resulting in its 1994 education framework[63], which removed segregated schooling. The funding model for its replacement, however, appeared ambiguous (African National Congress, 1994:21). In this

[59] The committee was first known as the National Education Crisis Committee but had to change its name slightly due to governmental pressures, which included being banned by the State. On the 2nd February 1990, President F.W. De Klerk announced that the bans and restrictions on the NECC (amongst others) were to be lifted (Motala, S & Vally, 2002:185).

[60] Booyse (2016c:231) notes that these documents were developed on the basis of three guiding principles, namely: equal opportunities, respect, and a balanced learner-centered approach.

[61] Lamentably, Jakes Gerwel notes that primary education "is a distinct gap" and should have been included in the research (National Education Co-ordinating Committee, 1993:2). The 'mantra' which underpinned the NEPI was "People's Education", and it remains the most comprehensive analysis of education by the liberation movement, comprising of politicians, teachers, educationalists as well as academic researchers (National Education Co-ordinating Committee, 1993:1-5).

[62] The NEPI had five guiding principles: non-racism, non-sexism, democracy, a unitary system, and redress. NEPI Chairperson, Jakes Gerwel (National Education Co-ordinating Committee, 1993:6-7) notes that these principles had two functions, they were to firstly, "orient the research groups towards asking questions in particular ways and secondly to assess the implications of the policies which were being analysed". Most relevant for this study is the finding that centralised public education (education funded by the State) is associated with the social values of equity and development, whilst the social values of personal choice and institutional autonomy would be associated with a privatised education system (National Education Co-ordinating Committee, 1993:10-12, 23).

[63] The 1994 framework is titled "A policy framework for education and training" (African National Congress, 1994).

regard, it is noted that much of the ANC's fight against apartheid education was based largely on racial discrimination, whilst several other revolutionary organisations[64] and individuals[65] consistently framed the struggle as 'racial capitalism' (Motala & Vally, 2017:137-138).

This section has provided an overview of the history and nature of public education in South Africa through the roles of several actors. The next section explores privatisation's origins within South Africa's public education system.

2.3 Privatisation

2.3.1 Privatisation In/Of Public Education

This dissertation adopts Ball and Youdell's (2007:13) dual definition of education privatisation:

> [Firstly,] Privatisation in Public Education… involves the importing of ideas, techniques and practices from the private sector in order to make the public sector more like businesses and more business-like [and secondly] Privatisation of Public Education… involves the opening up of public education services to private sector participation on a for-profit basis and using the private sector to design, manage or deliver aspects of public education.

This section acknowledges that privatisation in South African education is not an isolated economic concept, post-1994, but is linked to occurrences which have global historical roots (Pithouse, 2003:135). The next section investigates these origins.

2.3.2 The Origins Of Privatisation

After World War II, people in the West were disillusioned with high rates of poverty and inequality produced by "excessive market freedoms" (Harvey, 2005:183). Western governments, therefore, believed their role to be market mechanism regulators who would protect society against the self-interest of capitalists[66] (Navarro, 2002:13-26).

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[64] Among them are the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee, NEUM, TLSA, NEF, SASO and SACP.

[65] Dr Neville Alexander, for example, an intellectual activist who was imprisoned on Robben Island from 1964 – 1974, played a crucial role in explaining and critiquing the ideological underpinnings of 'racial capitalism' in Southern Africa. His publication (amongst many others) 'One Azania, One Nation' under the pseudonym, No Sizwe, remains a fundamental framing lens when considering the implications of racial capitalism in and on society (Alexander, 1979:50).

[66] This became known as a type of 'Controlled Capitalism' (Navarro, 2002:13-26).

Friedrich von Hayek[67], however, believed that if society, post-World War II, continued on the path of government intervention, society would descend into the "misery of Communism[68]" (Hattam, 2016:33). He advocated a capitalist system without government involvement, assuming social order can only be generated by individual free-market supply and demand (Harvey, 2005:57). Around this time, the Bretton Woods Conference of 1944 was arranged and, "aimed to create… international economic cooperation and reconstruction" (The World Bank, 2022a). The conference resulted in the formation of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and The World Bank[69] (Scott-Smith & Rofe, 2017:1).

Von Hayek's capitalist beliefs and the creation of the World Bank occurred concurrently but were not directly linked to each other, or to John Nash's sociological mathematical equation, 'The Nash Equilibrium[70]' (Nowak, 2015:420). Nash believed his equation, which advocated for self-interested individuals, could bring order in all elements of society[71], including the unpredictable economy at the time (Nowak, 2015:420). The ideas of Nash, Von Hayek and the 1944 Bretton Woods Conference gradually converged around individualism, capitalism, privatisation and economic stability (Leonardo & Vafai, 2016:625; Plotkin & Stewart, 2013:15351; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010:157).

Furthermore, Economics professor, James Buchanan, who was influenced by Von Hayek and Nash (Buchanan, 1978; Engelen, 2007), coined the concept 'Public Choice Theory.' This is the replacement of group decision-making by self-interested individuals (Brennan & Buchanan, 1985:x-xi). According to Buchanan, creative individuals who are self-seeking contribute to the success of a society in equilibrium (Engelen, 2007:173). Public Choice Theory culminated in Alain Enthoven's Systems Analysis[72] method of managing complex

[67] Famed political philosopher and economist (Hattam, 2016:33).
[68] Communism was viewed with distrust and apprehension owing to the dictatorial political figures at the helm of the Communist movement (Innset, 2017:684).
[69] Previously known as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.
[70] Nash had been influenced by the concept of Game Theory (Nash, 1950:48-49), which was used in its earliest form to anticipate and analyse an opponent's future moves in a poker game. In Game Theory, one assumes that human beings are, by nature, distrustful of those around them and driven by self-interest (Von Neumann & Morgenstern, 1947) and because of these assumptions, will always decide on a course of action that benefits themselves (Myerson, 1991:1-6).
[71] Nash first believed that the 'The Nash Equilibrium' (influenced by Game Theory) could be used in the war between the Soviet Union (USSR) and the United States of America (USA) to avoid a nuclear catastrophe (Myerson, 1991:1-6; Nowak, 2015:420).
[72] I note that authors such as Steiner-Khamsi and Draxler (2018:2-3) refer to 'New Public Management,' which share several commonalities with 'Systems Analysis.' I.e., target setting and benchmarking as key governance tools.

organisations. Its aim was to remove all aspects of emotion and subjectivity[73] and to replace it with rational, objective and quantifiable data[74] (Enthoven, 2019:146-155).

Systems Analysis has been recreated throughout the Global North and to develop the Global South (Rose, 2002:4; Samoff, 1996:253). Enthoven, for example, was asked to overhaul a number of State institutions[75] across the globe in an effort to increase efficiency and improve employee motivation (Enthoven & Smith, 1971). Furthermore, Brender (2010:111) notes how ideas, influenced by Systems Analysis, "made their way into Chile's… Marxist economic thought" in the 1970's, when economists known as 'the Chicago boys'[76] were invited by the Pinochet military government to jumpstart the Chilean economy by means of a plethora of structural adjustment policies all aimed at stabilising the country[77] (Harvey, 2005:8).

The next section discusses the World Bank in influencing global education policy.

2.3.3 The World Bank: A Global Influence And Role-Player

A discussion on the origins of privatisation remains incomplete without considering the involvement and evolution of the World Bank, which is largely perceived, in mainstream media[78] and in its own publications[79], as a hero to those in poverty.

Steiner-Khamsi (2012:5) notes that the bank serves as global policy advisor to numerous governments and aid agencies, and based on its extensive research, claims to know what is appropriate for recipient countries and which educational programmes aid agencies should

[73] Such as the characteristics that underpin the notion of the public and common good.
[74] His approach was based on Von Hayek's view of individuality (Lewis, 2017), Nash's assumptions of human nature (that we are distrustful and selfish), and Buchanan's (1965) Public Choice Theory. It also became an integral part of the World Bank's educational initiatives (Lewin, 2008:11; Rose, 2002:3; Steiner-Khamsi & Draxler, 2018:2-3) and is enmeshed, along with several other economic concepts, in the working framework that accompanies privatisation.
[75] This approach always included creating individual performance targets and measurable outputs, creating competition which were driven by incentives and essentially recreating the mechanism of demand and supply within State institutions by 'freeing' the individual to strive for personal accomplishment (Ball, 2010:156-160).
[76] This group was named such because of their master's and PhD studies at the University of Chicago. Milton Friedman, the staunch proponent of Privatisation and Neoliberalism, was a lecturer at the University of Chicago at the time (Harvey, 2005:8).
[77] These policies were later termed the "Washington Consensus" by John Williamson in 1989 and were used to describe a set of ten economic reforms and structural adjustment policies that were created and imposed by the Washington-based international financial institutions, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank (Rose, 2002:4). The post-Washington consensus refers to a holistic focus for economic growth with a transition from a 'State' versus 'markets' approach (that was synonymous with the Washington Consensus) to a complementary relationship between the State and markets (Rose, 2002:9).
[78] (Shalal & Landay, 2022; Zwane, 2021).
[79] (The World Bank, 2011:2; The World Bank, 2017:13).

support. Several authors, however, have criticised the bank's profit-driven focus. Pithouse (2003:120-121), for example, argues that the bank is ultimately responsible for the deterioration and persistent inequality in South African education, whilst Fontdevila and Verger (2015:5-6) say that the bank's lending and policy advice severely affects teacher's wellbeing.

The next section highlights how the World Bank has influenced South African education through investment loans and its use of structural adjustment policies.

2.3.3.1 The World Bank As Lender

The World Bank was created to facilitate economic cooperation between Western allies (The World Bank, 2022a) and did not initially prioritise education in developing nations[80]. However, in the 1960s, the Bank began involving itself with global education affairs and soon adopted an agenda oriented towards improving education policy amongst developing nations (Verger & Bonal, 2012:126). This transition occurred due to the gradual realisation that education investment, especially in developing nations, generated a larger return than most other Bank initiatives (Samoff, 1996:252). Rose (2002:4) notes that the 1981 appointment of George Psacharopoulos[81] to lead the Bank's education research division was important in this major shift.

When Psacharopoulos reviewed the Bank's lending trends in 139 countries from 1950 to 2014, he found that Sub-Saharan African education investment yielded an impressive 10.5% (Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2018:445-455). Samoff (2009:151), while critiquing the Bank's motivations, notes that:

> Ultimately, the World Bank remains a bank, managed largely by people with expertise and experience in economics and finance… Humanist notions of the intrinsic value of education and educators' support for child-centered learning are simply never as persuasive as detailed cost-benefit and rate of return analyses.

[80] The World Bank never had (and currently does not have) an official legal or societal mandate towards global education (Verger & Bonal, 2012:126). Samoff (1996:267) notes that this is due to the fact that UNESCO is formally the United Nation's institution specialising in education.

[81] Psacharopoulos is a graduate of the University of Chicago. The same University that was responsible for the Chicago Boys' role in Chile's Neoliberal project (Harvey, 2005:8). His full bio can be found here: https://blogs.worldbank.org/team/george-psacharopoulos.

The World Bank's entry into South Africa was therefore not unexpected. Hentz (2000:215) notes that both the NP and ANC claimed support for World Bank policies but had different reasons for accepting neoliberal development. The NP hoped that privatisation would keep the minority in a position of privilege, particularly in the education sector (Hentz, 2000:212), whilst the ANC wanted to boost 'black empowerment' through privatisation (Hentz, 2000:213).

Padayachee (1994:585) notes that the State's first post-apartheid loan was concluded in 1994[82]. That same year saw the adoption of the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme which was followed two years later by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy (RSA, 1996c). Pithouse (2003:119), in reference to these two policies notes that, "the ANC government's adoption of self-imposed structural adjustment programmes [were] strongly influenced by the World Bank." Furthermore, Pithouse (2003:143) confirms that:

> For many years, the ANC denied that this policy, referred to as the Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy, was a structural adjustment programme, but World Bank Managing Director Mamphele Ramphele[83] agreed that GEAR was [in fact] a structural adjustment programme at an IDASA conference in Cape Town on 11 August 2003.

Self-imposed structural adjustment in South Africa contained 10 elements of reform that Rose (2002:4) describes as standard practise among World Bank investment demands:

> Fiscal discipline, public expenditure priorities towards education and health (particularly primary), tax reform to broaden the tax base and cut marginal tax rates, market-determined interest rates, unified and competitive exchange rates, trade liberalisation, encouragement of foreign direct investment, promotion of privatisation, deregulation, and securing of property rights.

Stoneman (1993:87), whilst examining World Bank reforms recognised that when "compared to the horrors of an apartheid-structured society or the corrupt, inefficient, one-party, State-

[82] The loan from the International Monetary Fund was formally known as the Compensatory and Contingency Financing Facility and was for an amount of US$850million (Padayachee, 1994:585).
[83] Dr, Mamphele Ramphele previously served as Vice Chancellor of the University of Cape Town (University of Cape Town, 2022).

dominated dictatorships so common in Africa," structural adjustment seemed like a good idea. However, structural adjustments "merely provide a pretext for imposing a single economic strategy worldwide," and as Bond (2000:188) notes, leads to "famine, environmental destruction, and… [poverty]."

Furthermore, AdvTech[84] also secured a R320million World Bank investment for various educational projects in 2016[85] (The World Bank, 2016). A competitive rate of return is mandatory for World Bank investments (Samoff, 2009:151), hence all AdvTech schools must be fee-paying[86]. More recently, the IMF and World Bank loans of R65billion (International Monetary Fund, 2020) and R11.4billion (The World Bank, 2022b) towards South Africa's COVID-19 response and recovery is noted with interest[87].

Fontdevila and Verger (2015:5-6) stress that the World Bank's core business:

> Cannot be understood solely on the grounds of its material power… [Its] capacity to influence policy goes beyond its lending activity and also involves a significant 'ideational' power propagated through the production of knowledge.

The next section attempts to examine the World Bank's immense global and ideational power.

2.3.3.2 The World Bank As Social Change Agent

Throughout the Bank's existence, it has grouped itself with "other institutions [who] describe [themselves] as donors" providing consultancy advice to developing nations with the intention of improving their education systems and eradicating poverty (Samoff, 1996:265). Rose (2002:2) cites Malawi as the first country to raise primary school fees based on World Bank advice in the 1980s.

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[84] A South African private company listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (The World Bank, 2016). As of 2022, AdvTech's portfolio includes 23 Crawford Schools, 17 Pinnacle Colleges, 14 Trinity House schools, 6 Centurus Colleges, 6 Abbotts Colleges, 7 Junior Colleges, 9 Maravest Private Schools, 2 Bridge Learning Assisted Schools, 3 Gabarone International Schools and 7 Makini Schools, all dispersed throughout South Africa, Kenya and Botswana (AdvTech, 2022).

[85] According to the World Bank the project will contribute to the following development outcomes, "enhanced access to quality education (30 000 additional learners) especially for students who would otherwise not find alternative quality options at an affordable price… [and] enhanced employability of graduates, which reduces the burden of social/welfare programmes on African governments" (The World Bank, 2016).

[86] Interestingly, upon announcement of this loan, the share price for AdvTech rose by a staggering 50% from 31 May 2016 to 27 March 2017 (AdvTech, 2019).

[87] Pithouse (2003:119) documents that all the requirements for structural adjustment in South Africa have already been self-imposed, thereby forfeiting any required demands by the Bretton Woods Organisations.

Mateen Thobani, a World Bank analyst, made the proposal to improve efficiency in Malawi's education system (Thobani, 1984:417). This was based on several erroneous assumptions, such as, that Malawi's overcrowded classrooms were an indication of excess demand for education (Rose, 2002:7), that low enrolment in some areas was due to the lack of physical schools in those areas, and also that the opportunity costs[88] of poorer children in rural areas would not discourage them from pursuing education (Thobani, 1984:421). The results of these assumptions were disastrous. Rose (2002:7-9) notes that, by the mid-1980s, primary school enrolment fell to 63% and only between 13% and 23% of children who enrolled in standard 1 were expected to complete their primary education. The adjustments were clearly "not based on an appropriate analysis of the political, economic, and social conditions of the country" and caused significant damage to the education sector for decades to follow (Rose, 2002:7).

As such, it is important to note that Stoneman (1993:87) labels the World Bank as "a single unchallenged authority with the financial power to lay down which interventions are acceptable." Samoff (1996:253), likewise, notes that:

> If the World Bank's role is to provide development advisory services… then it is... essential to examine critically the ways in which its inclination to use the language and constructs of bankers and economists impairs its development advice.

Samoff (1996:252) further states that according to the World Bank, a country's development is influenced by "the acquisition of skills and attitudes needed for economic growth." Rose (2002:2) and Lewin (2008:3) label this view 'Human Capital Theory.' The prevailing notion is that "education ought to be regarded as an investment in developing a country's human resources."

Several World Bank sponsored[89] global conferences, forums, and publications[90] were part of the process of shifting global education strategy towards a human capital approach that

[88] Opportunity cost is the value of the next-best alternative when a decision is made, also referred to as that which is given up to gain a certain item or experience (Plantinga et al., 2017:65).
[89] Some of these events were not financially sponsored by the World Bank, but merely attended or influenced by the World Bank.
[90] Such as The Jomtien World Conference on Education for All (1990), its accompanying midterm conference in Jordan (1995) the Dakar World Education Forum (2000) and The World Bank Education Strategy (2020) (Samoff, 2009:148) to name a few.

prioritised universal basic education and improved learning outcomes, which were important, the Bank stressed, to reduce "poverty and integrate countries into the global economy" (Verger & Bonal, 2012:126). Lewin (2008:3-4) notes of the Bank's 'new' approach that:

> Human Capital Theory, Rates of Return, and rights and needs based approaches to development and planning came together to push in what appeared to be the same direction as far as educational investment was concerned.

In this study, current understandings of public education in South Africa are viewed within this 'marketised,' 'systems-based,' and 'human-capital theory' focused framework (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010:116-119). The next section highlights the functions of and within public education.

2.4 Functions Of/Within Public Education (Pre-And-Post-1994 South Africa)

South African public education has an unfortunate history of pain and misery. Several functions of public education emerge, therefore, from a reading of Section 2.2 and 2.3. Firstly, Section 2.2 notes that public education's social nature facilitated group identity formation (Soudien, 2019a:31-32) and was used from 1658 to dehumanise the local and slave populations in the Cape. Furthermore, Section 2.3 highlights that the World Bank has exerted its influence to privatise public education for financial gain.

Section 2.4 compares the values of public and marketised education. It then examines education's role in reconfiguring societies in a privatised era, and finally it investigates the stabilisation and entrenchment of privilege in South African society and public education.

2.4.1 Values: Public Versus Privatised Education

Ball and Youdell (2007:52) note that education as a public good emphasises resource allocation to those with the greater need and fosters collectivism[91] to ensure that the whole community's needs are met. In this sense, Giroux (2015:36, 42) stresses that public schools are vital democratic spaces; teachers are essential public resources; and students need an education that helps them become responsible citizens.

A marketised education, however, strives for individual performance, centres around competition between schools and students, emphasises resource allocation to those

[91] I.e., cooperation between schools and students.

considered more able and values education based on economic outcomes (Ball & Youdell, 2007:51-53). This latter view is highlighted by several World Bank documents and is the prevailing view preached by World Bank proponents (Rose, 2002:4).

2.4.2 The Re-Socialising Of Society

The idea of altering a society, using education, seems to be a recurring pattern in South African history (Christie, 2008:31-33). The early Dutch settlers, for example, used education leveraged by brandy, tobacco and violence to instil European civility in the slaves (Kallaway & Swartz, 2016:83-85). The British used the resources of their missionary organisations to re-socialise black Africans (Kallaway & Swartz, 2016:112-113) and were also quick to indoctrinate the Afrikaners, in concentration camps in the early 1900s, according to British ideals (Le Roux, 1998:275). The NP used the Bantu Education Act, various exclusionary laws and its tricameral parliament to re-configure an already hurting and marginalised population of black, coloured and indian people[92] (Badroodien, 2001:158). These examples indicate a fundamental lack of respect and empathy for diverse cultures.

Likewise, in an era of privatisation, Samoff (1996:253) notes that the World Bank uses economic tools[93], structural adjustment policies, its ideational power amongst developing nations and its goal for profit to reconfigure society in ways that essentially "entrench and legitimise inequality… and justify patterns of social stratification."

Myambo (2011:65-66) makes an important contribution to the notion that South African society has been re-socialised. She notes that Neoliberal globalisation, through Rainbow Nation[94] ideology, has conflated capitalism and democracy, legitimising economic inequality.

It is this conflation of ideas that merge together to stabilise and entrench privilege in South African society, but particularly within the South African public education system.

2.4.3 The Stabilisation And Entrenchment Of Privilege

Firstly, 'opportunity hoarding,' coined by Charles Tilly, describes the phenomenon of a privileged social group utilising their status and power to control access to resources (Tilly,

[92] During these periods, identity formation was entrenched along racial hegemonic lines (Soudien, 2019a:31-32) and the use of education always entailed the brutal application of force to ensure that a population group was being submissive and compliant (Soudien, 2019a:2).
[93] Such as System's analysis and rate of return.
[94] Soudien (2019b:10) notes that the rainbow nation ideology is lodged in and holds fast to the apartheid idea. I.e., the idea of South African identity only being available in racial terms.

1998:111). Secondly, the concepts described by Jessop (2011:9), of variation, selection, and retention centres around the notion that there are often several solutions to complex cultural, economic, social, and political problems. Despite the variety of options, those who control the prevailing power structures, often select the solution that retains their privileges and power (Jessop, 2011:9).

Once the hegemonic ruling class (throughout South Africa's history) had defined identities, re-socialised a demographic group, and redefined public education, their next step was to ensure that the disempowered remained entrenched in the hegemonic stronghold of unequal spaces[95] (Christie, 2006:374-379).

The Afrikaner republics, for example, made schooling mandatory in the late 1800s to ensure only their children were educated (Le Roux, 1998:188). Moreover, the black population's war effort, during the early 1900s, was never acknowledged highlighting their disposability[96]. Furthermore, the Union government (and later the NP) never dissolved the segregated school system, despite pleas for reform, because it would undermine their privileged minority status (Kallaway, 2002:18). Likewise, in the early 1990s, the NP, tried to hedge in 'white' schools by introducing 'Clase Models' which allowed 'Model-C' schools to be State-aided and to raise their own funding, often through costly user fees (Christie, 2020:133). This ensured that these predominantly white schools continued, post-apartheid, with the minimal inclusion of black, indian and coloured children (Tikly & Mabogoane, 1997:160-165). Piketty (2020:710) in this regard, notes that education serves more than equality. It also promotes inequity under a veil of democratic justice. The World Bank, too, attempts to stabilise its position of privilege by maintaining its influence on public education, which coincidently replicates apartheid-era disparities albeit with a different (and democratic) veneer (Myambo, 2011:65-66).

The next section attempts to examine this display of democratic principles as they relate to the discourse of parliamentary politics.

[95] The notions of 'opportunity hoarding' and 'retention' allow us to identify the stabilisation and entrenchment of privilege throughout the history of public education in South Africa.
[96] It also highlighted the privilege and power of those who demanded their loyalty in the war effort.

2.5 The Education Budget Vote Speech: A Discourse of Parliamentary Politics

Foucault (1977:49) notes that 'discourse[97]' does not classify objects, but rather are "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak." In this sense, and in relation to this study, the discourse of parliamentarians, converge around the concept of power to create a context that describes the actors, their actions taken (and not taken), the objects under discussion, the circumstances, the time, and the place of events. These are brought together, and with it, a unique 'genre' of political discourse, also known as parliamentary discourse[98], is fashioned[99] (Ball, 2006:15-16).

The notion of 'democracy' and 'democratisation' feature heavily in parliamentary discourse and all expressions, within this genre, carry with it the idea of extending or removing democratic franchise and participation to those involved (Kotze & van Rooy, 2020:1-2).

The word 'parliament[100]' itself, has evolved to refer to an institution "specialised in a particular kind of [political and legislative] talk, and even to the building[101] that hosts such an institution" (Ilie, 2006:189). South Africa's parliament structure is bicameral. It is divided into two assemblies with specific interests: the National Assembly (NA), which consists of 400 representatives who are appointed by their political party on the basis of proportional representation, and the National Council of Provinces, which consists of 90 members, 10 from each province, who are appointed provincially also on the basis of proportional representation through political parties (Hibbert, 2003:105).

It must be noted that after being elected, members (while still representing their political party) also serve as representatives of society and agents of the institution of parliament. Citizens of a democratic State therefore rely on these designated officials to represent their interests in parliament. This dual-loyalty of elected representatives creates a tension that is often difficult for parliamentarians to manoeuvre (Konstantinova et al., 2019:4). The arena of

[97] The notion of 'discourse' was introduced into science at the turn of the 20th century, and the actual linguistic studies of discourse began to develop much later (Konstantinova et al., 2019:4).
[98] Ilie (2003:73) notes that parliamentary discourse is a specialised subset of political discourse and defines it as, "a discourse in which institutional [frameworks], political meaning, negotiation, and power management are being articulated and publicly displayed [in a formal and constitutional setting]" (Ilie, 2006:190).
[99] Ball (2006:14), in this regard, notes that "we do not speak a discourse, it speaks us."
[100] Originally from *parler*, i.e., to speak.
[101] I note that during the writing of this dissertation, a parliamentary fire on the 3rd and 4th January 2022 had gutted Parliamentary buildings and rendered them unusable. The Cape Town City Hall and the Good Hope Parliamentary Chamber were chosen as venues for subsequent parliamentary events (RSA, 2022).

parliament is where these tensions and loyalties come to the fore, in specific ways, with the use of parliamentary discourse. The development of parliamentary communication and proceedings is therefore a discourse foremostly concerned with exercising power within a democratic dispensation (Konstantinova et al., 2019:1).

Parliamentary discourse includes several expressions, such as ministerial statements, debates, oral/written questions, question time and parliamentary speeches, the latter of which is the focal point of this study (Ilie, 2006:190-191).

The next section examines education budget vote speeches in the overall process of budgetary framework.

2.6 The Nature And Purpose Of Education Budget Vote Speeches And Their Place In The Full Range Of Parliamentary Processes In South Africa

South Africa's annual budgetary process is a long and complex set of inter-related events lasting between 14-18 months[102], from planning, implementation to reviews (RSA, 2016b). This section highlights the budgetary process and places emphasis on how the education budget vote speech is situated within this process.

The President of South Africa begins by presenting the State of the Nation Address[103] (SONA). Approximately two weeks after the SONA, the Finance Minister, who serves as chief finance officer, "informs South Africa how the priorities communicated during the SONA are to be financed." An overall national budget is presented to Parliament in the form of the Appropriation Bill, the Estimates of National Expenditure[104] (ENE) and the Budget Review, which cover the next three financial years. These are accompanied by a national budget speech presented by the Finance Minister in parliament (Department of National Treasury, 2020:1-2).

[102] The complexity of each year's budget means that while the budget for 2021 is being presented in parliament, for example, the budget for 2022 is already in preparation.
[103] The SONA is a speech, in parliament, which highlights the countries priorities, both financial and legislative, for the year ahead and also provides an update on how the country has fared over the past 12 months (Parliament of RSA, 2019:3). Behind the scenes, planning and preparation would have been underway for months before the SONA.
[104] The Appropriation Bill and ENE set out the financial budget for each department. The Department of Basic Education (DBE), for example, was budgeted to receive R25.32billion in the 2020/2021 fiscal year (Vulekamali, 2020).

The national budget is divided into departmental 'Votes' and specific details relevant to that department are recorded in a Departmental ENE[105]. The Department of Basic Education[106] (DBE) is not passive in this endeavour and is part of the planning process for the ENE[107]. A budgetary proposal for the financial year in question, would have been presented to National Treasury (and the Finance Minister), who uses a myriad of budgetary requirements to formulate the ENE, both Nationally and Departmentally. These are found in the form of national mandates, such as the National Development Plan 2030[108] (RSA, 2012a), consultations between departments and parliament, through Budgetary Review and Recommendations Reports, and the President's SONA priorities.

Soon after the Finance Minister tables the budget, a series of committees and hearings, both for the public[109] and amongst parliamentary caucuses are held. The fiscal framework, (i.e., the Appropriation Bill and ENE) are considered, and adjustments and/or changes can be proposed during this stage[110]. These hearings and consultations usually last around four months (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa [Parliament of RSA], 2019:4). The NA will reconvene, roughly four/five months after the Finance Minister's budget speech, to debate each Budget Vote in Extended Public Committees, which are parliamentary forums dedicated to specific departmental debates (Parliamentary Monitoring Group [PMG], 2012). It is within this forum that the education minister presents his/her/their education budget vote speech.

The education minister's address can include all national education issues and has two purposes: to detail how the DBE will spend their budget in the upcoming fiscal year and to reference what was accomplished (or not) in the previous fiscal year. In this sense, the education budget vote speech becomes an expression of political discourse in parliament and

[105] The ENE for DBE 2020/2021 was tabled as Vote 16 (Department of National Treasury, 2020b).
[106] In 2009, the previous National Department of Education was separated into the Department of Basic Education (DBE) and the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET). The DBE oversees schools from Grade R through Grade 12 and adult literacy programmes, while the DHET coordinates South Africa's tertiary education sector (DBE, 2014).
[107] According to the DBE, the Basic Education Vote "must develop, maintain and support a South African school education system for the 21st century" (DBE, 2014).
[108] I note that predecessors to the National Development Plan 2030 include the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (RSA, 1996c) and the Reconstruction and Development Programme (Padayachee, 1994:585).
[109] Civil society and interest groups are encouraged to contribute to ensure public participation.
[110] The 2020 ENE for DBE was consequently revaluated and amended, due to the damaging effects of COVID-19 across all sectors.

is often viewed as a direct manifestation of power within a certain set of parliamentary parameters and structures (Kotze & van Rooy, 2020:13-16).

The education minister's speech serves as an introduction for the debate on the education budget vote. Thereafter, Members of Parliament (MP's) can present speeches in reply to the education minister's budget vote presentation, use their allocated time to ask questions or make comments to argue for or against the Vote (Dudley, 2021). The education minister will then have an opportunity to respond to MPs' remarks. This occasion can last up to four hours. Once all pre-designated members have given their input[111], the session is adjourned. The Extended Public Committee reports back to the NA, usually two or three days after the budget vote debate, where the adoption of all Departmental Votes is conducted by electronic voting. All 400 NA members are entitled to vote for the adoption or rejection of the Vote. A quorum of 201 votes is required for the Vote to be adopted. If a single Vote[112] is rejected (by not attaining 201 member votes), the entire Appropriation Bill is due for reconsideration (Parliament of RSA, 2016:176, 200-202). Such an event would also trigger the expected resignation of government ministers, which would result in a general election being held to vote for a new Government (RSA, 2016b:2).

If, however, the Votes and consequently the budget is passed, the allocated amounts are transferred to the departments for that financial year. At the end of the fiscal year the accounts of each department are audited by the Auditor-General of South Africa and these details are published in the annual reports of each department (Parliament of RSA, 2019:4).

2.7 Explanation Of Key Concepts

There are several crucial concepts that arise from this literature review. The terms described below, collectively, form a coherent conceptual framework (alongside other elements in the literature review) that will be used to analyse the data in Chapter Five of this study.

Capitalism - An economic and political system that places a strict importance on the private ownership of assets, the means of development and production, and the private operation of these means. It is fundamentally opposed to State operation and ownership (Friedman, 2002:173).

[111] This includes the education minister's initial speech and the consequent reply.
[112] Such as Vote 16: DBE for 2020/2021.

Globalisation - The broadening of global links (through individuals, companies or governments) that allow for easy exchange of information, technology, goods, services and money (Stewart, 1996:327).

Human Capital Theory (HCT) in Education - A theory that places high value (both normative and economic) on human capital (i.e., the monetary value of a person's experience and skills) and future education (Mizala et al., 2022:168-169). It leads the understanding that the better educated a person is, the higher their prospective income. The same can be deduced for a country's development. I.e., improved human capital leads to improved national development and a supposed better economic outlook for that country (Carnoy, 1980:153-159; Livingstone, 1997:10-12).

Neoliberalism - A theory of political practice that proposes human well-being by encouraging entrepreneurship, free markets, no government intervention, privatisation, and individualism (Harvey, 2005:2). It is underpinned by a strong desire to see economic growth (Bottery, 2006:7-14).

Opportunity hoarding - Describes a privileged social group utilising their status and power to control access to resources (Tilly, 1998:111).

Privatisation[113] - The transfer of a business, asset or service, from State to private ownership, interest and control (Samson, 1994:79).

Variation, selection, and retention - Centres around the notion that there is often a variation of alternative ideas that offer solutions to complex cultural, economic, social, and political problems. Despite the variety of options, those who control the prevailing power structures, will usually select the solution that retains their privileges and power (Jessop, 2011:9).

2.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided historical context for public education in South Africa. It examined events, policies, laws, and power structures from pre-colonial times to 1994 that propagated and maintained race and class discrimination.

[113] Also refer to Section 2.3.

Thereafter, the chapter examined the origins of privatisation and introduced the World Bank by examining its origins as a leader in lending and its role (both direct and indirect) in South Africa's public education system.

A brief analysis describing the functions of and within public education was then provided. Penultimately, I attempted a brief explanation of parliamentary politics and considered the role of education budget vote speeches by looking at their nature, function, and purpose in a democratic society.

The chapter concluded with a list of key concepts relevant for the remainder of the study. The next chapter explains this study's methodology.

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1 General Orientation To Chapter

This chapter begins by highlighting my worldview[114] and is followed by the methodological approach of this specific study. Both are interlinked, although it is the prior that informs the latter (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009:423; Sapsford, 2006:175).

This study is qualitative in nature and uses the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) which will be explicated in the following pages. Thereafter, I move on to describe this study's research setting, which Bhattacharya (2008:787) refers to as the "physical, social, and cultural site in which the researcher conducts the study." The research setting of this study refers to the documentary artefacts (in the form of education budget vote speeches) that are presented in South Africa's national parliament. Thereafter, I examine and explain the source of my data by looking at the nature and modes of various formats.

Subsequently, the actual method and procedures of my study will be clarified in detail. This will include answering questions about how I have collected, recorded, and stored my data. An explanation on techniques used for reading, understanding, selecting, coding, and analysing my data follows. Lastly, ethical considerations, reliability concerns, reflections on validity, generalisability and limitations in this study are discussed.

3.2 Personal Worldview

As a professing Christian, I note that Marx (1867), Piketty (2013), and others interpret certain characteristics of the human condition (i.e., human suffering and our need for salvation) using economic terms. This is accomplished, I suggest, as they critique and provide alternatives to the Capital-based world in which we live. Although these critiques have been accused of being 'Marxist' in nature, neither Marx nor Piketty themselves claimed the title of 'Marxist' (Marx & Engel, 2010; Piketty, 2014); instead they were concerned with narratives that highlight the decline of the public good and those "that link the rule of capital, the powers of transnational corporations, banks and political elites to the race and gender-skewed, ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-clad" (West, 1999:14).

[114] Attitudes, beliefs, narratives, and expectations about the world that inform our thought and behaviour (Bannister, 2019:9-10; Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019:100).

Despite several tensions[115] that I am yet to resolve (Holmes & Lindsay, 2018:3-7), echoing West's (1999:15) words, I have come to realise that Marxist thought "does not purport to be existential wisdom of how to live one's life day by day. Rather, it claims to be a social theory of histories, societies and cultures" which, for purposes of this study, are vital in understanding and critiquing capitalism and privatisation as they relate to the notion of the public good in education (Ball, 2006:11). With this tension in mind, my worldview is one of a non-Marxist socialist in that, as a Christian, I recognise Marx's concerns[116], but I also recognise certain "irreconcilable differences between Marxists of whatever sort and Christians of whatever sort" (West, 1999:15).

My objective, in walking through and understanding this tension, is to hold fast to what Edwards[117] (Du Bois, 2007:viii) remarks on personal worldviews and research: "…even the scholar, the modern wielder of instrumental reason, cannot claim the pretence of objectivity in the study of human affairs." I acknowledge, therefore, that this study is ontologically bold, yet methodologically modest (Creswell, 2007:15). In this regard, I will endeavour to identify if and how this stated positionality biases this study.

3.3 Methodological Approach Of Study

Methodological approaches to research include Quantitative[118], Qualitative[119] and Mixed-Method approaches[120]. A Qualitative research design is appropriate in a study of this nature chiefly because the data set (my education budget vote speeches) being analysed should not be turned into a set of numerical data devoid of any context (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009:261-276). Instead, the rationale for this Qualitative approach is to keep the context of the study in the foreground and to use the text itself (along with the historical meanings that derive from

[115] The personal tensions that play out in discussions of ontology, truth and epistemology have allowed me to wrestle with issues of being, reality, belief, religion, justice, and humanity.
[116] Of gross catastrophe's that Capitalism has perpetrated on the public good.
[117] Brent Hayes Edwards writing the introductory chapter in a modern edition of W.E.B. Du Bois's classic book, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Du Bois, 2007:viii).
[118] Given (2008:xxix) defines the Quantitative approach as, "appropriate for examining who has engaged in a behaviour or what has happened… [however], these techniques are not designed to explain why certain behaviours occur."
[119] A Qualitative approach is designed to interpret the meanings and or narratives that others (people or artefacts) have or perceive about the world (Creswell, 2007:21).
[120] A mixed method approach draws upon both quantitative and qualitative methodological approaches to answer a particular research question (Hewson, 2006:179).

it) as a resource for understanding and answering my research questions[121] (Muncie, 2006:74).

3.3.1 A Narrative Framework Leveraged By A Thematic Analysis

The qualitative research design that I have employed uses a Narrative Framework which is leveraged by a Thematic Analysis approach. The Thematic Analysis approach is, in essence:

> A data reduction and analysis strategy by which qualitative data are segmented, categorised, summarised, and reconstructed in a way that captures the important concepts within the data set (Lioness, 2008:867).

These important concepts/themes are derived using thematic coding, which, in this study, is exploratory in nature and is rooted in Constructivist Grounded Theory[122]. The research context can therefore not escape "issues of prior knowledge and existing literature" (Charmaz & Bryant, 2008:376).

For purposes of clarity, a Narrative Analysis is defined as: an examination of the "internal coherence of a text (or texts) and investigates the story being told" (Norum, 2008:24). Furthermore, the Narrative Analysis approach takes as a starting point that "words have meanings and meanings matter[123]" (Kotze & van Rooy, 2020:15). In relation to my research, the objects (data set) of this study are education budget vote speeches, which have been created to produce meaning, both intentionally and unintentionally[124]. By employing a Narrative Framework which is leveraged by Thematic Analysis, I can construct a historical image (narrative) of education and track the change in meanings of education as a public good from the pre-1994 era through to various iterations of the education budget vote speeches in the post-apartheid era.

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[121] Examples of qualitative studies that perform this task include Badroodien's (2001:2) PhD thesis in which he ethnographically examines and explains the establishment of the correctional institution, particularly the Ottery School of Industries in Cape Town by examining "the intersection of the fields of education, history, welfare, penality and race in South Africa," Christie's (2013:775) study in which she "develops a methodological approach based on the spatial theory of Henri Lefebvre to address relationships between space, place, and social justice in education," and Omar's (2015:2) PhD thesis in which he uses narrative analysis to historically dissect the complexities of how Alie Fataar's "teacher-identity is cohered under conditions of education resistance in South Africa."

[122] That is, an "approach that assumes that both the research process and the studied world are socially constructed through actions, but that historical and social conditions constrain these actions" (Gibbs, 2007:38-49).

[123] That is to say that all forms of language function as communicative events.

[124] This notion of meaning making through text is synonymous with Michel Foucault's concept of discourse analysis (Given, 2008:356) as well as with Ball's concept of policy as text, discourse and effect (Ball, 2006:11-14).

3.3.2 Narrative Policy Framework

Furthermore, this study adopts the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF)[125]. Shanahan, Jones and McBeth (2018) stress that any researcher interested in the NPF must assess whether her/his/their research project aligns with the NPF's assumptions, which are discussed below:

1. **Social construction of policy realities**. Jones (2018:727) explains that the NPF "assumes that the important part of reality is not so much what is, but rather what people believe something means" in and about public policy. This assumption ties in with the intellectual underpinnings and personal worldview of the researcher, as explained in Section 3.2.

2. **Bounded relativity.** Despite the social constructs in policy, its meanings are not random. They are limited by belief systems, ideologies and contexts (Shanahan, Jones & McBeth, 2018:333). My study is limited by the Constitutional decree (and common belief) in a public good that ensures quality basic education for all learners.

3. **Narratives have generalisable components.** Narratives can be found in multiple formats, such as interviews, speeches, policy documents, etc. These formats are physical 'things' that often express non-physical elements (Jones, 2018:727). However they are found (and expressed), it is assumed in the NPF that the researcher can decode, count, theorise and generalise the content in these formats. My study makes use of education budget vote speeches, which can be coded thematically.

4. **Three levels of analysis.** The NPF assumes three levels of analysis[126], micro: the examination of how narratives influence people, objects or moments; meso: the examination of how narratives influence groups; and macro: the examination of how broad cultural and institutional narratives are formed and expressed (Jones, 2018:727). My study probes the education budget vote speeches from 1994 to 2021 (micro), while examining the political interaction of ministers and presidents, the involvement of international organisations, balancing the economics and constitutionality of education provision and various policies that affect public

[125] Within the field of Narrative Analysis, a gaping hole for conducting research (using narratives) on issues relating to public policy was evident (Jones & McBeth, 2010:330). It was only in 2010, that the Narrative Policy Framework was formally named, with the purpose of "understanding the role of narrative in the policy process" (Jones, 2018:724).

[126] These levels are dynamic and "are not theorized to operate independently" (Shanahan, Jones & McBeth, 2018:334).

education (meso). These are influenced by the broad societal narratives of globalisation, the hegemony of neoliberalism, privatisation, and a prevailing capitalist system in our education model (macro).

5. ***Homo narrans*** **model of the individual.** It is assumed that narratives "play a central role in human cognition and communication" (Shanahan, Jones & McBeth, 2018:333). This study holds this as a fundamental truth. The education budget vote speeches communicate a narrative to the public, and meanings (intended and unintended) are derived from their communication.

Shanahan stresses that a "major departure from any of these assumptions means the NPF is not right for your research" (Shanahan, Jones & McBeth, 2018:333). My study is in line with these five assumptions in that my worldview matches the social construction assumption of the NPF, it is bound by the Constitutional mandate of educational provision, the dataset is expressed in speeches, which is aligned to the NPF's assumption of having generalisable components, my study is analysed in three levels (micro, meso and macro) and finally, my study assumes that narratives play a vital role in sense-making and meaning for human beings.

Core components of narratives in relation to this study

According to the NPF, a narrative has several core components: a setting, characters, plot and a moral (Jones & Radaelli, 2015:341). Each of my selected (please see Section 3.5 – explicating my data-set) thirty-one education budget vote speech extracts are classified as narratives because these core NPF components are included in each individual speech, but also as a collection of speeches.

The collection of speeches form an analysis theme which incorporates a setting (crucial policy information expressed in parliament by education ministers) (Shanahan, Jones & McBeth, 2018:335-336); characters (those who 'act' or who are acted upon in the narrative. In this study, the actors are defined as the hero/s, villain/s and victim/s) (Jones & McBeth, 2010:341); plot (the main events that are described in each speech that link the characters, setting and moral together) (Neto & Barcelos, 2020:1637); and the moral (each speech calls for adopting the education budget and related policies) (Jones & Radaelli, 2015:341).

In conclusion, my chosen methodological approach is the NPF leveraged by a thematic analysis.

The next section examines the research setting and should be read in conjunction with Sections 2.5 and 2.6, which discussed the education budget vote speeches in relation to the discourse of parliamentary politics as well as the nature, purpose, and place of speeches in the full range of parliamentary processes.

3.4 Research Setting

Bhattacharya (2008:787) notes that the research setting is "the physical, social, and cultural site in which the researcher conducts the study." The research setting of this study's data set is physically and geographically produced in South Africa's parliamentary building and consists of the documentary artefacts, in the form of education budget vote speeches, that are presented therein. These artefacts are produced, recorded, and stored in three formats, namely edited departmental correspondence, online recordings and the Hansard. The next section briefly expounds on each as they relate to this study.

Edited departmental correspondence

According to Hibbert (2003:110), most speakers in the South African parliament write their own speeches, but those relevant to policy making (such as education budget vote speeches) are prepared and written by a team, often including the presenter. These are officially regarded as departmental correspondence and can be found in its prepared, and highly edited form, on the Department of Education's (DBE's) official website[127].

Online recordings

The process of recording all parliamentary proceedings for television and YouTube began in 2015 (Parliament of RSA, 2015a) and has greatly improved the access to parliamentary proceedings for the general public (Ilie, 2006:190). Unfortunately, no online presence of education budget vote speeches is present before 2015.

The Hansard

'Hansard' refers to the official report of the proceedings in South African Parliament and is published on the Internet (in text format) on the Parliamentary website[128] (Ilie, 2006:190). Hansard is, according to Parliaments official website, a verbatim report "with repetitions and

[127] https://www.education.gov.za/Newsroom/Speeches.aspx

[128] Before the advent of the internet, the Hansard was published and stored in book format in the official Parliamentary library. Some copies of the Hansard were published and moved to several libraries across the country.

redundancies omitted and obvious mistakes corrected" of parliamentary proceedings (Parliament of RSA, 2015b).

3.5 My Data Set

As mentioned in Section 3.4, the education budget vote speeches are found in three formats, namely: edited departmental correspondence, online recordings and the Hansard. In order to analyse an uninterrupted and consistent form of data, I have chosen to use the Hansard record of the education budget vote speeches presented by South African education ministers from 1994 to 2021 (inclusive) as the main source of data for this study[129]. The other two modes were used only to establish context for the relevant speech.

My data corpus comprises of twenty-eight consecutive education budget vote speeches from 1994 to 2021, inclusive, in text format. Each speech is managed as a separate document, in other words, there is a document (artefact) for each year. Two summary documents providing contextual information on each speech is provided in the appendix.

The next section attempts to describe the process followed whilst developing the data set. It highlights the steps taken to ensure that my data set was a viable and useable set of artefacts and describes the operationalisation of my study.

[129] I note that the 2020 and 2021 budget votes were held in the form of virtual mini-plenary sessions due to COVID-19 gathering restrictions.

3.6 Data Collection And Data Organisation

The Hansard speeches (1994 – 2021)[130] were gathered by visiting the Parliamentary library in Cape Town, the various libraries situated on the campuses of the University of Cape Town, and the online repository of records held by both institutions[131]. Some records were in physical book format[132], while others were in electronic MS-Word and PDF formats.

I began by conducting an initial reading of the speeches which helped to familiarise myself with its content. The reading was followed by a retyping of each speech into a MS-Word document, which had a dual purpose. Firstly, it assisted me to fully grasp each speech's content on a deeper level. Secondly, the retyping was necessary in order to complete the coding section (more on the coding and analysis in the section to follow). All primary working sources and documents were also Optical Character Recognition (OCR) scanned, which made them searchable and therefore easy to compare to the speeches which I had typed out. This allowed me to search for and highlight the various and necessary parts of each speech and to verify that my re-typing of the speeches was accurate.

3.7 Coding Framework And Data Analysis

Saldaña (2012:3) defines a code as "a short word or phrase that symbolically assigns a summative… essence-capturing… attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data." I began by coding my literature review using *NVivo12*[133] and created twenty-two codes. These codes were used as a baseline for coding the broad data corpus (the typed-out speeches which were derived from the Hansard), and which facilitated a thematic analysis. Please see Figure

[130] It must be noted that only the Minister's initial opening speech, and all interjections and objections during the speech were used in my data set. All replies, comments, statements, objections, and speeches that were given after the Minister's main speech were left out of this data set for two reasons. Firstly, the opening speech proved to be the main statement of intention from the Minister and best served to assist in answering my research questions. Secondly, often the content after the speech lasted up to 4 hours which meant that the data set would have been unnecessarily long. Most, if not all the points raised after the Minister's main speech were also discussed and mentioned in the Minister's main speech and/or as interjections during the main speech.

[131] It is remarkably unfortunate that fires at both the University of Cape Town (2021) and National Parliament (2022) have resulted in the destruction of the same physical records (education budget vote speeches in the Hansard) used in this study.

[132] Where in physical book format, photos of all relevant pages were taken, firstly to adhere to the rules and regulations of the various libraries which relate to the handling (and non-removal) of sensitive and/or special collections and secondly, to create a 'primary working source' which meant that I was able to take the needed information out of the library and work on it at my own leisure.

[133] *NVivo12* is a Qualitative Research Analysis Data Software application tailored for academic research (QSR International, 2021).

1 below, which is a visual representation of the initial codes derived from my literature review.

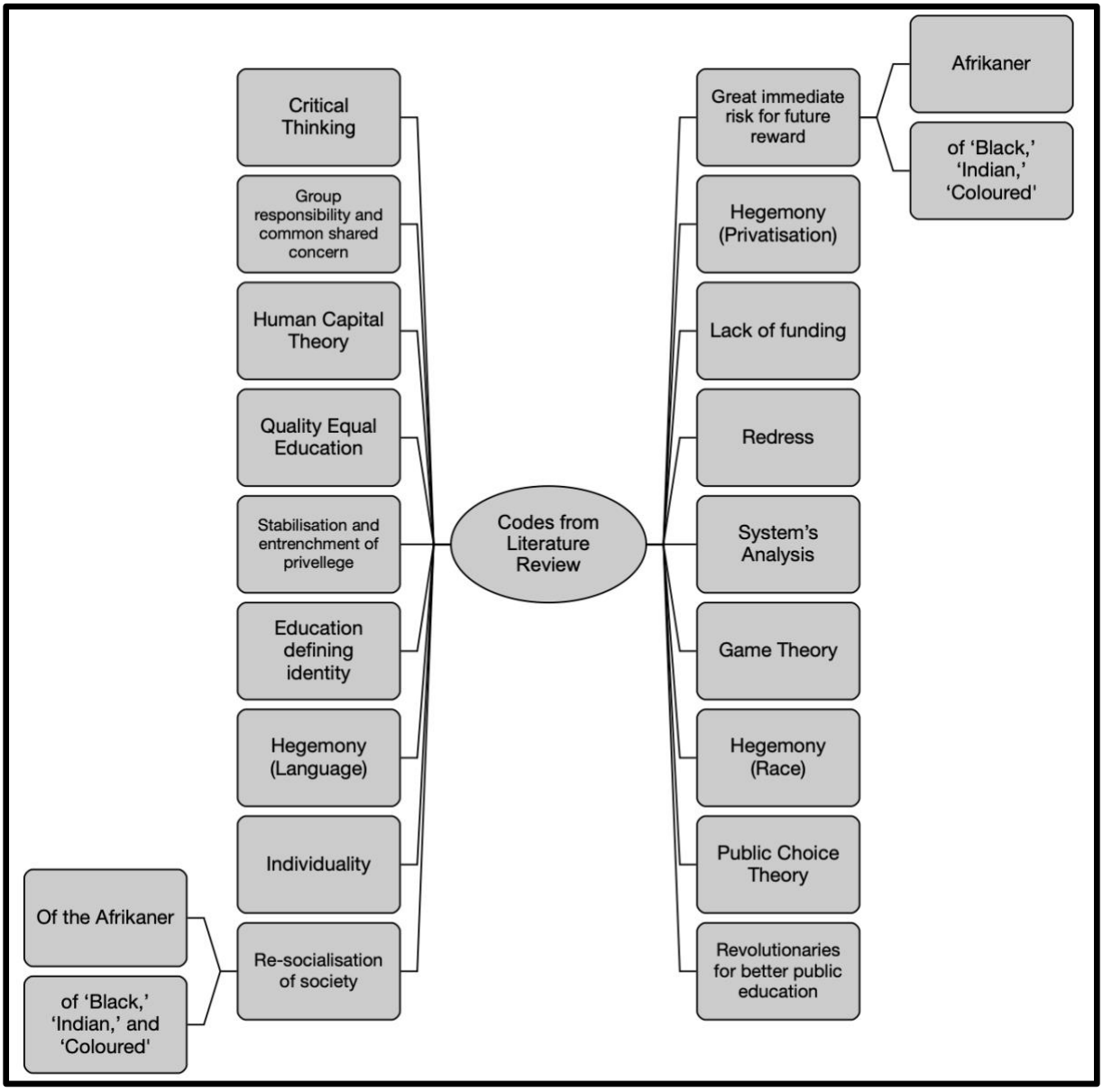

Figure 1 – Initial codes derived from my Literature Review.

Second, I coded Professor Bengu's[134] 1994 and 1995 education budget vote speeches. This allowed me to 'test' the codes from my literature review for applicability to the speeches. What emerged was a fascinating realisation that my literature review codes fitted seamlessly with the education budget vote speeches. Using inductive reasoning, I created an additional fifteen codes (see Figure 2 below).

[134] I note that Professor Bengu was the first Minister of Education in post-apartheid South Africa.

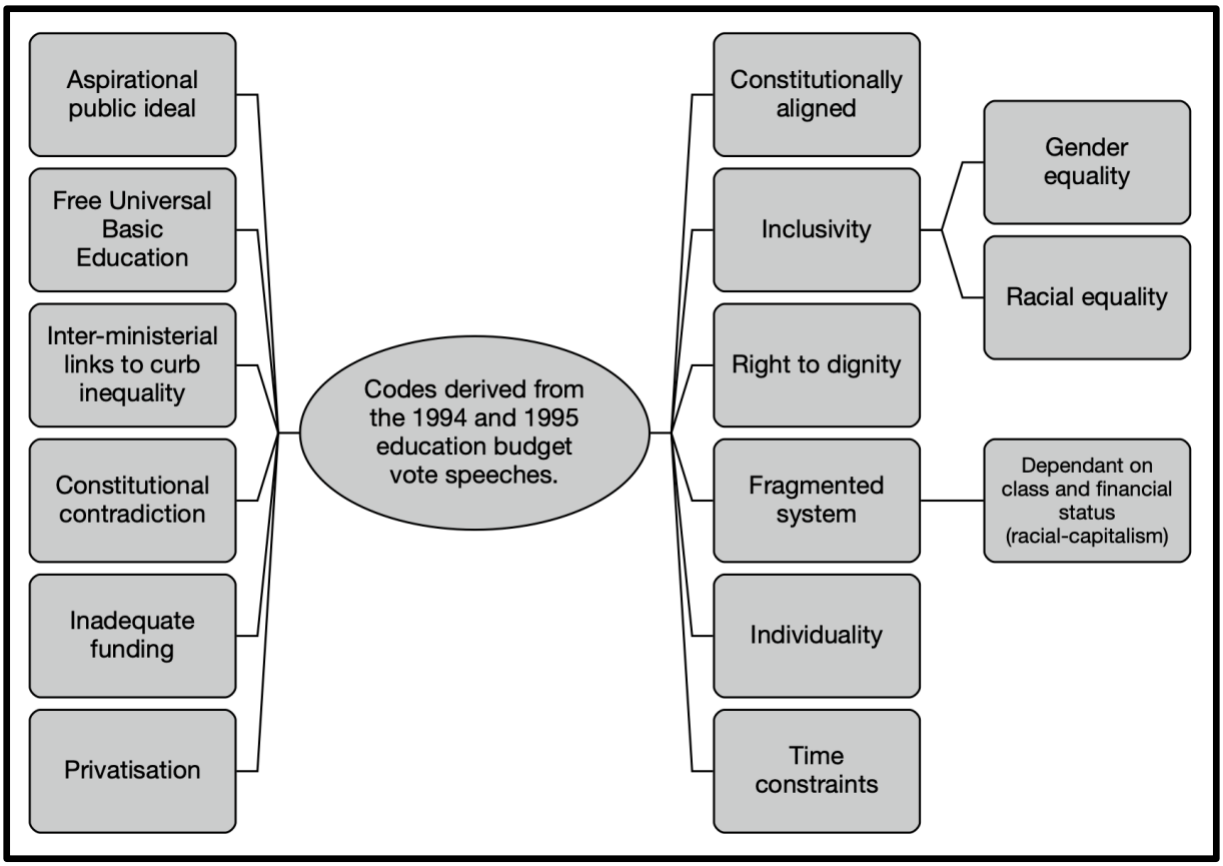

Figure 2 - Codes derived from the 1994 and 1995 education budget vote speeches.

Thirdly, to facilitate my findings chapter and to create a coherent working document, I used my title and research questions to formulate broad overarching codes. These codes are the main themes most prevalent in my speeches. For this final coding step, I used the initial set of codes as derived from my literature review as well as the codes derived from my reading of the 1994 and 1995 transcripts to re-code and collapse these thirty-seven acquired codes into a list of three overarching categories of codes:

1. Public education's ideal conception
2. Conditionalities in/constraints to public education
3. Privatisation of (and in) public education

These categories of codes were based on two fundamental framings: a conceptual framing, and a temporal framing, meaning that the concepts and themes discovered manifested across several speeches and were consequently evident across several years. Once these categories of codes had been created, I was able to analyse each of the remaining speeches and code the relevant sections according to the above-mentioned categories. At times, new codes were

created, but all coding was within the framework of the three broad categories as mentioned above[135].

After the coding of all twenty-eight speeches, I was left with a mammoth-sized document of over 93 000 words, which were still usefully under three *main* categories of codes as mentioned above. I then had to whittle down 93 000 words into a manageable word count for the findings chapter. I went about this process by firstly removing all extracts that were not explicitly related to the topic of basic education as a public good. This was followed by a close reading of the remaining extracts in which I looked for repeated sentiments in the same speech. If a sentiment was repeated, I chose only the extract which I felt was most appropriate in answering my research questions.

Next, I focused on finding and removing repeated sentiments across multiple years. Importantly, the goal was to keep track of prevailing patterns from 1994 to 2021 inclusive, but at the same time, to remove repeated extracts that had already been identified and confirmed as prevailing patterns.

The penultimate step was to link the remaining speech extracts into themes that would facilitate my analysis. This meant that I was able to identify several themes which each consisted of numerous budget vote speech extracts. The final step was to order the speech extracts in relation to each other and the requirements of the research questions to facilitate a coherent and logical writing of the findings chapter. This allowed me to remove extracts that provided a less compelling argument for answering my research questions[136].

At the end of this lengthy and complex process[137], I was left with several themes that were populated with extracts which I believe are able to directly answer my research questions. The final product of my findings included thirty-one extracts[138], totalling 1458 words, under the following analytic themes:

[135] Where necessary, notes and annotations were added to provide clarity and explanations on why I had coded the chosen part of text in that way.
[136] The final two steps were not conducted using *NVivo12*, but rather using physical printouts of the remaining extracts and pasting the printouts on an easily accessible wall surface. This allowed me to physically move extracts, make written notes on and order them into relevant analysis themes.
[137] In the process of coding all twenty-eight budget vote speeches and viewing patterns from my emergent data, I was able to generate two tabulated versions of my findings. These assisted in providing an overview of my data from 1994-2021. These tables will be included in the appendix.
[138] The full collection of extracts can be found in the appendices at the end of this study.

- Constitutionally-mandated school provision and governance.
- Parliament's squandered chances to achieve equitable education.
- Infrastructure deficit.
- The current realities of South Africa's quintile system and the public good.
- Systems analysis' role in South African education.
- Privatisation in education (Public-Private-Partnerships).
- Human Capital Theory, The Access Doctrine, and the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

This study does not involve human or animal subjects. I was consequently only required to submit an ethics application to the University of Cape Town. My research, however, still requires an ethical approach (Austin, 2008:748-749), especially considering that I have conducted my study using education budget vote speeches, which meant that my handling of these documents needed to be in accordance with ethical norms and principled behaviour (Preissle, 2008:276).

I have endeavoured to avoid plagiarism by citing and acknowledging all relevant sources/resources appropriately in the study (Mouton, 2001:241). Additionally, disclosing my personal biases and positionality (as described in Section 3.2) reveal if, when, and how my positionality affected this study. In this regard, I have tried to be objective and limit these biases from harming the study in any way, shape, or form. In all instances, I have tried to accomplish this by drawing on a wide range of literature that frame the fields of the study, even though I may personally not subscribe to all the ideological underpinnings of these sources.

Furthermore, this study involved the legacies of people behind the education budget vote speeches[139]. I endeavoured therefore to treat my handling of their reputations with integrity, respect and honesty (Duffy, 2008:947-948), by not withholding parts of the speeches, not modifying speeches, and by not misinterpreting the presenters' own views on the relevant speeches (Brodsky & Welsh, 2008:20). I was also in direct engagement with the image and reputation of official offices of the Republic of South Africa, such as Parliamentary Hansard editors, the Department of Basic Education, and provincial educational authorities. I therefore

[139] Such as Professor Sibusiso Bengu, Professor Kader Asmal, Mrs Naledi Pandor and Mrs Angie Motshekga.

endeavoured to treat these offices with integrity, respect, and honesty by not misinterpreting publications produced by these departments (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009:59).

3.9 Reliability concerns And Reflections on Validity

Creswell (2014:201) describes qualitative validity and reliability as the actions that a researcher executes to check "for the accuracy of the findings by employing certain procedures." In this regard, I employed several strategies to ensure reliability, validity, and consistency in this study.

Firstly, as mentioned in Section 3.2, my positionality and bias has been clarified. Creswell (2014:202) notes that this "self-reflection creates an open and honest narrative that will resonate well with readers." Also, all findings can be examined in light of these transparent biases, which consequently adds to the study's validity. Furthermore, I have approached this study consistently in areas of coding, conceptualising, and categorising. As indicated in Section 3.7, the codes and categories of my education budget vote speeches were created using a singularly consistent mechanism, i.e. a thorough reading of the literature review and subsequent education budget vote speeches, including (where appropriate) the use of the electronic coding software programme, NVivo12.

Secondly, I employ the strategy of triangulation[140] in two ways. I have triangulated my data set by using the Hansard recordings, but I have also used the DBE's official edited speech uploads as well as the video recordings (video recordings are available only from 2015 onwards) to check for any inconsistencies, transcript errors and/or contextual misinterpretations. Relatedly, since I have grounded my findings in actual data (i.e., education budget vote speeches) and explained my data based on literature found in my literature review, I am confident that I have made a determined and successful attempt at achieving internal reliability[141].

In this sense then, my study and the findings therein are validated and triangulated reliably across three sets of criteria:

[140] Triangulation refers to using "different data sources of information to build a coherent justification" (Creswell, 2014:201).
[141] Refers to using the texts themselves (in relation to each other and in relation to the established literature) to ensure that the researcher is representing the ideas accurately (Butina, 2015:195).

1. My own internal consistency approach (revealing potential bias, and ensuring consistency in coding and categorisation).
2. The intertextuality of artefacts where one education budget vote speech speaks to another.
3. The intertextuality of artefacts in relation to my literature.

3.10 Generalisability

Gibbs (2007:100) notes that the term "Generalisability" is used in a specific manner in qualitative research and refers to the "external validity of applying results to new settings, people or samples" (Creswell, 2014:201).

This study does not claim any form of generalisability[142]. Instead, I am focused on "particular descriptions and themes developed in [the] context of a specific site" (Creswell, 2014:204). Particularity rather than generalisability (Mark, Feller & Button, 1997) is the hallmark of qualitative research in general and in this study specifically. In other words, my findings are not generalisable across all twenty-eight education budget vote speeches, across a 28-year time frame, and neither are they generalisable to speeches, individuals and sites outside of this study. This study's focus on contextual information that creates site- and time-specific descriptions makes it non-generalisable.

3.11 Limitations

The limitations of a study, as defined here, are characterised by aspects that have influenced the interpretation, outcomes, and conclusions of a research project (Ross & Zaidi, 2019:261).

In this regard, the only limitation that has influenced the selection and writing of my findings chapter is the inherent word count limit of a minor dissertation at master's level. The limitation of 30 000 words meant that I was tasked with narrowing down my broad data set from 93 000 words to 1458 words. It is this refined data set (comprising 1458 words) that was analysed in my study, using the NPF model.

[142] An important note regarding a seemingly similar but distinct aspect is found in Section 3.3.2, which refers to the generalisability of narratives in general. Section 3.10 refers to the generalisability of this study and its findings in its entirety.

3.12 Chapter Summary

This chapter has highlighted my personal worldview and the methodological approach of this specific study, which is qualitative in nature and uses a Narrative Policy Framework actualised by thematic coding.

It also described the site of my research, which are the education budget vote speeches from 1994 to 2021 inclusive as presented in the National Parliament of the Republic of South Africa. Thereafter, explanations of how I have collected, recorded, stored, read, understood, selected, coded, and analysed my data have been provided. Lastly ethical considerations, reliability concerns, reflections on validity, generalisability and limitations were considered.

The next chapter presents the data derived in this study, i.e., thirty-one speech extracts selected from education budget vote speeches between 1994 and 2021 inclusive, as presented by national education ministers in South Africa's national parliament.

Chapter Four: Findings

4.1 General Orientation To Chapter

This chapter, which hinges on a conceptual and temporal framing[143], provides relevant data[144] to answer this study's research questions, which are:

Main research question:

How has the concept of education as a public good been positioned within, and shaped by, national education policies since 1994 in South Africa?

Sub-research-questions:

1. How have education priorities attached to the public good been addressed in national education budget speeches in the period 1994 to 2021?
2. How, if at all, has education as a public good been changed, adapted or evolved in post-1994 South Africa?
3. What has changed in the ways education (and the provision thereof) have been conceptualised and positioned within education budget vote speeches in the period 1994 to 2021?
4. How, if at all, has the changing notion of education as a public good affected education provision as a human right?

My search for relevant data began with excerpts related to basic education as a public good; second, excerpts that described conditionalities and constraints to public education, and lastly, extracts that highlighted elements of privatisation[145] in the education sector. These conceptual categories were populated with multiple speech extracts from the education budget vote speeches and further disaggregated in terms of temporality.

Two painful issues emerged in this chapter. Firstly, given the limitation of the final word count[146], I cannot possibly reproduce every single relevant quotation to this study, irrespective of its significance. Instead, I have attempted to make a judicious and meaningful

[143] This duality results in the stated concepts inevitably sliding across time in meaningful ways. Temporality in this study, refers to and denotes that a conceptual relationship exists within and across a time frame (Quinton & Reynolds, 2018:93).
[144] This data set takes the form of speech extracts found in the education budget vote speeches presented by education ministers from 1994 to 2021.
[145] See Section 2.3 which provides details of the various forms that Privatisation presents itself in education.
[146] I note that the word limitation of a master's degree in the School of Education at the University of Cape Town is 30 000 words.

sampling that enables me to illustrate the major directions of the education budget vote speeches[147]. Secondly, these extracts are not limited to one category but are interrelated. However, for logical flow, related extracts are grouped under single subheadings.

4.2 Public Education's Ideal Conception: Constitutionally-Mandated School Provision And Governance

In this 1995 extract, Minister Bengu[148] cautions against assuming that recent elections had solved all the country's social problems.

> More than half of the millions of our citizens are learning, teaching and working in unacceptably poor working conditions (RSA, 1995a:1720).

Minister Bengu highlights poor learning, teaching, and working conditions in 1995. I note that these conditions were not euphemised for party-political gain. Instead, his 1997 extract highlights parliamentary politics and focuses on the legality of educational inequality:

> A justifiable Bill of Rights cannot permit the inherited gross disparities in per capita public funding of education to continue. It is morally repugnant and intolerable… Moreover, the Constitution requires that services be provided equitably. Despite some shifts in the right direction, there are severe imbalances in the provincial spending in education. If we in government did nothing about that, we would be liable at law (RSA, 1997:1547).

Professor Bengu acknowledges the disparity in per capita State funding of public education despite a "justified and widely accepted" Bill of Rights, and consequently criticises the government's funding model, making clear that he holds it to be "morally repugnant and intolerable" should "inherited gross disparities in per capita public funding of education" be allowed to persist in the new democratic political dispensation after 1994. Furthermore, he cites the "severe imbalances in the provincial spending in education", drawing explicit attention to the policy issue of decentralisation[149] of public education funding, which

[147] The total word count of education budget vote speeches, from 1994 to 2021 (inclusive), amount to over 93 000 words. This was whittled down to thirty-one extracts, totalling 1458 words.
[148] Education Minister Sibusiso Bengu, an IFP member (Buthelezi, 2009), served as President Nelson Mandela's first education minister.
[149] Decentralisation was formally introduced in the South African education system through the South African Schools Act 84 of 1996 (RSA, 1996e).

provides provinces the freedom to explore different spending priorities as those proposed by national budgeting guidelines. The minister notes that this produces "severe imbalances" to the equitable provision of education. Finally, the minister accepts the constitutional mandate on his ministry that "if… government did nothing [to rectify the issue]," it would be liable at law[150].

Minister Pandor's 2005 education budget vote speech presents her beliefs about public education in the following way:

> We committed ourselves to a right to basic education, unqualified by the availability of resources… It is clear that much more needs to be done to ensure that exercise of this right is available in all schools, whatever their financial means or location (RSA, 2005b:9).

Drawing on the 1955 Freedom Charter, Minister Pandor confirms that South Africa's new Constitution guarantees all citizens the right to basic education. She acknowledges that education funding in 2005 does not match the Constitution's desired outcomes and that "much more needs to be done to ensure that this right is available in all schools" (Republic of South Africa, 2005:9).

In contrast to Minister Pandor's 2005 extract, Minister Motshekga's[151] 2013 extract praises National Assembly (NA) members.

> You have indeed nurtured and jealously guarded children's constitutional rights to education (RSA, 2013a:1-2).

Mrs Motshekga praises NA members for protecting children's Constitutional right to education. She implies that the NA is supportive, honest, and hardworking in their efforts to create an equitable system of education. The unwavering support by Minister Motshekga of fellow NA members will be taken up in the analysis chapter.

[150] This acknowledgement, in legal terms, is known as *animus nocendi* – which refers to being in possession of the exact knowledge or skillset required to "harm intentionally" (Fellmeth & Horwitz, 2009:32).
[151] South Africa's fourth education minister.

Lastly in this section, Minister Motshekga's 2016 extract alludes to the Freedom Charter's ideal of free, compulsory, universal and equal education for all children (McKinley, 2015:63).

> The effects on children of Vuwani arising from such destruction of public assets, the infringement on their right to basic education, and the irreplaceable files and data destroyed at those gutted schools cannot be quantified into rands and cents, it is simply devastating and unacceptable to the extreme (RSA, 2016a:2).

A close reading of South Africa's Bill of Rights, Section 29(1), will illuminate that, unlike further education, the right to a basic education is unqualified[152] and limitless[153]. Using this context, the minister addresses the violent 2016 protests in Vuwani, in Limpopo province, to underscore that the right to education is sacrosanct, unqualified, and limitless. Minister Motshekga highlights that the infringement of learners' rights, in affected schools, is criminal in nature, unquantifiable, and simply unacceptable.

4.3 Conditionalities In/Constraints To Public Education

4.3.1 Parliament's Squandered Chances To Achieve Equitable Education

Minister Bengu's 1997 extract is directly addressed to the NA.

> I regard this body as being co-responsible with my Ministry for transforming our wildly contradictory educational inheritance into the powerhouse of learning, skill, enterprise, cultural expression, self-discipline, morality, democratic practice, and strong citizenship which it must become (RSA, 1997:1543).

In this excerpt, Professor Bengu emphasises the NA's accountability by reminding his fellow members of Parliament that they[154] share responsibility for transforming the inherited unequal education system. This is a deeply significant statement, as the NA has the responsibility of reviewing, debating, and accepting education policies and funding strategies that inform systemic educational structures. In principle, the NA can reject the proposed education budget and ask the Finance Minister to adjust the funding model to reflect current

[152] Not dependent on the availability of resources.
[153] Refers to the idea that basic education is "immediately realisable" and that nothing should prohibit a learner from receiving an equitable education (Veriava, Thom & Hodgson, 2017:26).
[154] Referring to 400 National Assembly members who share responsibility with the Department of Education.

inequities (RSA, 2016b). Continued acceptance of education budgets highlights the role of democracy[155] in parliamentary politics and the NA's internal power struggles[156].

4.3.2 Infrastructure Deficit

Professor Asmal's[157] 2002 extract addresses an order made by President Mbeki:

> In line with the President's injunction that no child should learn under a tree, as he announced in the State of The Nation address earlier this year, we will intensify our efforts to end the conditions of physical degradation in our schools. Such conditions threaten the health of students and teachers alike and radically restrict the social and teaching activities of schools. We shall interpret the President's statement as meaning any condition in a school which is dangerous to the children (RSA, 2002a:28-29).

In 2002, rural and township public schools were vastly inferior to their ex-Model C counterparts. President Mbeki, wary of this, commits in his 2002 SONA[158] to urgently allocate the necessary resources to eradicate poor schooling conditions (RSA, 2002b). Professor Asmal interprets his statement to include "any condition in a school which is dangerous to the children".

Minister Pandor's first education budget vote speech in 2004 highlights another of President Mbeki's professed commitment to service delivery made during a 2004 SONA address[159].

> We are doing all in our power to meet the commitments made by the President to eliminate mud-wall schools and other unsafe school buildings in the course of this financial year… All our provincial colleagues agreed to scrutinise already tight budgets to ensure that no child learns under trees by 31 March 2005… In

[155] Society relying on their elected officials to represent their interests.
[156] Section 2.5 addresses these struggles and the tensions that arise when elected NA members represent their political party with its unique agendas and operate as representatives of society whilst serving as agents of the institution of parliament (Konstantinova et al., 2019:4).
[157] Professor Kader Asmal also worked as a professor of human rights at the University of the Western Cape (Asmal, Hadland & Levy, 2011:20-29). This experience, no doubt, played a key role in his understanding of education as a basic human right and a public good.
[158] President Mbeki presented this SONA address on the 8th of February 2002.
[159] President Mbeki's 2004 SONA address, presented to parliament on the 21st May 2004, included the following promise, "By the end of this financial year, we shall ensure that there is no learner and student learning under a tree, mud-school or any dangerous conditions that expose learners and teachers to the elements" (RSA, 2004c).

> fact, I think it is a national disgrace that our children learn in such conditions (RSA, 2004b:9-10).

The President publicly commits to replace inadequate facilities by financial year-end, 2004. Minister Pandor makes it clear that her department, as well as all provincial departments, have tight budgets, but are doing all in their power to meet the commitments. She also comments that it is "a national disgrace" for children to learn in such inadequate conditions, showing that she, like her predecessors, views education as a public good and a human right.

Furthermore, Minister Motshekga's 2010 extract highlights the 2010 Soccer World Cup and quantifies the educational infrastructural backlog:

> We will not live up to our claim that every child is a national asset if we do not concentrate our efforts on tackling our immense infrastructural challenges… estimated at R140billion… the current rate of financial allocations means we can anticipate eliminating our infrastructure… backlogs only in 20 years'... In order to address this and accelerate our infrastructure improvement programme, we will draw explicitly on the construction capacity and momentum created to complete the stadia for the FIFA 2010 Soccer World Cup event. The DBE is working with the Development Bank of Southern Africa and Treasury regarding appropriate financing models and capacity for this accelerated school infrastructure improvement programme (RSA, 2010b:14-15).

This excerpt must be understood within the context of national optimism that had swept through the country at the time prior to (and as a result of) the 2010 Soccer World Cup. In addition, Minister Motshekga was about to sign the 'National Policy for an Equitable Provision of an Enabling School Physical Teaching and Learning Environment' (NPEP), which identified the minimum norms and standards for equitable school infrastructure (Veriava, Thom & Hodgson, 2017).

Despite the positivity, the minister's extract highlights an infrastructural backlog of R140billion which, according to her, would only be eradicated by 2030. Tied to this is the claim that "every child is a national asset". In essence, the minister implies that South Africa's future is in jeopardy if infrastructure backlogs are not addressed effectively. Millions of lost "assets," i.e., children, would be detrimental to the economy; instead of adding value by utilising their skills (learnt at school), they would become a burden on the fiscus.

Lastly, in 2018, Lumka Mketwa, a five-year-old from Bizana, Eastern Cape, fell into her school's pit latrine and drowned. This followed the similar tragedy of Michael Komape, in 2014, near Polokwane[160]. Minister Motshekga's 2018 extract acknowledges these deaths[161]:

> The fact that we had to face two fatalities… Grade R children drowning in pit latrines is lamentable and very embarrassing and could have been prevented. We are mobilising all available resources, including the participation of the private sector and the build industry (RSA, 2018:16-17).

Despite the NPEP (RSA, 2010a) identifying infrastructural standards, it was only in 2013 that the legally binding Norms and Standards for School Infrastructure Policy was published (Veriava, Thom & Hodgson, 2017:240). This would effectively ban pit latrines, assist in holding the DBE accountable[162] and would eventually lead to court cases for compensation for the Mketwa and Komape families[163].

4.3.3 Current Realities Of South Africa's Quintile System And The Public Good

The 1994 national budget had been set while the country still operated *de facto* according to inherited apartheid structures.[164] It was in this context that Minister Bengu presented his 1994 education budget vote speech and outlined his mandate:

> The ownership, governance, and funding of schools, which currently derive from the apartheid era, must be brought within a coherent, national, non-racial framework (RSA, 1994:2777).

As from May 1994, Minister Bengu's ministry had worked systematically and constitutionally[165] to replace the previous education model and transfer all responsibilities to

[160] Saba, Macupe and Pather (2018)
[161] These tragedies follow, logically, the infrastructural backlogs described by the minister in her 2010 speech.
[162] It must be noted that the mobilisation of "all resources" was not a self-produced action taken by the DBE, but rather one that resulted from external pressure. The organisation Equal Education sought legal judgment for the DBE's consistently inadequate provision of infrastructure (Equal Education, 2016).
[163] At the time of writing, Lumka Mketwa's case is on-going. Michael Komape's case was finalised in 2019, with the Department of Basic Education ordered to pay R1.4million in compensation to the Komape family (Rabkin, 2019). Furthermore, Judge Gerrit Muller handed down judgment on 17 September 2021 which compels the State to "provide a list of all schools with pit toilets within 90 days along with plans to eradicate them" (Ryan, 2021). In response to these deaths, the presidency ordered a national audit of school infrastructure, which was conducted in 2019. It shows that the "DBE is clearly facing a challenge… as the allocation [for infrastructure development] … has been diminishing quite drastically over the years" (Department of Basic Education, 2019).
[164] I.e., the racially segregated arrangements which had resulted in 19 different education departments (National Education Co-ordinating Committee, 1992:11).

a single national department with nine provincial departments (RSA, 1994:5). In the same address, Minister Bengu shifts into his personal capacity and admits that not all systemic change would be achievable.

> I am compelled to voice my personal disappointment that the level of resourcing available to education does not make possible a definite statement of when general education could become fully non-fee-paying (RSA, 1994:2778).

The minister's personal disappointment highlights, that despite a draft policy which had proposed making "10 years of free and compulsory education for all" (RSA, 1994:5), his government's financial allocations did not allow for general education to become fully non-fee paying[166].

In keeping with the Stated anti-discriminatory policy stances of his predecessors, Professor Asmal's 2003 speech affirms government's anti-discrimination stance:

> There is no place in education for the continued maintenance of historical privilege. Nothing should work to the disadvantage of schools that suffered under apartheid, and which now should be receiving additional assistance, which the Government is committed to. Any continuation of privilege will contradict the equity imperative (RSA, 2003:37-38).

Professor Asmal provides a clear warning that continuing any form of privilege contradicts the task of bringing educational equity. The analysis chapter will examine the tension between financial constraints, the equity imperative and whether privilege and inequality has prevailed in the post-1994 period in South African basic education.

Further to this, Minister Pandor, in the 2006 extract below, presents one of the Education department's[167] tools to reduce poverty.

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[165] The basis of this restructuring was framed upon the Interim Constitution, which was an interluding historic bridge to facilitate democracy (Republic of South Africa, 1993). The Interim Constitution was a document adopted by the tricameral parliament on the 27th of April 1994 and was superseded by the 1996 Constitution.

[166] This is clearly demonstrated in the Draft White paper 1030 of 1994 and White Paper 96 of 1995 (Republic of South Africa, 1995b) of which the minister refers to constantly in his 1994 speech (Republic of South Africa, 1994).

[167] At the time of this speech, the department was still a joint venture between Basic and Higher Education.

> Poverty is another aspect we have to act on. The successful introduction of no-fee schools is our partial answer. As I indicated last year, no-fee schools must not become ghettoised into no-quality schools (RSA, 2006:7).

Minister Pandor is adamant that 'no-fee' schools[168] should not be deprived, isolated, and disadvantaged, and, crucially, should not become "ghettoised" and "no-quality" schools. Nevertheless, the majority of these schools remain in a cycle of poverty due to legacy issues and underfunding (Veriava, Thom & Hodgson, 2017:143). One year later, Minister Pandor categorically stated that 'no-fee' schools may not be enough for South Africa's context and proposed a radical policy shift:

> While the [no-fee schools] policy is a welcome development… I believe the time may have arrived for us to debate whether South Africa shouldn't draft legislation offering all children free primary school education. This would, I believe, bring us in line with modern democracies worldwide (RSA, 2007:8-9).

This suggestion is not new. It was central to the 1955 Freedom Charter, and is one of the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's)[169]. Moreover, the minister is right that most "democracies worldwide" offer free public education, albeit that her qualification is for free education at primary level only. This claim will be examined in the analysis chapter.

Furthermore, Minister Motshekga's 2009 speech highlights two significant issues in this study, i.e., the issue of charging fees for public education and the related issue of capping school fees when these are charged.

> Regarding the capping of fees… it is also quite irresponsible to allow, by default, State assets like schools to be privatised by high fees so that they exclude children of poorer parents who cannot afford to pay the fees. This is an open issue, but we are committed to saying that we are not going to allow public schools to charge R50 000, because that will, in a way, really be like stealing State assets by privatising them and keeping them for the rich only… on the question of charging fees, I am not sure why we should deny parents who are

[168] Essentially, all schools are classified into levels of poverty and previous disadvantage. Level 1-3 schools are considered the most disadvantaged. These schools are termed 'no-fee' schools. They are exempt from charging fees and are sustained by funding received from the government.
[169] Also referred to as SDG4 in the 2017 speech extract (Republic of South Africa, 2017).

> willing to give their children the best gift they can, which is education, by saying they can't pay… There should be a spirit of making sure that there is cross-subsidisation in the system (RSA, 2009:95).

Minister Motshekga notes that, despite legal permission for Quintiles 4-5 schools to charge fees[170], schools that charge fees that are beyond the scope of poor parents to pay (and therefore exclude the poor) are irresponsible because this results in State assets *de facto* being privatised (RSA, 2009). The minister publicly suggests a figure of R50 000 per year as signalling some form of cap, but this is arbitrary, and she advances no data to indicate how this figure was arrived at. To date, no such policy pronouncement has ever been made. The result is that multiple "fortified schools[171]" (Muller, 2020:5) have set school fees around (and sometimes well above) the R50 000 figure mentioned by Minister Motshekga in her education budget vote speech in 2009.

Minister Motshekga's 2021 education budget vote speech was presented in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic which had a disastrous financial impact[172] across the education sector. As a result, many independent and private schools were not able to pay salaries[173], while, of course, fully-employed public schools' teachers' salaries and other payments continued to be paid by the State, although School-Governing Body (SGB) posts were, in many cases, unable to be paid, either in full or in part, by public schools. In the following excerpt, Minister Motshekga discusses the pandemic's impact on education:

> R2.4billion… was earmarked to secure SGB-appointed educator posts in fee-paying public schools, and educator posts in State subsidised independent schools. These posts were under threat as schools were experiencing financial distress as a result of parents being unable to pay school fees… Through this initiative, we saved about 27 662 posts (RSA, 2021b:7-8).

[170] Section 39(1) of the SASA (Republic of South Africa, 1996c), empowers the school governing body of Quintile 4 and 5 schools to "take reasonable measures… to supplement the resources supplied by the State in order to improve the quality of education" (Veriava, Thom & Hodgson, 2017:148).
[171] Schools that are usually in Quintile 4-5 and that have used the concept of 'Opportunity hoarding' through their School Governing Bodies to fortify and strengthen all aspects of the school (Muller, 2020:5).
[172] The World Bank (2020:1) notes that the economic effect of multiple lockdowns and the stifling of income on families is estimated to be "significantly larger than anything seen since the financial crisis of 2008."
[173] This was especially evident during Lockdown Level 5 which lasted 35 days (SABC News, 2020).

It must be noted that the R2,4billion used was already budgeted for the Presidential Youth Employment Initiative (RSA, 2021a) and provincial payments for UIF-related issues, amongst others (RSA, 2021b). The main point to note here is that because of this creative budget restructuring, 27 662 teaching posts were saved. This thought will be examined further in the analysis chapter.

4.4 Privatisation Of/In Public Education

4.4.1 Systems Analysis' Role In South African Education

Professor Bengu's 1998 education budget vote speech reflected an international trend toward efficiency and shows the State following global best practices to provide quality education:

> The fundamental challenge in the management of our national education system is not per se that of finding additional money, however welcome that would be, but rather that of discovering how to allocate funds more equitably, to cut waste, to improve the work-rate, and to target spending where it will make a real difference to education quality (RSA, 1998:2027).

It is interesting that the tasks mentioned above are among the notions that are relied on and encouraged by the World Bank (Rose, 2002:4). Related to efficiency, Minister Pandor's 2008 extract highlights the DBE's agreements with teacher unions. Of particular importance for this study is the link between learner performance and teacher evaluation:

> We concluded a historic agreement with teacher unions… For the first time in our history, learner performance will be a part of teacher evaluation (RSA, 2008:18-19).

The Education Labour Relations Council[174] is responsible for promoting "labour peace in the public education sector" (Education Labour Relations Council [ELRC], 2022). The word "evaluation" and its link to teachers in this excerpt denotes the ever-changing role of educators in South Africa (Omar, 2002:96-98) whilst "performance" refers to students' academic achievements, a flawed metric for evaluating teachers (Fontdevila & Verger, 2015:25). This system was introduced to incentivise teachers to improve their skills and boost

[174] The Education Labour Relations Council consists of the State, as Employer, and Trade Unions who represent employees.

national teaching quality. The analysis chapter examines how this system has changed post-2008.

Furthermore, Minister Motshekga's 2014 speech extract highlights the DBE's goals as a department:

> In line with heightening accountability and enhancing service delivery, the department is invoking Sections 3 and 8 of the National Education Policy Act of 1996 to hold districts and provinces that are not performing accountable. We believe that the time has come to place responsibility and accountability where it belongs (RSA, 2014:4).

The minister cites the National Education Policy Act 27 of 1996, which supercedes provincial education policies. In addition, the minister directs and monitors education provision, delivery, and performance across the country (RSA, 1996d). The DBE uses judicial force and current regulations to shift quality education responsibility to provinces. The analysis chapter will analyse this statement as part of its larger analysis.

4.4.2 Public-Private-Partnerships

Minister Bengu's 1996 speech indicates that policy changes would be vital post-apartheid. He states it as a goal:

> To put right what has been wrong in the [apartheid] provision and resourcing of public education and training at all levels, and to develop the new organisational and governance structures, policy instruments, funding frameworks and legislation required to chart a new course for the system (RSA, 1996a:1529).

Minister Bengu confirms that apartheid created severe problems with the provisioning and resourcing of public education. He notes that his ministry must correct this injustice by implementing new organisational and governance structures, policies, and funding frameworks. Section 2.3 of this study suggests that privatisation, in its various forms, is part and parcel of Education Minister Bengu's "course for the system."

Minister Asmal's 2000[175] extract contains a conditional assertion that has proven true (Department of Basic Education [DBE], 2020a):

> If public education is not delivering the level of service that people require, they will go elsewhere... Private providers of all varieties are ready to exploit any perceived gap left by inadequate public provision… What is more, as soon as the public system fails to represent the South African people at large, its capacity for beneficial influence on the civic values and virtues of our new nation will be severely diminished (RSA, 2000:16).

The minister's use of the word "exploit" leads one to think that there is a somewhat 'improper' act occurring. However, private provision of education is constitutionally permissible and is now no longer unconventional[176]. The interesting point in this extract is that the minister is aware of how a flight to private education may affect civic norms and virtues. This will be analysed further in the next chapter.

Minister Motshekga's 2015 extract contains a transparent view of Public-Private-Partnerships (PPPs):

> The importance of PPPs is a prevalent theme in the National Development Plan. To this end, we have budgeted R200million. This allocation is meant to leverage the partnership contributions from the private sector (RSA, 2015a:14).

It is interesting to note that an amount of R200million had been budgeted for leverage purposes, which means that it would be used to enable and influence private companies to donate and/or fund collaboration efforts with the DBE. My analysis chapter will attempt to examine this in light of advice dispensed by the World Bank.

Finally in this section, Minister Motshekga's 2017 extract acknowledges the National Education Collaboration Trust (NECT). The NECT is funded by government, business partners, and foundations, on the belief that collaboration and concerted effort by role players increases our nation's ability to give good education to all children (National Education Collaboration Trust [NECT], 2019b).

[175] Presented during the presidency of Thabo Mbeki.
[176] In 2000 there were 971 registered independent schools (Department of Education, 2002), which increased to 1922 in 2019 (DBE, 2020a). These schools are fee-paying, with some receiving State subsidies, which is constitutionally permitted in Section 29(4).

> Guided by its operational mathematical mantra that says the NECT + NDP = hope, growth and future, in its short stint - the NECT has made a great impact in the sector (RSA, 2017:13).

Minister Motshekga notes that the NECT's mantra is closely tied to government's National Development Plan of 2030, which seeks to develop a strong education system crucial to combat poverty (NECT, 2019b). Furthermore, this extract brings to light that certain national and provincial education department functions, such as school district support, are now being outsourced to PPPs, which removes the responsibility from the DBE. This phenomenon will be discussed further in the analysis chapter.

4.4.3 Human Capital Theory, The Access Doctrine, And The Fourth Industrial Revolution

Minister Bengu's 1999 speech includes a pragmatic view of education's role in society.

> It is unreasonable to expect the education system bear the full burden of society's ills. But the moral crisis in our nation will overwhelm us if the education system is not in the forefront and front line of our struggle to reclaim communities from the ravages of a brutal past and a despairing present (RSA, 1999a:1373).

The 1999 unemployment rate in South Africa was 29.94% (Macrotrends, 2021), which was linked to a host of other social problems such as increased crime and high school dropout rates[177] (Cloete, 2015:516-520). Two years later, however, Minister Asmal highlights with sincere joy an achievement made under his leadership:

> South Africa has one of the highest enrolment rates for children of school-going age, compared to other developing countries... Our gains have been with regard to the poor, African and rural children (RSA, 2001:31-32).

The success of achieving high enrolment rates is noteworthy and signifies that the advice provided by the World Bank to developing countries of prioritising basic education as a vector for development through investments in human capital (Lewin, 2008:3-4) was not only being taken seriously, but also being adhered to religiously. The issue, however, is that despite high enrolment rates, obscene levels of poverty and inequality remained ingrained in

[177] These social ills cannot be divorced from the pre-apartheid and apartheid years of oppression, devastating inequality, and the brutal repression of the human rights of black, indian and coloured people.

South African society. This is highlighted by Minister Motshekga in her 2011 education budget vote speech extract:

> In the context of high unemployment and skills shortage, reducing poverty depends on giving South Africans a better educational start in life. This is precisely what makes education… the real reason for working together to create a delivery-driven basic education system (RSA, 2011:2).

The minister's assertion that improving the quality of education will reduce poverty is an interesting detail. There is noticeably no mention of other factors, such as economic and political changes that need to be implemented to reduce poverty. The progression of reliance on education to solve society's ills, from 1999 to 2011 (and beyond), is noteworthy and will be problematised further in my analysis chapter.

Furthermore, Minister Motshekga's 2012 extract highlights the DBE's drive towards e-Education.

> Our department, together with the Department of Communications, has developed a connectivity plan providing a comprehensive framework for achieving cost-effective and efficient connectivity for all schools (RSA, 2012b:15).

The Department of Communications, Telkom, and the DBE had signed an agreement that would provide Internet connectivity to 1650 schools for three years. This initiative would also create the possibility for further connectivity across South Africa. The framework, as envisaged in the 2004 White Paper on e-Education (RSA, 2004a), which promises "cost-effective and efficient connectivity for all schools" is a step towards realising the Norms and Standards for School Infrastructure Policy (RSA, 2013b) and for furthering South Africa's involvement in and success towards the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR).

Minister Motshekga's 2019 extract cites a survey conducted by Oxford University that has direct implications for the Basic Education sector in South Africa:

> Research… reveals that 45% of the current jobs, will disappear within the next 10 to 20 years... Therefore, the need for the basic education sector to refocus the

> curriculum towards… the demands of the changing world, is inescapable (RSA, 2019b:12-13).

The DBE's intention to prepare for the 4IR includes universal internet connectivity, and - as I will show in several of the extracts to follow – the DBE's transition from curriculum subjects typically geared towards the first three industrial revolutions as opposed to curriculum subjects that are geared towards 4IR-directed occupations are not yet in existence, but are being phased in. Minister Motshekga's 2020 extract includes such an example:

> DBE has developed the coding and robotics curriculum for Grade 9 (RSA, 2020:8).

The coding and robotics curriculum is fundamental for increasing South Africa's knowledge pool in all IT-related vocations. It must be noted that the offering of this subject is dependent on a school's ability to access the necessary infrastructure. Therefore, schools that currently do not yet have the minimum standards as gazetted in Notice R920 of 2013 (The Norms and Standards for School Infrastructure Policy) are at a major disadvantage and are already fundamentally ill-prepared for the 4IR.

Finally, Minister Motshekga's 2021 extract highlights the introduction of two other subjects:

> I am pleased to announce the introduction of a FET level subject; Marine Sciences… it is particularly relevant to our NDP goals, since the Ocean Economy contributes over 6billion US dollars toward our country's gross domestic product… we are [also] collaborating with the Department of Transport to finalise the draft Aviation Curriculum (RSA, 2021b:13-15).

The minister adds that Marine Sciences will contribute value and skills to the Ocean Economy. Again, the absence of information related to the norms and standards of schools prohibits many schools from accessing these subjects. This undeniably disqualifies them from the benefits associated with preparing for the 4IR. This will be discussed further in my analysis chapter.

4.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has reported on this study's main findings. My task was to reduce the raw data consisting of around 93 000 words to a chapter consistent to that of a master's dissertation. In

the process, I had to make meaningful decisions of what to include and what to exclude. These findings are constructed from the most crucial speech extracts from the 1994 to 2021 (inclusive) education budget vote speeches delivered in the chambers of the National Assembly of the South African Parliament that explicitly answer my research questions.

These extracts were structured using two fundamental framings. Firstly, a conceptual framing that was expressed through issues that relate to the ideal conception of the public good, conditionalities in and constraints to public education, and the use of privatisation in the education sector. Secondly, a related temporal framing was used which allowed for the concepts to move across time in required ways. Each extract included its own description of content and context. This dual framing will enable me to analyse my data in a meaningful manner using my literature review, conceptual framework as well as my chosen methodology, the Narrative Policy Analysis Framework.

In conclusion, two tabulated representations that summarise my findings are included as appendices to this study. Appendix 1 is disaggregated according to analysis themes and uses several speeches across different years to populate each theme. Appendix 2 is disaggregated chronologically and includes the context (both political and general) of that speech[178]. The findings of each speech extract in both tables are summarised and the policy document/s mentioned, either directly or indirectly, are identified.

The next chapter introduces the analytic themes that have emerged while implementing this study's research methodology, a Narrative Policy Framework leveraged by thematic analysis.

[178] I.e., who the president was at the time of presentation, the length of the speech, etc.

Chapter Five: Analysis

5.1 General Orientation To Chapter

This chapter begins with a discussion of each analysis theme in relation to my literature review. The themes discussed are:

Theme 1: Constitutionally-mandated school provision and governance
Theme 2: Parliament's squandered chances to achieve equitable education
Theme 3: Infrastructure deficit
Theme 4: The current realities of South Africa's quintile system and the public good
Theme 5: Systems analysis' role in South African education
Theme 6: Public-Private Partnerships
Theme 7: Human Capital Theory, The Access Doctrine, and the Fourth Industrial Revolution

Thereafter, in Sections 5.3 to 5.7, I attempt to gain deeper insights from Section 5.2 by extracting specific answers to my research questions[179]. The table below maps the questions to specific themes to indicate how the themes relate to the research questions.

Research Question		Analysis Theme
Main research question:	How has the concept of education as a public good been positioned within, and shaped by, national education policies since 1994 in South Africa?	Theme 1 & Theme 5
Sub-research questions:	How have education priorities attached to the public good been addressed in national education budget speeches in the period 1994 to 2021?	Theme 7
	How, if at all, has education as a public good been changed, adapted or evolved in post-1994 South Africa?	Theme 4 & Theme 6
	What has changed in the ways education (and the provision thereof) have been conceptualised and positioned within education budget vote speeches in the period 1994 to 2021?	Theme 3
	How, if at all, has the changing notion of education as a public good affected education provision as a human right?	Theme 2

Table 1 - A mapping of this study's analytic themes as they relate to this study's research questions.

[179] Although there are overlaps and connections, this study's research questions are addressed specifically in the analysis themes, mentioned in Section 5.1.

The rest of this chapter develops this table by unpacking the themes as they address their related research question. The chapter ends with a set of concluding remarks.

5.2 Discussions of Analysis Themes

5.2.1 Theme 1: Constitutionally-Mandated School Provision And Governance

South Africa's Constitution protects the right to basic education and is an attempt to correct colonial and apartheid-era injustices (RSA, 1996b:1-13). This follows the pattern to prioritise basic education[180] as it offered, the World Bank emphasises, a higher return on investment (Verger & Bonal, 2012:126). This study consequently views the World Bank as "grand" villain for its role in commodifying public education. As mentioned in Section 3.2.2 of this study's Methodology Chapter, the concept of 'villain' derives from the Narrative Policy Framework, which this study has adopted. Characters, in the entirety of this study, are therefore those who act, or who are acted upon in ways that define them as either hero/s, villain/s and/or victim/s (Jones & McBeth, 2010:341).[181]

Furthermore, Ministers Bengu, Pandor and Motshekga epitomise the complexity of characterisation as both hero and villain to varied degrees. Heroes because they[182] acknowledge the historical catastrophes in South African education and advocate for equity. Minister Bengu's 1995 extract, for example, reminds parliament that:

> More than half of the millions of our citizens are learning, teaching and working in unacceptably poor working conditions (RSA, 1995a:1720).

Minister Bengu's 1997 extract focuses on equity and on correcting unconstitutional education provision, financing, and governance. He notes that:

> A justifiable Bill of Rights cannot permit the inherited gross disparities in per capita public funding of education to continue. It is morally repugnant and

[180] The push to prioritise basic education (and to charge user fees) was recommended by the World Bank and was favoured by most developing nations in the early 1990s (Samoff, 1996:253). Section 2.3 of this study details this endeavor.

[181] To repeat, as mentioned in Section 3.2.2 of this study's Methodology Chapter, the concepts of 'hero,' 'villain,' and 'victim' derive from the Narrative Policy Framework, which this study has adopted. Characters, in the entirety of this study, are therefore those who act, or who are acted upon in ways that define them as either hero/s, villain/s and/or victim/s (Jones & McBeth, 2010:341).

[182] Education Minister Asmal also acknowledges these historical catastrophe's; however, he is excluded in this account simply because his speech extracts do not form part of this particular analysis theme. His absence is in no way meant to suggest that he does not acknowledge the injustices of the pre-apartheid and apartheid eras.

> intolerable… Moreover, the Constitution requires that services be provided equitably. Despite some shifts in the right direction, there are severe imbalances in the provincial spending in education. If we in government did nothing about that, we would be liable at law (RSA, 1997:1547).

Minister Bengu's 1997 extract indicates that government constitutionally compelled access to basic education to remedy apartheid's imbalances, but did not provide an adequate public expenditure framework[183] for provinces. Rose (2002:5) confirms that:

> Although basic education and health were seen as areas for public expenditure [growth]… in practice this conflicted with the principle of reducing overall government expenditure. This meant that, in reality, education expenditure often suffered, even though governments often made considerable efforts to protect the education budget where possible.

Noting Rose (2002:5), it is reasonable to suggest that in an effort to reduce expenditure, government followed the neoliberal GEAR policy (RSA, 1996c)[184]. Furthermore, Minister Bengu's 1997 acknowledgement of decentralisation challenges[185] refutes the assumption, made by the then main opposition political party, the National Party (RSA, 1997:1561), that the ANC was concealing realities in South African education. Instead, the ANC publicly acknowledged and aimed to eliminate provincial inequalities. State-reliance on a World Bank-backed neoliberal agenda, however, created unsustainable economic imbalances that infiltrated the 1997 education budget and beyond[186].

Additionally, by intentionally (or unintentionally) buying into the global discourse of what constituted effective educational policy[187], Ministers Bengu, Pandor, and Asmal were trapped by their own language[188] and the ANC's neoliberal policy choices. They had no alternative

[183] Section 5.2.4 discusses the current framework, which this study suggests is insufficient in addressing the issues faced by provinces.
[184] As mentioned in Section 2.3.3.1 of this study's literature review, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy prioritised fiscal discipline and privatisation (RSA, 1996c).
[185] That provinces are not legally mandated to spend their received budgets on education as prescribed by the National DBE.
[186] These imbalances have persisted since democracy's dawn (Bond, 2000:192).
[187] The dominant global discourse being referred to here is the World Bank's insistence to focus on the provision of Basic education (because of its high rate of investment return), to allow user fees by decentralising control to school governing bodies, to adopt a reliance on Human Capital Theory and to simultaneously reduce government spending (Rose, 2002:5).
[188] Even though they clearly expressed the desire to break from the dominant discourse.

but to express disappointment and restate their devotion to the Constitution when the State indicated that financial constraints impeded its constitutional obligations. Minister Pandor addresses this dilemma in 2005:

> We committed ourselves to a right to basic education, unqualified by the availability of resources… It is clear that much more needs to be done to ensure that exercise of this right is available in all schools, whatever their financial means or location (RSA, 2005b:9).

Furthermore, Minister Motshekga's 2016 speech addresses violent protests in Vuwani, Limpopo, and references the Constitution:

> The effects on children of Vuwani arising from such destruction of public assets, the infringement on their right to basic education, and the irreplaceable files and data destroyed at those gutted schools cannot be quantified into rands and cents, it is simply devastating and unacceptable to the extreme (RSA, 2016a:2).

Herein, Minister Motshekga acknowledges the unqualified, limitless, and immediately realisable right to basic education[189].

Furthermore, despite belief in educational equity[190], thus their characterisation as heroes, Ministers Bengu, Pandor and Motshekga[191] could also be viewed as villains, and more specifically, enablers of the "grand" villain, The World Bank, due to their lack of more vocal political pushback against neoliberal policies in basic education, and overt support for educational equity in South Africa. This lack of explicit political pushback, at least in the public domain, is evidenced by the fact that all education budget votes were crafted in full

[189] A close reading of South Africa's Bill of Rights, Section 29 (1), will illuminate that, unlike further education, the right to a basic education is not dependent on the availability of resources and is therefore designated "unqualified" (Veriava, Thom & Hodgson, 2017:27). It is also immediately realisable, i.e., a learner has a right to a basic education here and now… any limitation [by the State, or any other person/group/organisation] of the right to a basic education is unconstitutional" (Veriava, Thom & Hodgson, 2017:27). Relatedly, "limitless," refers to the idea that nothing should prohibit a learner from receiving an equitable education (Veriava, Thom & Hodgson, 2017:26).

[190] For purposes of clarity, real equitable educational change, in my opinion, coincides with the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee's definition of public education. Section 2.3.10 of my literature review notes that the term 'people's education', which was coined in 1985, refers to a public education system of quality that "eliminates capitalist norms of competition, individualism and stunted intellectual development and replaces it with one that encourages collective input and active participation by all" (Booyse, 2016b:252).

[191] The absence of Minister Asmal's name does not suggest that he is to be discounted from this account.

knowledge that a portion of the population[192] would remain under-serviced year-on-year. Minister Pandor highlights this imbalance in 2005[193].

Ironically, Minister Motshekga's 2013 extract, addressed to the NA, goes as far as to claim that children's constitutional rights have been universally protected. She asserts:

> You have indeed nurtured and jealously guarded children's constitutional rights to education (RSA, 2013a:1-2).

When examining the number of underserviced[194] schools, Minister Motshekga's remark[195] is misleading and confirms the complexity that post-apartheid education ministers are simultaneously hero/villains and enablers of the "grand" villain, The World Bank.

In conclusion, holding the right to education as sacrosanct, unqualified, and limitless allows for an interpretive extrapolation that infringements of these rights, post-1994 (caused by systemic structures of imbalanced and inequitable public funding[196] are equally criminal in nature, "cannot be quantified into rands and cents," and "is simply [as] devastating and unacceptable" as the Vuwani protests.

5.2.2 Theme 2: Parliament's Squandered Chances To Achieve Equitable Education

Parliament's embodiment of societal representation is the perspective that I wish to invoke in this chapter[197]. Post-1994, South Africans rely on their designated parliamentarians to represent them and their interests (Rule et al., 2019:23). It is no surprise then that Minister Bengu's 1997 extract expresses his belief that Parliament has fundamental responsibilities to its constituents:

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[192] Particularly those in rural and township communities, who as Section 2.2 of my literature review notes, are majority black and were historically labelled 'sub-human.'

[193] Minister Pandor addressed this imbalance in her 2005 education budget vote speech extract by stating that, "It is clear that much more needs to be done to ensure that exercise of this right is available in *all schools*, whatever their financial means or location" (RSA, 2005b:9).

[194] The DBE's 2020 infrastructure management system reports that 5771 schools still have pit latrines, 5839 schools have an unreliable water supply and 460 schools do not have electricity (DBE, 2020b:1-6).

[195] That the educational rights of children had been guarded and nurtured.

[196] Due to the World Bank's neoliberal advice expressed in the Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy (RSA, 1996c).

[197] In other words, those who were once disenfranchised (pre-1994) and who are now emancipated have full access to all the rights and responsibilities that South Africa's Constitution (RSA, 1996b) permits. Furthermore, Parliament epitomises the convergence of "the part for the whole" which is expressed in the aspirations of society through the mechanism of voting. This is explained in Section 2.5 and 2.6 of this study.

> I regard this body as being co-responsible with my Ministry for transforming our wildly contradictory educational inheritance into the powerhouse of learning, skill, enterprise, cultural expression, self-discipline, morality, democratic practice, and strong citizenship which it must become (RSA, 1997:1543).

Despite societal representation, the HSRC reports[198] that in the 2018/2019 reporting year, only 27% of South Africans trust Parliament, down from 64% in 2004 (Rule et al., 2019:7-8). The loss of public confidence indicates that society feels mis- or unrepresented by those who hold the reins of political power[199].

Furthermore, working bipartisanly[200] towards equity is a matter of 'politicisation' and 'parliamentary discourse.' These terms, explained in Section 2.5, intersect in that agents of government will use parliamentary discourses to exercise power in a democratic dispensation (Konstantinova et al., 2019). In this regard, Minister Asmal's 2000 education budget vote speech notes that:

> A budget debate ought to be the most elevated exchange of opinions on the important issues of the day. A debate on a Vote offers a great opportunity for us to contemplate what education in our new democracy is for and what it is not for (RSA, 2000:2).

Samoff's (1996:127) cliché, "words matter," illustrates that education policy discourse is heavily influenced by perspective[201]. Moreover, ministers and parliamentarians recognise their importance for improving South Africa's education system. However, despite Minister

[198] The report is part of the HSRC's Parliamentary Stakeholder Satisfaction Survey of 2018/2019 (Rule et al., 2019:7-8).

[199] Rudebeck adds that the poor, especially, need political power as they are often unrepresented or misrepresented. Building strong and deep democratic governance at all levels of society is the best way to achieve this while promoting human development (Rudebeck, 2016:15). Relatedly, President Mandela's final speech to Parliament on 26 March 1999 included the following call, "we need to re-examine our electoral system, so as to improve the nature of our relationship, as public representatives, with the voters" (RSA, 1999b).

[200] I note that despite Education Minister Bengu's official ANC membership, his strong ties to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) were important for then President Mandela to foster a sense of multi-party comradeship towards governance (Langa & Mandela, 2017:23-25). This multi-party unity in governance seems to be lacking since the era of Education Minister Pandor. The exception being Patricia De Lille's appointment as Minister of Public Works and Infrastructure in 2019 who is not a member of the ANC, but rather leads her own political party, the GOOD party (RSA, 2019a).

[201] "Words matter" (Samoff, 1996:127) becomes synonymous with the idea conveyed by David Harvey in his book "A Brief History of Neoliberalism." Harvey uses the phrase "Freedom's just another word" to illustrate how Neoliberal elites have hijacked the word "Freedom" to fit into a framework characterised by independence, choice, self-sufficiency, marketisation, Capitalism and Privatisation (Harvey, 2005:36-37).

Asmal's principled view of an education budget vote debate (RSA, 2000:2) and MPs' support for equity, education budget vote debates have never resulted in a vote being rejected for a more equitable solution. Instead, the ANC, which has always held a NA majority, has voted repeatedly in favour of the proposed education budget vote[202], which are extensions of post-1994 neoliberal policies[203] (Pithouse, 2003:119). Calls for equity seem at odds with post-apartheid education policy and practice, reflecting Bond's (2000:192) notion of "Talking Left, Acting Right."

Furthermore, Treasury's[204] "rate of return analysis" is used to calculate the best rate of return in various sectors, and in fact drives parliamentary priorities and guides State expenditure in public education (Depken, Chiseni & Ita, 2019:2). Minister Bengu, notes honestly in 1996[205] that, "We have not received enough, but this is the best that the Government can manage for now" (RSA, 1996a:1534).

Discussing the World Bank's neoliberal connections with governments and their financial implications for educational equity, Soudien (2002:448) notes that:

> The Bank needs to understand what enabling conditions are required contextually for a plan to have even the remotest of chances for success and to act as a facilitator in such a process. Anything less will lead… towards deep despair and cynicism amongst the poor, and… to increasingly frantic attempts to shut itself off from the perceived contagion of the poor. It will lead to xenophobia, racism, classism, and other forms of discrimination yet to be invented.

Almost prophetically, Soudien (2002:448) highlights the trials that await governments if continued reliance on World Bank advice (intentional or unintentional) is not matched with

[202] It must be noted that all ANC parliamentary members tow the party line and are "coached" as to achieve a singular message and to avoid showing dissent towards its own members. In this regard, all speeches are pre-read and discussed by the ANC caucus before presentation to preserve party unity and consequently political power (African National Congress, 2012:42, 65).
[203] Relating to the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy (RSA, 1996c) which encourages privatisation, the South African Schools Act 84 of 1996 (RSA, 1996e) which decentralises school governance and the National Education Policy Act 27 of 1996 (RSA, 1996d) which enforces accountability and a System's Analysis approach to education.
[204] Indirectly influenced by the World Bank.
[205] This realisation is repeated several times over the course of Education Minister Bengu's, Education Minister Asmal's and Education Minister Pandor's tenures (RSA, 1994:2777; RSA, 2000:23; RSA, 2007:8-9).

enabling conditions[206]. Failure to do so perpetuates inequity. With specific reference to South Africa, the ANC's unwavering support for the education minister (and the inequitable education budget) is, in the most generous reading, a missed opportunity to achieve educational equity.

5.2.3 Theme 3: Infrastructure Deficit

Section 2.3 of this study reveals that apartheid's political leaders, pre-1994, developed infrastructure and services for a minority whilst consciously neglecting the majority[207]. Minister Asmal's 2002 extract highlights the inherited infrastructure deficit:

> In line with the President's injunction that no child should learn under a tree, as he announced in the State of the Nation address earlier this year, we will intensify our efforts to end the conditions of physical degradation in our schools. Such conditions threaten the health of students and teachers alike and radically restrict the social and teaching activities of schools. We shall interpret the President's statement as meaning any condition in a school which is dangerous to the children (RSA, 2002a:28-29).

This section demonstrates that politicians often make pledges[208] without considering its feasibility (Lewin, 2008:9-10). Government's pre-pledged Accelerated School Infrastructure Delivery Initiative (ASIDI), for example, aims to right previous wrongs of inherited poor infrastructure. The reality, however, is confirmed by the Auditor-General's 2020 report[209] which noted that:

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[206] I.e., working bipartisanly to actively put democratic policies in place that provide adequate funding for all the various equity plans and promises. The case of increasing school fees in Malawi serves as an example of incorrect and ill-advised plans and strategies (Rose, 2002:2).

[207] Schutte (1989:285) and Soudien (2012:102) note that most schools built by the Dutch East India Company were vastly inferior and were used for the continued subjugation of locals and slaves. Furthermore, Section 2.3.4 of my literature review notes that under British rule, the State allowed black, indian and coloured education to be outsourced to Missionary schools (Kallaway, 2020:30). Section 2.3.8 of my literature review indicates that infrastructural development continued its segregated path in favour of white learners, particularly during the National Party's apartheid rule (Soudien, 2016:578). Section 2.3.8 of this study's literature review also notes that The African National Congress's creation of the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania in the 1970's was an attempted response to the purposeful denial of infrastructure for black, indian and coloured learners by the Apartheid regime and operated as "a showpiece of the liberation struggle and a symbol of what could be aspired to in a free South Africa" (Morrow, Maaba & Pulumani, 2004:3).

[208] This speech extract is tinged with an element of parliamentary politics because the pledges therein are made to garner support from a voter base to maintain political power.

[209] This report was presented during a National Parliamentary Basic Education Committee meeting on the 3rd of November 2020 in which the Auditor General of South Africa briefed members of Parliament on the Audit Outcomes & Expenditure Patterns in respect of the ASIDI programme (PMG, 2020).

> The delivery model of the ASIDI programme should be reviewed, as continually not meeting implementation timeframes have a direct bearing on the division of revenue (PMG, 2020).

Moreover, despite promises to reduce it, the infrastructure backlog has increased annually (Equal Education [EE], 2020). Minister Pandor's 2004 extract notes President Mbeki's recurring commitment:

> We are doing all in our power to meet the commitments made by the President to eliminate mud-wall schools and other unsafe school buildings in the course of this financial year… All our provincial colleagues agreed to scrutinise already tight budgets to ensure that no child learns under trees by 31 March 2005… In fact, I think it is a national disgrace that our children learn in such conditions (RSA, 2004b:9-10).

President Mbeki's deadline to eliminate dangerous school buildings was a bold move to exercise political power. The State's programmes[210], however, failed to meet President Mbeki's deadline, and by 2021 there remains no indication that the infrastructural backlog will be eliminated[211] (EE, 2020).

The extracts above must be considered in light of its global context. Section 2.3.3 of this study introduced the World Bank as a global role-player in public education. Verger and Bonal (2012:133) emphasise that the Bank encourages governments to create a welcoming climate for privatisation in infrastructure. Relatedly, Ball and Youdell (2007:41) note that:

> The World Bank offers 'privatisation toolkits' which explain how governments can privatise and regulate infrastructure services to open up opportunities for private sector investment, improve access, and protect consumers.

[210] Apart from the ASIDI, two other infrastructure programmes, the Provincial Infrastructure Programme and the Sanitation Appropriate for Education initiative, provide the sector with funding to "progressively [upgrade school] infrastructure to meet optimum standards" (RSA, 2012a:303).

[211] The Presidential Infrastructure Programme was announced by President Ramaphosa at the 2022 State of the Nation Address (RSA, 2022). This programme is intended to assist in the eradication of infrastructural backlogs. It remains to be seen if this programme has better output and results than other initiatives.

From 2009, parliamentary politics increasingly relies on privatisation to eliminate the infrastructure backlog. Minister Motshekga's 2010 speech, for example, includes another deadline and alludes to private sector assistance. She notes that:

> We will not live up to our claim that every child is a national asset if we do not concentrate our efforts on tackling our immense infrastructural challenges… estimated at R140billion… the current rate of financial allocations means we can anticipate eliminating our infrastructure… backlogs only in 20 years'... In order to address this and accelerate our infrastructure improvement programme, we will draw explicitly on the construction capacity and momentum created to complete the stadia for the FIFA 2010 Soccer World Cup event. The DBE is working with the Development Bank of Southern Africa and Treasury regarding appropriate financing models and capacity for this accelerated school infrastructure improvement programme. (RSA, 2010b:14-15).

The argument that "every child is a national asset" indicates, *inter alia*, strong links to World Bank-backed Human Capital Theory which regards learners as future economic assets (Rose, 2002:2). Additionally, this extract suggests that the hype surrounding the 2010 FIFA World Cup would be politically leveraged to improve infrastructure (RSA, 2010b:14-15).

The "appropriate financing model," which is understood as Public-Private Partnerships[212] (Robertson et al., 2012:1) is an approach where instead of investing in teachers and infrastructure, governments are outsourcing education systems and infrastructure development (Steiner-Khamsi & Draxler, 2018:110). President Ramaphosa's 2022 SONA endorses this funding model:

> Government will make an initial investment of R1.8billion in bulk infrastructure, which will unlock seven private sector projects to the value of R133billion (RSA, 2022).

To compound matters, by 2018 Lumka Mketwa and Michael Komape, had died as a result of poor infrastructure[213]. Minister Motshekga's 2018 extract addressed these tragedies:

[212] This section should be read in conjunction with Section 5.2.6.
[213] Lumka Mketwa and Michael Komape drown in their school's pit latrines covered with faeces and urine. I note that Equal Education and Section 27 are two examples of organisations that have rallied behind those

> The fact that we had to face two fatalities… Grade R children drowning in pit latrines is lamentable and very embarrassing and could have been prevented. We are mobilising all available resources, including the participation of the private sector and the build industry (RSA, 2018:16-17).

Considering what we now know regarding the State's inability to effectively eradicate the infrastructure backlog, the only appropriate way to label the State's approach is "lamentable," "embarrassing" and to stress that it "could have been prevented" (RSA, 2018:16-17).

The continued delay to deliver infrastructure by the State and constant reminders of catastrophes[214] (such as the deaths of Komape and Mketwa) offer the perfect pathway for entry for private education providers to join education reform processes as legitimate partners (Steiner-Khamsi & Draxler, 2018:30). The importance of adequate societal representation discussed in Section 5.2.2 therefore becomes of even greater importance in light of the State's Neoliberal reliance on privatisation to assist in the infrastructure backlog. It is no surprise then that Minister Motshekga's 2010 extract readily announces the participation of the private sector in the process of rectifying school infrastructure.

5.2.4 Theme 4: Current Realities Of South Africa's Quintile System And The Public Good

This section analyses the State's journey towards its quintile differential modelling of school financing, its educational equity solution. To begin, Minister Bengu's 1994 extract notes that:

> The ownership, governance, and funding of schools, which currently derive from the apartheid era, must be brought within a coherent, national, non-racial framework[215] (RSA, 1994:2777).

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affected by poor infrastructure, particularly the families of Michael Komape and Lumka Mketwa. They have been instrumental in fighting for change and assisting the families in their legal battles with the State (Ryan, 2021; Saba, Macupe & Pather, 2018).

[214] I note that several catastrophes have emerged between 2020 and 2022. The COVID-19 pandemic, perceived political riots, and natural flooding in Kwa-Zulu Natal have had a horrendous effect on schooling and schools. Considering the State's reliance of Privatisation, I estimate that the private sector will play a significant part of the rebuild process both nationally and in Kwa-Zulu Natal, further eroding the public good in favour for privatised alternatives.

[215] I note that there are historical parallels related to the amalgamation of education systems under the Union of South Africa. Section 2.2.7 attempts to highlight this historical event.

Section 2.4.3 highlights that, historically, segregated education systems stabilised privilege and sustained power relations for a white minority (Christie, 2006:374-379). The dawn of democracy was therefore a significant event. Minister Asmal's 2003 extract notes that:

> There is no place in education for the continued maintenance of historical privilege. Nothing should work to the disadvantage of schools that suffered under apartheid, and which now should be receiving additional assistance, which the Government is committed to. Any continuation of privilege will contradict the equity imperative (RSA, 2003:37-38).

Minister Asmal's assertion that Government was committed to eradicating apartheid education was genuine. This confirms, again, the State's moral and Constitutionally-mandated undertaking to provide equitable education. Initial policy preparation toyed with the notion of "10 years of free and compulsory education for all" (RSA, 1994:5). However, global contextual factors and internal (apartheid legacy) financial pressures made this difficult to implement. Instead, the State, relying on World Bank research, followed its neoliberal Reconstruction and Development Programme, and later the GEAR policy (RSA, 1996c), which allowed charging user fees[216]. Rose (2002:11) observes that:

> Recognition that governments face financial pressures prevails [which] make it difficult for most governments – even those whose philosophies might push them in this direction – to be the sole provider of 'free' education.

Minister Bengu's 1994 extract notes the financial reality and his response towards the State's selected economic framework:

> I am compelled to voice my personal disappointment that the level of resourcing available to education does not make possible a definite statement of when general education could become fully non-fee-paying (RSA, 1994:2778).

Minister Bengu's 1994 reflection echoes Rose (2002:11) on the government's goal of free public education despite financial restrictions. It must be noted that the financial constraints

[216] Psacharopoulos, a leading World Bank Education researcher, realised in the 1980s that primary education represented a good return on investment. As a result, the concept of charging user fees was later adopted in many countries. Rose (2002:2) highlights the example of Malawi, "because it was the first country in which primary school fees were increased in the 1980s based on World Bank advice."

can partly be attributed to self-imposed structural adjustment policies[217] that were initiated during the early years of former President Mandela and former President Mbeki's terms of office (Bond, 2000:156-157). The perceived contradiction between the State's intention and how the State had arranged its financial budgetary framework was a clear point of frustration and concern for Minister Bengu.

Despite the perceived contradiction, the State's introduction of quintiles and the 'no-fee' schooling system in 2005, was government's attempt at providing a framework towards equity. Minister Pandor's 2006 extract notes that:

> Poverty is another aspect we have to act on. The successful introduction of no-fee schools is our partial answer. As I indicated last year, no-fee schools must not become ghettoised into no-quality schools (RSA, 2006:7).

Ahmed and Sayed (2009:206) detail that all South African public schools are categorised by poverty and disadvantage in a tiered Quintile 1 to 5 system. Quintile Levels 1-3 are legislated the most disadvantaged and termed 'no-fee' schools. They are sustained by State funding and cannot charge user fees. Quintile 4-5 schools, however, are able to charge fees that often far exceed the sum total of State contribution. This compromise is the State's attempt at equity. Rose (2002:4), highlighting the World Bank's influence, notes that:

> Human capital allowed the World Bank to justify its own involvement in education; it also provided a rationale for the World Bank to reassess the relative role of States and markets in education. World Bank-supported research put forward efficiency and equity arguments to justify setting a price for consumers… A total retreat of the State was, however, never supported in education given the acceptance of externalities, such as education's benefits to society through improved health, reduced fertility etc., imperfections in capital and labour markets, and inadequate information about anticipated future benefits (Rose, 2002:4).

[217] As a result of advice dispensed by the World Bank (Pithouse, 2003:120).

Thus, the quintile system[218] was implemented to provide equity to underprivileged learners, and allow those who could afford user fees to pay for their education. Minister Pandor's 2006 plea, however, for 'no-fee' schools not to "become ghettoised into no-quality schools" (RSA, 2006:7) was essentially futile as most Quintile 1-3 schools largely underperform (Van der Berg, 2008:145), are plagued by socio-economic ills, and are still grossly underfunded to provide quality education to all (Ahmed & Sayed, 2009:215-216). In contrast, the majority of Quintile 4-5 schools, which have been permitted several privatisation tools[219] excel (Frempong, Reddy & Kanjee, 2011:825). Colclough (1993:197) notes how equity-inefficient the mechanisms such as the South African education quintile systems are:

> Since education helps to determine future individual incomes, market allocation would strengthen existing inequalities, by giving privileged access and higher future incomes to the richer groups. For these and other reasons, there has seemed to be a strong case for educational provision remaining an important arena for State action. Market allocation seems to conflict with some important social goals.

Minister Pandor's 2007 extract[220] seems to agree with Colclough (1993:197) on the provision of education as a public good, despite the ruling party's stated position. She notes that:

> While the [no-fee schools] policy is a welcome development… I believe the time may have arrived for us to debate whether South Africa shouldn't draft legislation offering all children free primary school education. This would, I believe, bring us in line with modern democracies worldwide (RSA, 2007:8-9).

I digress briefly to highlight that the minister's claim that "democracies worldwide" have legislation offering free public education is technically correct. However, a 2006 global report by Tomasevski (2006:9) notes that "the right to free and compulsory education is

[218] Muller and McFarlane (2017) note that some schools argue that they are incorrectly placed in their quintile. Some schools in Quintile 4-5, for example, argue that parents in their community are not able to pay school fees and cannot provide an adequate level of education. Other schools argue that they are 'limited' by being placed in the Quintile 1-3 bracket.

[219] Such as charging user fees according to market allocation and the ability to hire additional staff members through School Governing Bodies.

[220] Education Minister Pandor's 2007 stance seems evidently similar to the stance of Education Minister Bengu in his 1994 speech extract (RSA, 1994:2778).

loudly and universally proclaimed, [but] quietly and systematically betrayed," which underscores Bond's (2000:192) notion of "Talking Left, Acting Right."

South Africa's compromised attempt at achieving equity by providing both free education and allowing user fees is highlighted in Minister Motshekga's 2009 extract:

> Regarding the capping of fees… it is also quite irresponsible to allow, by default, State assets like schools to be privatised by high fees so that they exclude children of poorer parents who cannot afford to pay the fees. This is an open issue, but we are committed to saying that we are not going to allow public schools to charge R50 000[221], because that will, in a way, really be like stealing State assets by privatising them and keeping them for the rich only… on the question of charging fees, I am not sure why we should deny parents who are willing to give their children the best gift they can, which is education, by saying they can't pay… There should be a spirit of making sure that there is cross-subsidisation in the system (RSA, 2009:95).

It must be noted that Minister Motshekga does not follow through with her verbal commitment. No amendment to the South African School's Act (RSA, 1996e) was ever implemented to cap school fees. Instead, cross-subsidisation has resulted in the growth of the private sector (in several forms) within the sphere of public education.

Strikingly, even with conservative school fee estimates of R20 000[222] per annum for Quintile 4-5 schools, high levels of inequity are still preserved. Muller and McFarlane (2017) illustrate that a Quintile 4 school of 800 learners charging R20 000 per annum has an estimated income of around R10million. In contrast, a 'no-fee' paying school with an equivalent number of learners receives an estimated R941 000 from its provincial education department (PED). The difference is an estimated amount of R9million[223], which will undoubtedly be used to improve the overall quality of education offered by the Quintile 4 school (Van der Berg, 2008:148-151).

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[221] I pause here for a moment to note my personal bias towards this passage in that I am currently employed as an educator at a Quintile 5 public school that charges school fees above R50 000 per annum. As mentioned in Section 3.8 of this study, I have endeavoured to be objective and to limit, as best as possible, these biases from harmfully impacting the study in any way, shape, or form.

[222] In 2022, there are however several public schools that charge dangerously close to (or more than) the amount proclaimed by Basic Education Minister Motshekga (Thompson, 2022).

[223] See timestamp 11:45, in the online YouTube resource, for a discussion on these figures.

This study highlights that because of World Bank neoliberal advice and the South African State's own propensity to privatise (and cross-subsidise) basic education, South Africa's current education system is superficially uniform, yet fundamentally divisive. It is superficially uniform in that all learners, school staff and policies fall under one national Department of Basic Education with nine corresponding provincial Departments. It is fundamentally divisive in that there remains gross inequity and colossal disproportions of funding, which, geographically, most often still resemble the funding of the apartheid era (Ahmed & Sayed, 2009:208). South Africa's compromised attempt at achieving equity by providing both free education and allowing user fees has not eradicated the inequality, as originally suggested, but has instead magnified the inequalities (Soudien, 2002:448).

Moreover, as mentioned in Section 4.9 of my findings chapter, the emergence of COVID-19 had devastating effects across all aspects of education. Minister Motshekga's 2021 extract notes that:

> R2.4billion… was earmarked to secure SGB-appointed educator posts in fee-paying public schools, and educator posts in State subsidised independent schools. These posts were under threat as schools were experiencing financial distress as a result of parents being unable to pay school fees… Through this initiative, we saved about 27 662 posts (RSA, 2021b:7-8).

27 662 posts were saved because the DBE was able to re-allocate funding from a Presidential Youth Employment Initiative into the bank accounts of affected schools (RSA, 2021a). The creative restructuring of the education budget to meet an immediate and significant need should not be glossed over glibly, because despite a general push towards removing State involvement in education through privatisation in its various forms, it reiterates Rose's (2002:11) notion that "Governments are still expected to play a part in the financing of education."

Furthermore, the 'heroics' of the State is a well-timed feat of financial budgetary work that simultaneously highlights the acute limitations of a neoliberal, privatised and World Bank-reliant education system. Haiven (2014:25) notes that these limitations "are not simply regrettable mistakes (events) in an otherwise functional system but endemic to the capitalist order." The State-aided assistance that saved 27 662 posts across Quintile 4-5 schools as well

as independent schools is therefore a significant moment in this study and highlights the State's role in pursuing equity through both its legislative mandate as well as its actions.

Relatedly, I note that the equitable-share formula, devised by National Treasury, is the legislative means by which national revenue is divided amongst provinces and into the various quintile schools. Veriava, Thom and Hodgson (2017:48) note that the current formula is set as follows:

> National budget = Education component (48%) + Health component (27%) + Basic component (16%) + Institutional component (5%) + Poverty component (3%) + Economic output component (1%).

The education component's 48% of national revenue is divided amongst the provinces based on the number of learners enrolled in public schools in each province, while the poverty and economic output components are distributed progressively based on poverty levels and GDP (RSA, 2021c:75). The issue with the equitable share formula is that it does not compensate for the vast inequalities evident across provinces. Veriava, Thom and Hodgson (2017:48-49) note that the two poorest provinces (Limpopo and Eastern Cape) still have the lowest education allocations in the country, per learner, after the implementation of the equitable share formulas.

In summary, Tilly's (1998:111) notion of 'opportunity hoarding' is as relevant today (with regards to the quintile schooling system) as it was during colonial and apartheid years. Learners in Quintile 1-3 schools are largely underfunded and remain in poverty, whilst learners in Quintile 4-5 schools have access to the prevailing power structures and privileges that the majority of South Africans do not enjoy. This retention of privilege (Jessop, 2011:9) and opportunity hoarding (Tilly, 1998:111) is precipitated by the World Bank's influence as a global role-player in South African budgetary economics and education.

5.2.5 Theme 5: Systems Analysis' Role In South African Education

Section 2.3.2 of this study notes that "Systems Analysis" advocates for the removal of immeasurable aspects of the public good and to replace it with rational, objective and quantifiable data (Enthoven, 2019:146-155). The World Bank, which was integral in the global push towards privatisation, likewise placed emphasis on research that put forward efficiency arguments (Rose, 2002:4). In this regard, Samoff (1996:259) provides an appropriate analogy to help understand the neoliberal notion of efficiency in education:

> Efficiency in manufacturing has to do with reducing the costs of production… Bottles do not contribute to their own manufacture. Students do contribute to their own education… [This would also mean that] larger classes would increase an education system's efficiency. After all, when the teacher's salary can be spread across more and more students, the unit cost goes down… Assuming that efficiency in education is automatically the highest priority goal and treating it as if it is fundamentally comparable to efficiency in manufacturing… [is]… unlikely to improve the quality of education.

With this analogy in mind, Minister Bengu's 1998 extract is replete with efficiency (and consequently System's Analysis) references. He notes that:

> The fundamental challenge in the management of our national education system is not per se that of finding additional money, however welcome that would be, but rather that of discovering how to allocate funds more equitably, to cut waste, to improve the work-rate, and to target spending where it will make a real difference to education quality (RSA, 1998:2027).

The challenges described by Minister Bengu are indicative of general organisational governance issues. Rizvi and Lingard (2010:116-117), in this regard, note that:

> There is now much rhetorical talk… about 'good governance.' This talk is often concerned with such issues as technologies of measuring performance indicators… mechanisms of quality assurance… rigorous accountability systems… [and] effective uses of public resources.

Minister Bengu's 1998 call for efficiency is not inherently negative. It shows how global narratives around "good governance" have influenced public education. The World Bank, for example, uses System's Analysis to encourage "good governance" and to demonstrate "the value of an economics-based approach to education development" (Verger & Bonal, 2012:130). Carnoy (2016:29) confirms this by highlighting that "…the tendency for the State in the new competitive global environment is to focus on education policies that enhance its economy's global competitiveness." The unintended side effect, I argue, is that quality education as a public good is sacrificed in order to achieve efficiency.

Furthermore, the underlying assumptions of Systems Analysis are visible in Minister Pandor's 2008 extract. She notes that:

> We concluded a historic agreement with teacher unions… For the first time in our history, learner performance will be a part of teacher evaluation (RSA, 2008:18-19).

Linking learner performance to teacher evaluation was a fundamental shift towards Systems Analysis (ELRC, 2008). The words "performance" and "evaluation" (RSA, 2008:18-19) in this extract denotes the ever-changing role of South African educators (Omar, 2002:96-98) which, Ball and Youdell (2007:20) assert is "to make schools more like businesses."

Interestingly, recent agreements between unions and the State have abandoned learner performance and instead opted for a holistic 'Quality Management System' (QMS) as a way of evaluating teacher performance (Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysers Unie, 2021). The ELRC (2020:7) notes that:

> Appraisal of performance is central to the effective management of teaching and learning. Its purpose is to inform the educator of current performance… and to stimulate improved performance, where necessary.

These developments show that our public education system post-1994 has become what Von Hayek, Buchanan and Enthoven envisaged for their capitalist society, i.e., an education system based on objectivity, rationality, and personal incentivised targets. Mundy et al. (2016:5) concur that "the introduction of private sector management approaches into the public sector… [is] increasingly central to competitiveness driven educational reform."

Furthermore, competitive educational reform (through System's Analysis) is notable in Minister Motshekga's 2014 extract in which she cites the National Education Policy Act (RSA, 1996d):

> In line with heightening accountability and enhancing service delivery, the department is invoking Sections 3 and 8 of the National Education Policy Act of 1996 to hold districts and provinces that are not performing accountable. We believe that the time has come to place responsibility and accountability where it belongs (RSA, 2014:4).

Districts and provinces are now governed by clear performance targets, measurable outputs, accountability, and consequences for non-compliance. This renders Steiner-Khamsi and Draxler's (2018:125) investigation, of whether shifting accountability frameworks from democratic to corporate/consumer reshapes education as a public good, especially significant.

Systems Analysis inevitably uses a "one size fits all" approach in education reform policy and is visible in Minister Motshekga's 2014 extract when she autocratically calls for accountability amongst all provinces, despite the fact that some provinces have been (and still are) underfunded[224], which ultimately affects their efficiency. This managerial approach to accountability in education fundamentally "reshapes the orientation of education as a public good" (Steiner-Khamsi & Draxler, 2018:125).

5.2.6 Theme 6: Public-Private Partnerships

Verger's (2012:109), extensive writing on Public-Private Partnerships[225] (PPPs) examines why they originate and how these reform packages are "sold" to governments. Steiner-Khamsi and Draxler (2018:6-7) note that:

> Verger and his associates identified six different pathways [to PPPs]: privatisation as a drastic State sector reform (e.g., Chile, the U.K.), as an incremental reform (e.g., the U.S.A.), in social-democratic welfare States, as historical public–private partnerships (e.g., the Netherlands, Spain), as *de facto* privatisation in low-income countries, and privatisation via disaster.

Using these contextual definitions, I propose that South Africa's adoption of PPPs in education are wide-ranging. Firstly, privatisation as State sector reform (via several national

[224] I have attempted to illustrate the underfunding of some provinces in several passages of this study. Section 5.2.1 and 5.2.4 most notably indicate that the equitable share formula does not provide true equitable funding to provinces. The Basic Education Minister's 2014 speech extract seems to suggest that the National Department of Basic Education is no longer ultimately responsible for challenges that occur within provinces. Despite provincial departments of education having certain managerial powers, the national Department of Education still has central legislative power and cannot absolve itself from its role in inadequate funding or from the poor provision of resources and infrastructure, which undoubtedly hamper performance at district and provincial level.

[225] For purposes of clarity, Public-Private-Partnerships (PPPs) are defined in this study as "cooperative institutional arrangements between public and private sector actors" (Robertson et al., 2012:1) and are adopted to "allow the public education sector to leverage private sector knowledge, skills and innovation through network collaboration", with the intention of lowering educational cost and improving educational output, quality and efficiency (Verger & Moschetti, 2016:3).

policies[226]); secondly, *de facto* privatisation (via State-encouraged neoliberalism); and thirdly, privatisation via disaster (the State's attempts to rehabilitate from apartheid). This section examines South Africa's trajectory[227] toward PPP reliance, beginning with the World Bank's endorsement thereof.

Verger and Bonal (2012:133) note the evolution[228] of the World Bank's education strategy in the mid-2000's, which centered around UNESCO's Education for All[229] (EFA) initiative:

> The World Bank has been backing private sector participation in education for decades. However,… the current Strategy puts stronger emphasis on the importance of the private sector for meeting the EFA goals, it is openly supportive of "for-profit" private education providers… and it considers that the private sector can be of direct benefit to the poor.

Steiner-Khamsi and Draxler (2018:5) note that with the rise of Globalisation, PPPs were "catapulted as an international best practice." In this regard, Minister Bengu's 1994 extract echoes the Bank's education strategies. He notes that:

> The development of… a learning nation cannot be instilled by the Government alone. [Government must] actively [seek] to promote dynamic partnerships with all sectors of society (RSA, 1994:2774).

This approach (i.e., the introduction of PPPs) is required, Minister Bengu notes in 1996:

> To put right what has been wrong in the [apartheid] provision and resourcing of public education and training at all levels, and to develop the new organisational

[226] The Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (RSA, 1996c) and The National Development Plan 2030 (RSA, 2012a) are two examples of such policies.
[227] As illustrated in Section 2.3.3 of my literature review, South Africa's educational history is littered with partnerships of various types. The Anglican Church - through the London Mission Society (and several other Mission organisations) - partnered with the British government to provide education to black learners from the 19th century. Similarly, the introduction of the Joseph Lancaster Monitorial system of education, in the early 1800's, provides an early avant-garde example of Public-Private-Partnerships in South Africa. Furthermore, as Section 2.3.8 of my literature review notes, the SOMAFCO school in Tanzania was heavily funded by the Soviet Union, thereby defining this partnership under the broad definition of a Public-Private-Partnership.
[228] Soudien (2002:447), writing on the World Bank's education strategy in the 1980's and 1990's notes that, "the central theme of the World Bank Sector Strategy in this regard is that partnerships are essential" due to the idea that the educational needs of the State are too large and complex for it to handle alone (Soudien, 2002:447).
[229] Education For All was launched in 1990 with the aim of bringing education to every citizen in every society (The World Bank, 2014).

> and governance structures, policy instruments, funding frameworks and legislation are required to chart a new course for the system (RSA, 1996a:1529).

Thus, the State sought to undo apartheid inequities by adopting PPPs from 1994 onward. This study suggests that, in retrospect, PPPs in education have not improved the lived educational realities of all South Africans. Gender, "race", location, parental education, and family inheritance continue to promote inequality resulting in South Africa remaining the world's most unequal country in 2022 (Sulla, Zikhali & Cuevas, 2022:1).

Furthermore, while PPPs "are portrayed as innovative solutions" to improve public education, Verger and Moschetti (2016:9) note that their inclusion erodes notions of social values and public interest. In this regard, Minister Asmal's 2000 extract stresses that:

> If public education[230] is not delivering the level of service that people require, they will go elsewhere... Private providers of all varieties are ready to exploit any perceived gap left by inadequate public provision… What is more, as soon as the public system fails to represent the South African people at large, its capacity for beneficial influence on the civic values and virtues of our new nation will be severely diminished (RSA, 2000:16).

Additionally, Minister Motshekga's 2015 extract notes that:

> The importance of PPPs is a prevalent theme in the National Development Plan (NDP). To this end, we have budgeted R200million. This allocation is meant to leverage the partnership contributions from the private sector (RSA, 2015a:14).

The NDP 2030 blames slow economic progress on an absence of partnerships and anticipates that 11million jobs will be generated by 2030 as a result of PPP implementation (RSA, 2012a:25, 39). The DBE, therefore, invested "to leverage the partnership contributions from the private sector" (RSA, 2015a:14). According to Soudien (2002:440), the World Bank's education strategy suggests that:

[230] Education Minister Asmal, in his 2000 Education budget vote speech, provides a poignant historical and global overview of public education and its role in the development of Nation States (RSA, 2000). This study focuses on public education as it pertains to South Africa, but it is worth noting the Minister's well-researched historical overview as it relates to public education globally.

> Partnerships involving the State, NGOs, families and agencies could be an effective way forward [towards development] and makes the important point that partnerships ought to be built on the principle of comparative advantage.

This point (of seeking comparative advantage[231]) is a stark reminder that the World Bank "is essentially a bank" (Soudien, 2002:442) and that maximising profit[232] is the main reason for its involvement in South African public education. Farazmand and Pinkowski (2006:229) assert that this approach harms development and the poor. The State, nevertheless, reinforces PPP reliance due to the perceived benefits[233].

Minister Motshekga's 2017 extract recognises the DBE and National Education Collaboration Trust (NECT) partnership:

> Guided by its operational mathematical mantra that says the NECT + NDP = hope, growth and future, in its short stint - the NECT has made a great impact in the sector (RSA, 2017:13).

A worthy 'hero', the NECT's[234] intervention aims to improve education by addressing systemic issues and strengthening the State's capacity to deliver public services (NECT, 2019a). The issue is not whether the NECT has fulfilled this mantra but whether its work reduces public influence on civic values and the public good. This study suggests that districts under NECT intervention are influenced by the interests of private funders, thereby removing those districts' capacity to influence the civic values and virtues of its local population. The result is the destruction of the public good, albeit through a publicly backed (and privatised) organisation.

[231] Comparative advantage refers to an organisations ability to produce a good or a service at the lowest possible cost thereby providing an advantage over its competitors (Farazmand & Pinkowski, 2006:177, 229).
[232] For itself and the private sector in general.
[233] The benefits include access to private sector knowledge, skills and innovation through network collaboration, with the intention of lowering educational cost and improving educational output, quality and efficiency (Verger & Moschetti, 2016:3).
[234] The NECT has made several improvements in the educational landscape since its 2013 inception. Its mandate is to assist the Department of Basic Education achieve its development goals (NECT, 2019b). It "receives financial support from a range of funding partners, including government, business and philanthropic trusts and foundations" (NECT, 2019b). Its most notable achievements to date are the improvement programmes currently operational in eight local districts (RSA, 2015b).

5.2.7 Theme 7: Human Capital Theory, Access Doctrine, And The Fourth Industrial Revolution

Mizala et al. (2022:179-180) recognise that governments consider education a key factor in national economic competitiveness. Ironically, despite a clear understanding that a massive "shortage of skilled [educated] black manpower" (Booyse, 2016b:228) was detrimental to its economic outlook, the apartheid State continued its racist-capitalist agenda. Minister Bengu's 1999 extract reflects that:

> It is unreasonable to expect the education system bear the full burden of society's ills. But the moral crisis in our nation will overwhelm us if the education system is not in the forefront and front line of our struggle to reclaim communities from the ravages of a brutal past and a despairing present (RSA, 1999a:1373).

Minister Bengu appropriately values education in this extract and acknowledges the apartheid regime's destruction of society, so evident in 1999. Subsequently, Minister Asmal's 2001 extract reveals government's perceived educational successes:

> South Africa has one of the highest enrolment rates for children of school-going age, compared to other developing countries... Our gains have been with regard to the poor, African and rural children (RSA, 2001:31-32).

High enrolment rates demonstrate that the State followed conventional World Bank advice prioritising basic education, as a development pathway, through human capital investments (Lewin, 2008:3-4). The issue, however, is that despite high enrolment rates, obscene levels of poverty and inequality remained ingrained in South African society. Minister Motshekga's 2011 extract highlights this, as well as a noticeable shift regarding education[235]:

> In the context of high unemployment and skills shortage, reducing poverty depends on giving South Africans a better educational start in life. This is precisely what makes education… the real reason for working together to create a delivery-driven basic education system (RSA, 2011:2).

Greene (2021:5-6) labels this approach 'Access Doctrine,' which claims to eradicate poverty by providing new technologies/technical skills and that internet access increases

[235] Mizala et al. (2022:185) notes that "when education is seen primarily as a way to increase human capital and make economies more competitive, a marketised approach to the sector logically follows."

opportunities to high-wage jobs. In this regard, Berners-Lee (2010) advocates for internet access as a human right[236]. Minister Motshekga's 2012 extract notes that:

> Our department, together with the Department of Communications, has developed a connectivity plan providing a comprehensive framework for achieving cost-effective and efficient connectivity for all schools (RSA, 2012b:15).

This plan is predicated on Minister Pandor's 2004 Draft White Paper (RSA, 2004a) which indicates that government's view of technology is to prevent social exclusion and to participate in the knowledge economy (RSA, 2004a:10). Thus, digital inclusion for all South Africans and schools is a worthy policy goal. The issue, however, is whether a reliance on education and internet access in education alone can enhance the economic and social condition of a damaged society[237].

Bivens et al. (2014), in response to the claims of 'Access Doctrine', uses sampled data to indicate that:

> As home internet access has reached a saturation point [in the USA]... the economic lives of working Americans have either not improved or have worsened[238] (Greene, 2021:6).

A similar reflection can be determined in South Africa: education and internet availability have expanded, yet regular South Africans' economic lives have not improved: instead, ordinary South Africans' economic lives have worsened. Motala and Vally (2014:26-27) provide an apt analysis of 'Access Doctrine' claims:

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[236] This stance became evident during the 2020 COVID-19 lockdowns, when learners from low socioeconomic communities had to stop their schooling because they did not have access to the relevant and necessary technology (Daniels, 2020:139). Furthermore, there are several important benefits that are derived from universal access to the internet such as: greater exposure to our globalised world (Black, Spreen & Vally, 2020:43) and the ability to learn new skills through free and open-source platforms.

[237] Mizala et al. (2022:175) proposes that the exclusive '*Access Doctrined'* view of education, which is advocated for by the World Bank, is villainous in nature and problematic by design.

[238] Additionally, the South African historical equivalent would be the collapse of the clothing and textile industry in South Africa. Motala and Vally (2014:26) note that in "an industry where even workers who have developed high levels of skills built over many years of employment and training, remain highly vulnerable." This illustration highlights that the core value of Human Capital Theory and Access Doctrine, i.e., improving skills (through internet access or learning the trade of tailoring) does not equate to eradicating poverty and inequality.

> Unless the underlying structural conditions which produce social and political exclusion are re-examined critically, long-term unemployment is the only likely consequence for those affected by these changes in the external environment as a consequence of changes in the labour process, technological 'innovation,' worker resistance or investment.

Minister Motshekga's 2019 extract shows the State's attempts to reposition public education using "Access Doctrine":

> Research… reveals that 45% of the current jobs, will disappear within the next 10 to 20 years... Therefore, the need for the basic education sector to refocus the curriculum towards… the demands of the changing world, is inescapable (RSA, 2019b:12-13).

Three examples illustrate public education's curriculum shift (RSA, 2019b:12-13). First, the coding and robotics curriculum for Grade 9 (RSA, 2020:8); secondly, the introduction of Marine Sciences, and thirdly the drafting of the Aviation Curriculum (RSA, 2021b:13-15).

This refocussed curriculum is the State's attempt to prepare the South African workforce and economy for the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR)[239]. The pertinent question, again, is not so much whether we are ready for the 4IR, but whether Access Doctrine alone can solve our educational and societal challenges. Mizala et al. (2022:175) notes that:

> Investing in human capital is necessary but not sufficient to make education a force for societal progress and human flourishing… we need to look closely at the specific ways in which human capital is cultivated and valued under the aegis of different education policy and financing regimes to assess the implications of educational investment for social equity and human flourishing.

Soudien (2002:444) makes an important contribution in this regard and recognises that human capital investment is important because young people need technical skills to succeed in the modern world. However, they also need to learn to recognise the world's social,

[239] Nicholas Davis describes the Fourth Industrial Revolution as "the advent of cyber-physical systems involving entirely new capabilities for people and machines" (Davis, 2020:11). Mhlanga and Moloi (2020:2) note that the Fourth Industrial Revolution "represents entirely new ways in which technology becomes embedded within societies and even our human bodies."

political, and economic systems. They need literacy to understand their reality, place it in context, and make informed decisions.

Therefore, an integrated approach to the 4IR, a measured stance on Access Doctrine and an appropriate reliance on Human Capital Theory is vitally important and will go a long way towards ensuring that education as a public good remains focused on improving the lives of learners from all walks of life.

5.2.8 Concluding Remarks

This section discussed predetermined analysis themes located in education budget vote speech extracts from 1994 to 2021. The next section uses the themes, my literature review and conceptual framework to answer this study's research questions. The following table maps a one-on-one relationship of the research questions to specific themes.

Research Question		**Analysis Theme**
Main research question:	How has the concept of education as a public good been positioned within, and shaped by, national education policies since 1994 in South Africa?	Theme 1 & Theme 5
Sub-research questions:	How have education priorities attached to the public good been addressed in national education budget speeches in the period 1994 to 2021?	Theme 7
	How, if at all, has education as a public good been changed, adapted or evolved in post-1994 South Africa?	Theme 4 & Theme 6
	What has changed in the ways education (and the provision thereof) have been conceptualised and positioned within education budget vote speeches in the period 1994 to 2021?	Theme 3
	How, if at all, has the changing notion of education as a public good affected education provision as a human right?	Theme 2

Table 1 - A mapping of this study's analytic themes as they relate to this study's research questions.

5.3 How Has The Concept Of Education As A Public Good Been Positioned Within, And Shaped By, National Education Policies Since 1994 In South Africa?

South Africa's Constitution and the UN's SDG 4[240] ideologically shape our education system by locating education as a universal public good. Furthermore, a 1995 White Paper on Education (RSA, 1995b) acknowledges the need for free, compulsory basic education, but also notes that financial constraints do not allow this. With the contextual background from this study's literature review, specifically Sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.5 in mind, it is reasonable to suggest that post-1994 national education policies have been shaped by the neoliberal GEAR policy, which emphasised Human Capital theory, Systems Analysis, privatisation and efficiency. These are inspired by the notion that education provides a greater return on investment than previously-invested in 'commodities' (Samoff, 2009:151).

The South African Schools Act, Act 84 of 1996, was legislated, without naming it as such, to promote South Africa's human capital strategy towards equity (RSA, 1996e). It established School Governing Bodies and allows certain schools to charge user fees. Furthermore, to advance equity, the Education Laws Amendment Act 24 of 2005[241] (RSA, 2005a) authorises the Minister of Basic Education to declare certain schools 'no-fee' schools. In spite of these well-intentioned policies, glaring inequalities are still apparent in the provision of education, today.

It is reasonable to suggest, therefore, that deficiencies in education policies post-1994[242] have essentially continued previous privileges in education and ensured that the concept of education as a public good remains superficially progressive [and equity focused], but fundamentally exclusionary (Christie, 2020:133).

Furthermore, the National Educational Policy Act (Act 27 of 1996) (RSA, 1996d) and several agreements with labour unions (ELRC, 2008) position education as a 'scarce commodity' and have shaped education along lines that embrace 'Systems analysis' (Enthoven, 2019:146-155). Rose (2002:4) in this regard, notes that the World Bank places a high emphasis on research that puts forward "efficiency… arguments."

[240] SDG4 has been publicly adopted by the State and aims to "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all" (United Nations, 2015).
[241] Also see the subsequent Notice 1205 of 2006 in Gazette 29438 (RSA, 2005a).
[242] In particular the South African Schools Act (Act 84 of 1996) (RSA, 1996e), the varying legislation to declare certain schools 'no-fee' schools, and parliamentary politicisation of State politics that have

Therefore, education, simultaneous with being seen as a public good in South Africa, has been marketised, and reflects a business-like approach with a heavy focus on "performance indicators… mechanisms of quality assurance… rigorous accountability systems… [and] effective uses of public resources" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010:116-117).

5.4 How Have National Priorities Attached To The 'Public Good' Been Addressed In National Education Budget Speeches In The Period 1994 To 2021?

National education budget vote speeches are political expressions of intentions and priorities for national education. Therefore, considering the World Bank's influence (direct and indirect) in South African education, it has been argued throughout this study that the education budget vote speeches in South Africa from 1994-2021 contain clear evidence of tropes such as Human Capital Theory, Access Doctrine, and, more recently, the 4IR.

Despite acknowledging that human capital formation is crucial (Mizala et al., 2022:179-180), Education Ministers Bengu, Asmal, and Pandor were not intimidated or constrained to express their personal approval for free public education and its perceived impact on the public good. Their speeches resemble internal struggles over how investing in human capital for development affects societal values (Lewin, 2008:2).

Education budget vote speeches from 2009 are indicative of a political climate that centres around compliance, parliamentary politicisation, human capital and 'rates of return'. The State, for example, understands that providing education in rural areas and some townships where learners are achieving poor results is unacceptable (RSA, 1995a:1720) and that all learners need quality education (RSA, 2005b:9). Despite this, the success of achieving education equity seems to be falsely proclaimed from at least 2013 onwards (RSA, 2013a:1-2). Furthermore, the gruesome deaths of Michael Komape and Lumka Mketwa, and the lack of engagement thereof in consequent education budget vote speeches, shows a tragic apathy as regards national priorities.

Relatedly, the national priority of eradicating poverty and unemployment is linked, reductively, to an emphasis on preparing students for the 4IR. In her 2020 and 2021 speeches, Minister Motshekga addresses these priorities by introducing new 4IR-focused subjects. From 1994 to 2021, reliance on Access Doctrine alone to solve educational challenges and societal ills is notable. Mizala et al. (2022:185) notes that a marketised approach to the education sector logically follows when education is seen primarily as a way to make

economies more competitive. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that this marketised approach to education is a national priority and is expressed in education budget vote speeches from 1994 to 2021.

5.5 How, If At All, Has Education As A 'Public Good' Been Changed, Adapted Or Evolved In Post-1994 South Africa?

Section 5.2.4 shows that despite dismantling apartheid education by creating a National Department of Education with nine Provincial departments, public education continues to exclude learners based on financial exclusion. If a learner was born in an area underfunded by the apartheid regime, that learner is likely still part of an underfunded and underdeveloped pocket of the education system today[243]. Learners in Quintile 1-3 schools cannot access the developed and better resourced schools (often in Quintile 4-5) due to legislation (The South African Schools Act (Act 84 of 1996) that essentially guards the privileges of the white minority and emerging but small Black middle-class through the employment of School Governing Body-mandated fees as an exclusionary mechanism (Christie, 2020:133).

South Africa's cross-subsidised approach (i.e., Quintile 1-3 schools that are reliant on the State and Quintile 4-5 schools that have the ability to generate funding from private sources) is, in large part, consistent with the World Bank policy approach:

> A total retreat of the State was… never supported in education given the acceptance of externalities, such as education's benefits to society through improved health, reduced fertility etc (Rose, 2002:4).

In this sense, despite good intentions by the State, it is reasonable to suggest that education as a public good has transitioned back to the apartheid-era exclusionary form of education provision, albeit along primarily economic trajectories means instead of overt racial classifications, although the South African confluence of class and 'race' is moot.

Furthermore, using this study's literature review (Chapter 2) and Section 5.2.6, I deduce that the State's use of PPPs has changed the model of education as a public good. The Constitution, which legislates the privatisation of education in Section 29(3) (RSA,

[243] The same is generally true of learners born in affluent and developed areas (Christie, 2020:132-134).

1996b:12), and the DBE's rolling Action Plan towards schooling 2030[244] (DBE, 2020c) position education as a public good/service that needs broad societal intervention for the State to develop holistically. South Africa's adoption of World Bank advice and its adoption of funding mechanisms for education has meant that the private sector (in the form of PPPs) has become central in achieving the State's social and development goals. Ball and Youdell (2007:35) note that:

> The overall trend which privileges privatisation as a public policy is clearly the result of deliberate promotion and advocacy by key actors and agencies… and that much privatisation in and of education remains hidden.

Despite much of privatisation being 'hidden,' several PPPs within the South African education sector are evident and vocally supportive of education as a public good. The NECT, discussed in Section 5.2.6 is one such example and indicates how education as a public good has evolved to include the private sector through the mechanism of PPPs.

5.6 What Has Changed In The Ways Education (And The Provision Thereof) Have Been Conceptualised And Positioned Within Education Budget Vote Speeches In The Period 1994-2021?

This study's literature review (Chapter 2) and Section 5.2.3 show how the lack of infrastructure development in South Africa post-1994 is a result of State budgetary austerity, the World Bank's influence, and the State's ever-more overt leaning towards forms of public-private models of education provision in schools. This neoliberal framework is discernible in education budget vote speeches from 1994-2008, and explicit after 2009.

The Constitution (RSA, 1996b) and the South African Schools Act, Act 84 of 1996 (RSA, 1996e) ideologically position education along lines of equity and inclusion. However, Ministers Bengu, Asmal and Pandor verbalise education as under-resourced and make explicit wishes for further finance (RSA, 1994:2778; RSA, 2003:37-38; RSA, 2007:8-9). Minister Motshekga, on the other hand, conceptualises education and its provision as underdeveloped in parts, yet thriving as a whole. The realities of education, post-2009, and its provision seem to be obscured and underplayed in many ways in education budget vote speeches from 2009 onwards, as has been shown in Chapter 4.

[244] The latest version of this Action Plan is the plan published on the 26th of August 2020.

With regard to parliament, this largely positive view of the provision of equitable education (as presented by Minister Angie Motshekga in her education budget vote speeches from 2009) is widely proclaimed. This view is publicly held by all ANC members who subsequently "tow the party line" and vote to approve the presented education budget votes, which Sections 5.2.2 and 5.2.3 in this study attempt to illustrate as inadequate, underfinanced and incapable of addressing the requirements for achieving an equitable and thriving public education sector.

Finally, the concept of education (and its provision) in education budget vote speeches has been fundamentally influenced by the World Bank and has shifted significantly from around 2009, towards an agenda that is comprehensively supportive of privatisation. This privatised view of education is expressed in several education budget vote speeches through the use of calling for an increase in Public-Private Partnerships and has become the conceptual norm as opposed to the exception.

5.7 How, If At All, Has The Changing Notion Of Education As A 'Public Good' Affected Education As A Human Right?

Education as a public good in the period 1994 to 2021 is a nuanced and paradoxical term that has, as Section 5.2.4 illustrates, changed superficially in part yet has remained fundamentally segregated. In this regard, only a small proportion of black, indian, and coloured students (those with the possibilities of financial access to ex Model-C schools) have benefited from the reform[245].

Today, equitable education is constitutionally regarded as a human right and, as I have indicated in Section 5.2.1, is universally proclaimed in South Africa's Constitution, by the World Bank (Samoff, 1996:252), the NDP 2030, the UN's SDG4, all South African education policies post-1994, and several education budget vote speeches presented in parliament. Despite this, education as a human right is not yet universally realised in South Africa. Section 5.2.1 shows that there has indeed been some improvement in school infrastructure, although an August 2020 National Education Infrastructure Management System Standard Report found 5771 schools having illegal pit latrines, 5839 schools with an

[245] These schools, typically, have a well-functioning School Governing Body and are financially well-resourced, meaning that they can afford the various educational costs needed to provide quality education to its learners. These public schools are usually found in areas that have benefitted from the old apartheid classification of educational financing.

unreliable water supply, 3805 schools with no (or unreliable) electricity supply, and only 35% of schools that have some form of sport/playground facility (DBE, 2020b:1-6). These figures constitute a violation of education to children which is universally understood to be a human right.

Likewise, Section 5.2.2 shows that parliament's failure to reject an inadequate education budget vote and demand one that promotes equity obstructs education as a human right[246]. Lamentably, the fiscal diagnostic tool "rate of return" used by Treasury (indirectly influenced by the World Bank) to quantify the return on investments, drives parliamentary agendas (Depken, Chiseni & Ita, 2019:2). Samoff (1996:252) states that public policies should reflect a community's political will, and that values and aims, not economic diagnostic tools, should guide them. The focus on "rate of return" in education therefore betrays the prevailing narrative that education is a human right. Patrick Bond refers to this dichotomy as "Talking Left, Acting Right" (2000:192).

Moreover, a persuasive argument is made by the post-apartheid State (a view championed by the World Bank over many years) that the privatisation of education promotes education as a human right. Authors like Lewin (2008:9) and Steiner-Khamsi and Draxler (2018:9), however, remind us that privatisation has only created the illusion of advocating for education as a human right and that in actual fact privatisation has fundamentally inhibited the right to a quality education for most learners. The role of education as a human right therefore goes beyond the need for qualified and competent human capital and addresses the need for public involvement, effective democracy and a public good that addresses the fundamental rights espoused in South Africa's Constitution.

5.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter has discussed the analytic themes that emerged from this study's accompanying research methodology, a Narrative Policy Framework leveraged by thematic analysis. Thereafter, this study's research questions were answered by synthesising Chapter Four's findings, the literature review and conceptual framework (Chapter 2), and the discussions from Section 5.2.

[246] The lackadaisical effort by members of Parliament is described in Section 2.6, 4.3 and 5.2.2 as parliamentary politics (Konstantinova et al., 2019:1).

The chapter offers several contributions. First, the World Bank (directly and indirectly) shapes global education policy with its adoption of Human Capital Theory and rate of return to investment in education (Samoff, 1996:253). Furthermore, the South African State has constitutionally mandated access to basic education to redress apartheid's injustices but has not provided the necessary public funding. Instead, it followed the World Bank neoliberal-inspired GEAR policy (RSA, 1996c), which prioritised fiscal discipline and privatisation. Moreover, despite parliament's oversight role, education budget vote debates from 1994 to 2021 have never resulted in a more equitable solution being tabled. As a result, the infrastructural backlog has not been adequately addressed.

The State's introduction of quintiles and the 'no-fee' schooling system in 2005 was its attempt at providing greater educational equity. Unfortunately, the cross-subsidisation of two systems (fully State-funded schools and schools that have been allowed an element of privatisation, i.e., the ability to charge user fees) did not have the intended effect and furthered inequalities instead of eradicating them. At the same time, World Bank-supported research put forward efficiency and equity arguments to justify setting a price for consumers in Quintile 4-5 schools. The principle (Verger & Bonal, 2012:131) was used as a "one size fits all" approach in education reform policy and consequently saw the introduction of and reliance on PPPs across several areas in education. As identified in this study, the case of the National Education Collaboration Trust (NECT) is exemplary in this regard.

Finally, this chapter has noted how, through curriculum evolution, the State attempts to prepare the South African workforce and economy for the 4IR. Preparations for this digital future ensures that education stays important in addressing inequality and poverty. However, a reliance on Access Doctrine alone is not sufficient, suitable, and appropriate to solve these challenges.

The next chapter identifies important insights derived from the previous chapters, discusses the lessons learned, discusses the implications thereof, and presents suggestions for future research.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

This study was initially born from reading the Constitutional court case of Thiagraj Soobramoney (Southern African Legal Information Institute, 1997), who evidently realised that the State was unable to extend his constitutional right to medical treatment because of an under-resourced health care system. Subsequently, this study has offered me the opportunity to reflect on several important lessons and to add my voice to an area of research that is relevant to the plight of the majority of South Africans who desire quality education, but who receive a sub-standard version of it.

As a result, I note that this study has located itself within a human rights framework and sought to investigate the potential shift of basic education in the post-apartheid era as a public good towards a market-based, neoliberal, and privatised approach to education provision in South Africa right from the very early moments of the democratic project in 1994 (Ahmed & Sayed, 2009:203).

The study examined public education in South African literature from pre-colonial times through to the end of apartheid. It explored the origins of privatisation in education and considered the discourse known as parliamentary politics. Upon establishing this background, the study turned its lens to education budget vote speeches presented in the post-apartheid South African parliament from 1994 to 2021 (inclusive) and tracked the non-uniform usage of the concept 'education as a public good' using the Narrative Policy Framework, which was facilitated by a thematic analysis and the conceptual framework, as shaped in Chapter Two.

Several analytic themes were presented, discussed, and linked to answer this study's research questions, which are:

Main research question

How has the concept of education as a public good been positioned within, and shaped by, national education policies since 1994 in South Africa?

Sub-research questions

1. How have education priorities attached to the public good been addressed in national education budget speeches in the period 1994 to 2021?
2. How, if at all, has education as a public good been changed, adapted or evolved in post-1994 South Africa?

3. What has changed in the ways education (and the provision thereof) have been conceptualised and positioned within education budget vote speeches in the period 1994 to 2021?
4. How, if at all, has the changing notion of education as a public good affected education provision as a human right?

The main findings of this study will be summarised below and will be followed by insights, critical conclusions and lessons learned as they relate to the equity and moral imperative of education as a public good. The chapter ends with a selection of concluding thoughts pertaining to the study.

6.1 A Summary of findings

As expounded on in Section 3.3.2 of this study's Methodology Chapter, the concepts of 'hero,' 'villain,' and 'victim' derive from the Narrative Policy Framework, which this study has adopted as an analytic framework. Characters, in the entirety of this study, are therefore those who act, or who are acted upon in ways that define them as either hero/-es, villain/s and/or victim/s (Jones & McBeth, 2010:341).

As such, Section 5.2.1 defines the World Bank as the "grand" villain because of its indirect influence in South Africa's education system. Despite the Constitution's guarantee of equity, the self-imposed[247] GEAR policy (RSA, 1996c), amongst others, undermined education provision and governance post-apartheid. Furthermore, the notion of character-complexity is evident, particularly in the way that Ministers Bengu, Pandor and Motshekga each hold conflicting policy views simultaneously. This is noticeable, as an example, in Minister Motshekga's 2013 speech extract as she claims equity attainment. The introduction of 'no-fee' schools, however, only furthers inequalities in South African education[248].

Holding the policy position that it is the post-apartheid South African State itself that proclaims and legislates the right to education as sacrosanct, "unqualified, and limitless" (RSA, 2016a:2), as all education ministers do, allows this study to come to a finding that any infringement of it, post-1994 (i.e., caused by systemic imbalanced and inequitable public

[247] Inspired by the World Bank.
[248] Evidenced by the fact that in 2020 there were still thousands of underserviced and underfunded schools and learners across the country (DBE, 2020b:1-6).

funding, or acts of violence that prevent some from accessing education, like the Vuwani protests), are criminal in nature and should be acted on as crimes answerable in law.

Section 5.2.2 argues that parliamentary meekness has undermined the State's objective of providing equitable democratic public education. In line with the analytic framework adopted in this study, this discursively renders members of the National Assembly as a type of "villain" as they abetted the passage of economic policies and education budgets in the National Assembly, when they were absolutely able to vote against these measures. To be precise, education budget votes from 1994-2021 have never been rejected for a more equitable solution[249], despite constitutional and parliamentary possibility. This perpetuates inequity in that the unwavering support by most NA members to the education minister (and to the education budget), undermines education as an unqualified right and public good.

Section 5.2.3 implicates the State[250] as villainous due to the protracted absence of infrastructure development and a lengthy history of unfulfilled promises. Private providers of educational infrastructure, encouraged by the World Bank, are evidently on the rise (DBE, 2020a), and exist to replace the State in its role of providing infrastructure (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010:115-121).

Section 5.2.4 suggests that today's educational system is superficially uniform, yet fundamentally divisive. It is superficially uniform in that learners, staff and policies are housed under one national education system with nine corresponding provincial departments[251]. It is fundamentally divisive in that there remains colossal disproportions in provincial funding allocations to education. A suggested reason is that the initial economic course of action, advocated for by the World Bank and adopted by the State in 1994, encouraged privatisation (already operating during the end-years of apartheid) and neoliberalism. Educational equity has been compromised by this approach. Free education and user fees have increased inequality tenfold, not decreased it. Relatedly, the equitable share formula, used to effect equity across provinces appears inadequate for its purpose.

[249] Samoff (1996:251) indicates that it is often economic diagnostic tools imposed in democratic assemblies that influence how political power is used, and not the social values, goals, and ideals of the public.
[250] Represented by the respective presidents, education ministers, and finance ministers.
[251] Achieving one education system was a primary objective of many education liberation movements during the apartheid era and was part of several recommendations by commissions mandated to investigate educational issues, pre-1994 (Booyse, 2016a:183).

Section 5.2.5 shows that Systems Analysis can promote good institutional and democratic governance. It, however, must not replace education's democratic values and goals. In this regard, Minister Motshekga's 2014 extract is reminiscent of displaced democratic values in that measurable outputs and non-compliance consequences are ascribed to districts and provinces uniformly and without contextual regard.

Section 5.2.6 highlights South Africa's journey towards privatisation with an early reliance on PPPs[252] (RSA, 1994:2774). This study argues that partnerships can improve South Africa's education environment but should not be the sole means of addressing inequality[253]. Furthermore, this study suggests that through the DBE and NECT's partnership, whole districts are influenced by private funders, which potentially reduces their (DBE's) ability to promote local civic values, resulting in the destruction of the public good, through the means of a publicly backed (and privatised) organisation.

Section 5.2.7 argues that State reliance on Human Capital Theory and Access Doctrine has not improved the country's socioeconomic status, resulting in South Africa remaining the world's most unequal nation (Sulla, Zikhali & Cuevas, 2022:1). Motala and Vally (2014:26-27) indicate that long-term unemployment is the only possible outcome unless the structural circumstances that cause social and political exclusion are critically examined. In addition, Mizala et al. (2022:175) notes that human capital investment should not be solely relied upon and that we must examine how different education policies and financing regimes foster and value human capital.

As a result, I propose that this 'Access Doctrined' view of education is villainous in nature and problematic by design. When viewed in light of Section 5.2.1 and 5.2.3 of this study, I assert that the measures put in place to prepare for the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) are valid, necessary, and crucial to ensuring that education remains relevant. However, preparing for the 4IR without first clearing the infrastructural backlog, addressing the inadequate funding model, and preparing future generations with the necessary tools to manage the

[252] The State's support of PPPs, this study suggests, is to include access to private sector knowledge, skills and innovation through network collaboration, with the intention of lowering educational cost and improving educational output, quality and efficiency (Verger & Moschetti, 2016:3).
[253] As mentioned in previous sections, essential changes to the funding model, improvements in the democratic structure of representation and changing the structure of the quintile system are needed before a reliance on PPP's.

changes will only result in maintaining and reproducing inequalities epidemic in neoliberal South Africa.

6.2 The equity and moral imperative of education as a public good

What this study has accomplished for me personally is two-fold. Firstly, it has opened my eyes to the complexity of the micro, meso and macro spheres of society as they relate to the equity and moral imperative of education as a public good (Motala, E & Vally, 2014:44). This thought was noted in my acknowledgements section early on in the study. Secondly, it has highlighted the complexity of various characters in this study (particularly the education ministers in post-apartheid South Africa) as they wrestle through several contradictions both on a personal and political level (RSA, 1997:1543). My adoption of the Narrative Policy Framework and its terminology of "hero," "villain" and "victim" highlights this complexity, and it is within this framework that my study considers the equity and moral imperative of education as a public good.

Education Ministers Bengu, Asmal, Pandor and Motshekga are at the forefront of the evolution of education as a public good where, coincidently, even the very word 'public' is under contestation from as early as 1994 (Ahmed & Sayed, 2009:203). The same education ministers are tasked with addressing the re-imagination of a post-apartheid education system that coincides with the notion that many activists and freedom fighters fought (and ultimately died) for, i.e., free quality basic education for all[254].

The startling point is that even though the education ministers acknowledge, explicitly hold on to, and believe in the notion of free quality basic education as a public good for all, their own political actions seem to contradict their verbal cues (Bond, 2000:192). Every minister, for example, points to the Constitution as a type of standard-bearer for what is required of education as a public good. However, this study has shown that the neoliberal agenda clearly stymied their own ideals (Bond, 2000:92).

Minister Bengu, for example, as early as 1994, indicates that he was "compelled to voice [his] personal disappointment that the level of resourcing available to education" contradicts the equity imperative as set out by the State (RSA, 1994:2778). His 1997 extract highlights

[254] Section 2.2 of this study provides a brief selection of activists and organisations that were instrumental in the fight for free basic education for all.

the inherited educational disparities as, "morally repugnant and intolerable" (RSA, 1997:1547). Minister Asmal echoes, in 2003, that the State is committed to the equity imperative as laid out in the South African Constitution (RSA, 1996b), and that "any continuation of privilege will contradict the equity imperative" (RSA, 2003:37-38). Likewise, Minister Pandor's 2004 extract indicates that, "it is a national disgrace that our children learn in such [poor] conditions" (RSA, 2004b:9-10). Her 2005 extract reaffirms the State's contradictory position: "We committed ourselves to a right to basic education, unqualified by the availability of resources" (RSA, 2005b:9). Even Minister Motshekga, who seems to be less vocal about opposing privatisation, seems to lean on Section 29(1) of South Africa's Constitution (RSA, 1996b) and indicates that, "We will not live up to our claim that every child is a national asset" (RSA, 2010b:14-15) if educational infrastructure is not prioritised.

These examples, and many others, point to the convictions and belief in the Constitution so evident by post-apartheid education ministers. Despite that belief, the neoliberal agenda seems to bulldoze its way through any attempt by education ministers (knowingly or unknowingly) to prioritise and bring to effect education as a public good. Giroux's (2015:xvii) comments are useful to frame this section:

> The struggles over public education… share underlying interests in restoring and reclaiming a notion of radical democracy that… intersect around the need to elevate social needs over the narrow interests of the market and those elites who benefit from the financialisaton of society.

Education as a public good, therefore, has both an equity and a moral imperative which is echoed in the preamble of South Africa's Constitution (RSA, 1996b:1):

> We, the people of South Africa, recognise the injustices of our past… believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity… [to] improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person.

South Africa's Constitution and Giroux's comment above offer hope that this agenda (of the bulldozing effect of neoliberalism and privatisation) is reversible. The very fact that the education ministers, in their own unique way, "talk left" (Bond, 2000:192) by highlighting their personal discontent (RSA, 1994:2778), opens the door to reverse the neoliberal tide of walking "right."

Furthermore, this moral imperative and hope, I believe, translates into the possibility of dismantling all systems that illegally limit the right to education and to replace them with an equitable education system and corresponding funding model. The implications of abandoning the current inequitable funding model and adopting one that prioritises equity is that, after 28 years of democratic rule, the Constitutional mandate of providing equitable quality basic education could finally become a lived reality. This would imply a retraction of the growth-first (trickle-down) economic model, and will necessitate a redistributive economic model (cf. Bond, 2000:192).

6.3 Recommendations For Further Research

According to Bloomberg and Volpe (2019:61), recommendations promote the idea that scholarly work enables future practise and research. As a result of a considered analysis during the writing of this dissertation, several areas for future research have emerged, which fall beyond the scope of this particular study. These recommendations are aimed towards various sectors/groups/individuals and are intended to generate further thought and to consider improving best practice approaches.

Firstly, as mentioned in Section 4.3.2, the recent judgement by Judge Muller compelling the State to "provide a list of all schools with pit toilets within 90 days along with plans to eradicate them" (Ryan, 2021) provides future researchers with an opportunity to examine government's response to and action taken with respect to the infrastructural backlog that plagues the education sector. The recent developments by the DBE and their proposed changes to the Norms and Standards for Public School Infrastructure Bill (DBE, 2022) further indicate that future research into the DBE's conduct is necessary and ongoing.

Secondly, as discussed in Section 5.2.4, a study examining if and how changes in the equitable share formula will assist learners in poorer provinces and those in Quintile 1-3 schools would be of immense benefit to understand the nuances of public education and the funding thereof. Relatedly, the 2021 national education budget was amended to accommodate the possible loss of 27 662 teaching posts. Therefore, an investigation into the financial accounting of the current education budget (national and provincial) with a special interest in reallocating unnecessary expenditure towards funding free basic education would undoubtedly provide meaningful research towards understanding the complex issues of free basic education and how it can be better funded by the State.

Thirdly, also related to Section 5.2.4, I suggest that a study focusing on understanding the full scope of opposition by Quintile 4-5 fee-paying schools towards an agenda for fully-free public education would be a meaningful addition to academic literature of this nature.

Finally, Section 6.2 of this study has noted that each education minister, to various degrees, wrestled through the contradictory stance of advocating for education as a public good through the mechanism of the South African Constitution (RSA, 1996b), while being part of and participating in the neoliberal agenda (knowingly or unknowingly), which prioritised privatisation and effectively dismantled the notion of 'public' in public education (Giroux, 2015:18). Considering this, a study unpacking the responses, reactions and behaviour of post-apartheid education ministers after being replaced/axed at the end of their political terms, without the weight of parliamentary politics and political party loyalty hanging around their necks, could provide important insight into their thought processes and beliefs regarding education as a public good.

6.4 Final Thoughts

Two final thoughts are provided here to conclude this study. Firstly, the findings, analysis and recommendations within this study are based on an attempt to understand and synthesise a reading of the related literature. My hope is that as a result of this study (and others like it), awareness of the issues at hand is created which could potentially lead to actions being discussed, improved, and implemented. The end goal, of course, is that of improving education as a public good for South African children across the country, especially those who remain under-serviced.

Lastly, many South Africans have fought, as Chapter 2 has attempted to indicate, for the right to vote in post-1994 South Africa. I note that, currently, this right does not allow the majority of South Africans any tangible benefits that equate to a better life. Instead, the majority of South Africans are retained (knowingly or unknowingly) in a position of submission and economic inferiority whilst those who have the economic resources maintain the power structures. My hope is that the notion of democracy becomes a lived reality for all South African citizens and concludes with physically and financially improving the lives of those who live in South Africa.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Selected Education Budget Vote Speech Extracts Disaggregated According To Analysis Themes

Finding (Year of speech extract & page number)	Extracted Quotation	Summary of Finding	Policy / Document Mentioned Directly or Indirectly	Analysis Category (Provides an answer to research questions)
1995:1720	*"May I remind this House that more than half of the millions of our citizens are learning, teaching and working in unacceptably poor working conditions, especially in the rural areas and many township communities, and are achieving woefully inadequate results"*	More than half of the millions of learners in the country are teaching, learning, and working in unacceptably poor conditions, particularly the rural areas.	Draft white paper on education and training (General Notice 1030 of 1994) White Paper on Education and Training (General Notice 196 of 1995)	Ideal conception of public education
1997:1547	*"I believe there is widespread appreciation in the country now, that a democratic South Africa with a justifiable Bill of Rights cannot permit the inherited gross disparities in per capita public funding of education to continue. It is morally repugnant and intolerable. What is more, it is unconstitutional. Moreover, the Constitution requires that services be provided equitably. Despite some shifts in the right direction, there are severe imbalances in the provincial spending in education. If we in government did nothing about that, we would be liable at law"*	Gross funding disparities three years after elections. Honest and reflective view by minister. Invokes the Constitution to insist on accountability. Acknowledges decentralisation difficulties (despite national budgets, provinces are spending education funding in an unbalanced manner). Acknowledges *'animus nocendi'*.	Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 SASA 1996	
2005:9	*"The Freedom Charter states, "Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children." In our Constitution, we committed ourselves to a right to basic education, unqualified by the availability of resources or a progressive realisation of this right. It is clear that much more needs to be done to ensure that exercise of this right is available in all schools, whatever their financial means or location"*	The Minister clearly and unequivocally says that the right to a basic education is unqualified by the availability of resources. Furthermore, government has committed to this approach.	Freedom Charter of 1955 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996	
2013:1-2	*"Fellow compatriots, I am humbled by your support. As men and women of South Africa, you have indeed nurtured and jealously guarded children's constitutional rights to education like the robin that lays and shields its eggs over time. It takes honesty, maturity, clarity of purpose and hard work to build the new, equitable and uniform national system of education that is envisaged in the progressive South African Schools Act of 1996"*	The minister applauds the members of parliament for their role in ensuring/nurturing and guarding the constitutional rights of children's education. The minister calls The South African Schools Act of 1996 progressive and insinuates that the members of parliament have worked with honesty, maturity, clarity of purpose and hard work to bring equity.	SASA 1996 Freedom Charter of 1955 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996	School provision and governance according to South Africa's Constitutional mandate.
2016:2	*"The right of access to basic education is limitless and unqualified... The effects on children of Vuwani arising from such destruction of public assets, the infringement on their right to basic education, and the irreplaceable files and data destroyed at those gutted schools cannot be quantified into rands and cents, it is simply devastating and unacceptable to the extreme"*	Indirectly evokes Freedom Charter. Right to basic education is limitless and unqualified. Any infringement on this right is unacceptable, for example the Vuwani students who lost their schools in the 2016 protests. Likewise, those who are not receiving a quality and equitable education are also recipients of the same kind of right infringement. It too, is unacceptable.	Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996	

Finding (Year of speech extract & page number)	Extracted quotation	Summary of finding	Policy / Document mentioned directly or indirectly	Analysis category (Provides an answer to research questions)
1997:1543	*"I regard this body as being co-responsible with my Ministry for transforming our wildly contradictory educational inheritance into the powerhouse of learning, skill, enterprise, cultural expression, self-discipline, morality, democratic practice, and strong citizenship which it must become"*	NA responsibility. Parliamentary politics at play which have continued the inequity model (i.e., MPs have never voted bipartisanly to reject the budget).	Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996	Parliament's missed opportunity to affect real equitable change in South African Education
2002:28-29	*"In line with the President's injunction that no child should learn under a tree, as he announced in the state of the nation address earlier this year, we will intensify our efforts to end the conditions of physical degradation in our schools. Such conditions threaten the health of students and teachers alike and radically restrict the social and teaching activities of schools. We shall interpret the President's statement as meaning any condition in a school which is dangerous to the children and which is dangerous to the health of the children"*	In 2002, both the president and the education minister publicly announce efforts to eradicate poor schooling conditions will be intensified.	SASA Act 84 of 1996, Section 5A(1)(a) Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996	Infrastructure Development (or lack thereof).
2004:9-10	*"We are doing all in our power to meet the commitments made by the President to eliminate mud-wall schools and other unsafe school buildings in the course of this financial year... All our provincial colleagues agreed to scrutinise already tight budgets to ensure that no child learns under trees by 31 March 2005... In fact, I think it is a national disgrace that our children learn in such conditions"*	The president commits to ending mu-wall schools and other unsafe school buildings by 31 March 2005. The minister, in a sense, says that they are trying their best to meet this deadline which was not set by them.	SASA Act 84 of 1996, Section 5A(1)(a)	
2010:14-15	*"We will not live up to our claim that every child is a national asset if we do not concentrate our efforts on tackling our immense infrastructural challenges... estimated at R140 billion... the current rate of financial allocations means we can anticipate eliminating our infrastructure... backlogs only in 20 years' time... In order to address this and accelerate our infrastructure improvement programme, we will draw explicitly on the construction capacity and momentum created to complete the stadia for the FIFA 2010 Soccer World Cup event. The Department of Basic Education is working with the Development Bank of Southern Africa and Treasury regarding appropriate financing models and capacity for this accelerated school infrastructure improvement programme."*	2010 Soccer World Cup optimism. Signed a policy to provide norms of infrastructure. Major infrastructural backlogs, estimated to be solved in 2030. Human Capital Theory clearly visible in this extract. Solution: draw on momentum from SWC.	National Policy for an Equitable Provision of an Enabling School Physical Teaching and Learning Environment' (NPEP 2010)	
2018:16-17	*"The fact that we had to face two fatalities... Grade R children drowning in pit latrines is lamentable and very embarrassing and could have been prevented. We are mobilising all available resources, including the participation of the private sector and the build industry"*	Two fatalities relating to inadequate school infrastructure. DBE calls it "lamentable", "embarrassing" and "preventable". History, however, shows that the DBE's response was "embarrassing" as their slow and inadequate progress was directly responsible for the deaths of these learners.	National Policy for an Equitable Provision of an Enabling School Physical Teaching and Learning Environment' (NPEP 2010) SASA Act 84 of 1996, Section 5A(1)(a) Government Notice R920 of 2013 in Gazette 37081 (Norms and Standards for School Infrastructure Policy)	

Conditionalities in/constraints to public education

Finding (Year of speech extract & page number)	Extracted quotation	Summary of finding	Policy / Document mentioned directly or indirectly	Analysis category (Provides an answer to research questions)
1994:2777	*"I wish to state my position very clearly. The ownership, governance, and funding of schools, which currently derive from the apartheid era, must be brought within a coherent, national, non-racial framework in which constitutional rights are fully upheld, and which is acceptable in a democratic state. The inherited models of schools, of whatever type, must therefore be replaced"*	First speech was still framed in terms of the 19 different racially segregated departments. The minister clearly issues a directive that the ownership, governance, and funding of schools must be replaced. These changes are based on a non-racial framework, which was derived from using the Interim Constitution.	Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 200 of 1993	The current realities of South Africa's Quintile system (Is it working for the public good?).
1994:2778	*"I am compelled to voice my personal disappointment that the level of resourcing available to education does not make possible a definite statement of when general education could become fully non-fee-paying"*	Draft White paper 1994 and White Paper explicitly acknowledge the need for free and compulsory basic education, but financial constraints do not allow for this change.	Draft white paper on education and training (General Notice 1030 of 1994) White Paper on Education and Training (General Notice 196 of 1995)	
2003:37-38	*"Let me reiterate, hon members, that there is no place in education for the continued maintenance of historical privilege. Nothing should work to the disadvantage of schools that suffered under apartheid, and which now should be receiving additional assistance, which the Government is committed to. Any continuation of privilege will contradict the equity imperative"*	Clear view that any maintenance of historical privilege in terms of funding contradicts the equity imperative. Schools, especially those that suffered under apartheid, should be receiving additional assistance.	Constitution of the RSA, Act 108 of 1996 1955 Freedom Charter SDG4 SASA 1996	
2006:7	*"Poverty is another aspect we have to act on. The successful introduction of no-fee schools is our partial answer. As I indicated last year, no-fee schools must not become ghettoised into no-quality schools"*	Introduction of 'No-fee' schools is governments attempt at reducing poverty. However, because Q4-5 schools can charge fees, their schools are still better advantaged. Q1-3 schools are not able to pick themselves out of poverty with current state funding and hence the quality of the majority of these schools remains lower than schools that charge fees.	SASA (1996) Education Laws Amendment Act 24 of 2005 Notice 1205 of 2006 in Gazette 29438 (List of No-fee schools)	
2007:8-9	*"While the [no-fee schools] policy is a welcome development... I believe the time may have arrived for us to debate whether South Africa shouldn't draft legislation offering all children free primary school education. This would, I believe, bring us in line with modern democracies worldwide"*	No fee school's policy is a welcomed. The minister floats the idea of debating and drafting laws that would offer Primary ed. to all kids for free. The assumption is that all modern democracies do this in legal proclamation and as practice. The reality is far from that, however. Most countries proclaim free ed., but most are constraint financially and prefer financial sustainability.	Constitution of the RSA, Act 108 of 1996 1955 Freedom Charter SDG4 SASA 1996	
2009:95	*"Regarding the capping of fees... it is also quite irresponsible to allow, by default, state assets like schools to be privatised by high fees so that they exclude children of poorer parents who cannot afford to pay the fees. This is an open issue, but we are committed to saying that we are not going to allow public schools to charge R50 000, because that will, in a way, really be like stealing state assets by privatising them and keeping them for the rich only... on the question of charging fees, I am not sure why we should deny parents who are willing to give their children the best gift they can, which is education, by saying they can't pay... There should be a spirit of making sure that there is cross-subsidisation in the system"*	Minister does not share the same sentiment of free basic ed across all schools as previous ministers. Instead, she wants parents to decide, which again highlights the notion of decentralisation and choice theory (privatisation at its core). With regards to capping of school fees, the minister commits to capping school fees at R50k, however this is never legislated. Some fortified schools charge over R50k per year! The minister doesn't mention her commitment ever again in consequent speeches.	SASA (1996)	
2021:7-8	*"R2,4 billion... was earmarked to secure SGB-appointed educator posts in fee-paying public schools, and educator posts in state subsidised independent schools. These posts were under threat as schools were experiencing financial distress as a result of parents being unable to pay school fees, because of the economic devastation brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic. Through this initiative, we saved about 27 662 posts"*	COVID-19 decimated the education sector as many schools (fee-paying public and state-subsidised independent) were not able to pay salaries. R2,4b was set aside to ensure that teachers in these schools were paid their March and April salaries. This amount was already budgeted but moved around due to the pandemic. The budget can easily be changed if required.	Adjusted Medium-Term Budget Policy Statement for 2020/2021 Adjusted Medium-Term Budget Policy Statement for 2021/2022	

Conditionalities in/constraints to public education

Finding (Year of speech extract & page number)	Extracted quotation	Summary of finding	Policy / Document mentioned directly or indirectly	Analysis category (Provides an answer to research questions)
1998:2027	*"The fundamental challenge in the management of our national education system is not per se that of finding additional money, however welcome that would be, but rather that of discovering how to allocate funds more equitably, to cut waste, to improve the work-rate, and to target spending where it will make a real difference to education quality"*	Main challenge of education in 1998 was not finding more money, but rather how to use the money more effectively. This meant trying "new" methods (systems analysis)	Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 SASA 1996	Systems Analysis and its role in South African Education.
2008:18-19	*"This year... we concluded a historic agreement with teacher unions... For the first time in our history, learner performance will be a part of teacher evaluation"*	Agreement with teacher unions that sets out several "improvements" for teachers. Most notably for this study is the inclusion of learner performance as a criterion for teacher evaluation which was linked to teacher rewards and payment.	ELRC: Collective Agreement 1 of 2008	
2014:4	*"In line with heightening accountability and enhancing service delivery, the department is invoking sections 3 and 8 of the National Education Policy Act of 1996 to hold districts and provinces that are not performing accountable. We believe that the time has come to place responsibility and accountability where it belongs"*	Minister invokes Section 3 and 8 of Act 27 of 1996. In essence she shifts responsibility and accountability of poor quality in education away from national DBE to provinces. Matters pertaining to poor funding and inadequate provision of resources and infrastructure are minimised and the results of their exclusion are placed at provinces' "door".	Section 3 and 8 of National Education Policy Act 27 of 1996	
1996:1529	*My Ministry's task is therefore to put right what has been wrong in the provision and resourcing of public education and training at all levels, and to develop the new organisational and governance structures, policy instruments, funding frameworks and legislation required to chart a new course for the system.*	New organisational and governance structures, policies and funding frameworks are touted early on. This leads to the culmination and introduction of PPPs.	SASA 1996	Privatisation in education (PPPs at play).
2000:16	*"If public education is not delivering the level of service that people require, they will go elsewhere... Private providers of all varieties are ready to exploit any perceived gap left by inadequate public provision... What is more, as soon as the public system fails to represent the South African people at large, its capacity for beneficial influence on the civic values and virtues of our new nation will be severely diminished"*	Minister acknowledges that if public education is poor, people will leave the system and move to private providers. This will have a negative impact on group societal values as the ideals and values of public education no longer represent the greater population.	Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 SA Section 29(3)(4)	
2015:14	*"The importance of public-private partnerships is a prevalent theme in the National Development Plan. To this end, we have budgeted R200 million. This allocation is meant to leverage the partnership contributions from the private sector"*	Government places high importance on PPPs. R200million has been set aside to leverage/double amounts that are contributed by the private sector.	NDP 2030	
2017:13	*"We wish to recognise the... National Education Collaboration Trust, NECT... Guided by its operational mathematical mantra that says the NECT + NDP = hope, growth and future, in its short stint - the NECT has made a great impact in the sector"*	Minister acknowledges the great work that the NECT has done. The NECT coordinates support to focus on improving school districts. This is evidently a function that the DBE is outsourcing to NECT and, hence shifting responsibility.	NDP 2030 NECT's Education Collaboration Framework Policy	

Privatisation of and in public education

Finding (Year of speech extract & page number)	Extracted quotation	Summary of finding	Policy / Document mentioned directly or indirectly	Analysis category (Provides an answer to research questions)
1999:1373	*"It is unreasonable to expect the education system bear the full burden of society's ills. But the moral crisis in our nation will overwhelm us if the education system is not in the forefront and front line of our struggle to reclaim communities from the ravages of a brutal past and a despairing present."*	Clear understanding that education cannot, alone, solve society's moral ills. Seems to contradict the 2011 speech.	Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 SASA 1996	
2001:31-32	*"I am also delighted to announce that we have succeeded in increasing enrolment in the schools dramatically. Currently, South Africa has one of the highest enrolment rates for children of school-going age, compared to other developing countries. Over 12 million children are at school, representing more than 90% of all children between the ages of seven and 15 years. Most of our gains have been with regard to the poor, African and rural children, and our participation rate for girls is among the highest in the world."*	Access to schools has increased ten-fold and signifies that the WBs advice has been adhered to! However, despite high enrolment, SA still has the highest levels of inequality globally!	Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 SASA 1996	
2011:2	*"The value of education is echoed in our Delivery Agreement, which states that in the context of high unemployment and skills shortage, reducing poverty depends on giving South Africans a better educational start in life. This is precisely what makes education the apex priority, the real reason for working together to create a delivery-driven basic education system"*	Grim reality of South Africa in 2011: high unemployment, a skills shortage and crippling poverty. The Minister's plan to combat these ill's is dependant "on giving South Africans a better educational start in life." Interesting to note the exclusion of other aspects directly related to poverty. For example, there is noticeably no mention of economic and political changes that need to be implemented to reduce poverty. These are red herrings and can also be characterised as circular reasoning.	Government Notice 752 of 2010 (Action Plan to 2014: Towards the realisation of Schooling 2025) The Delivery Agreement for the Basic Education Sector Signed by the Minister of Basic Education, Mrs AM Motshekga, MP. Friday 29 October 2010	Access vs Quality (a discussion on Access Doctrine and the Fourth Industrial Revolution).
2012:15	*"Our department, together with the Department of Communications, has developed a connectivity plan providing a comprehensive framework for achieving cost-effective and efficient connectivity for all schools"*	DBE's drive towards e-Education as the Department of Communications, Telkom and the Department of Basic Education sign an agreement that would provide internet connectivity to 1650 schools and open the door for future universal connection. Important step towards preparing for 4IR. However, not all schools will be ready as some still have pit latrines! Inequality perpetuated.	The Telkom Masters Services Agreement, signed on 27 March 2012 Government Notice 1922 of 2004 (White Paper on e-Education) in Gazette 26762 Government Notice R920 of 2013 in Gazette 37081 (Section 16 of Norms and Standards for School Infrastructure Policy)	
2019:12-13	*"Research conducted by the Oxford University, reveals that 45% of the current jobs, will disappear within the next 10 to 20 years... Therefore, the need for the basic education sector to refocus the curriculum towards... the demands of the changing world, is inescapable"*	Research indicates that 45% of today's jobs won't exist in 20 years. Curriculum needs to evolve to adapt for 4IR. To prepare. DBE wishes to connect schools to internet and change the curriculum.	NDP 2030 3(4)(l) of the National Education Policy Act, 1996 (Act No. 27 of 1996)	
2020:8	*"Despite all the challenges that we're facing under COVID-19... DBE has developed the coding and robotics curriculum for Grade 9"*	Coding and robotics curriculum is a welcomed addition to the preparation for the 4IR, however, only schools who have the necessary infrastructure will be ready and prepared!	Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (Grade R-9: Coding and Robotics) NDP 2030	
2021:13-15	*"I am pleased to announce the introduction of a FET level subject; Marine Sciences... it is particularly relevant to our NDP goals, since the Ocean Economy contributes over six billion US dollars toward our country's gross domestic product... we are (also) collaborating with the Department of Transport to finalise the draft Aviation Curriculum"*	Subjects that have been, or will be, added to our schools are Marine Sciences and Aviation. These will contribute to our GDP.	Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (Grade 10-12: Marine Sciences)	

Privatisation of and in public education

Appendix 2: Selected Education Budget Vote Speech Extracts Disaggregated Chronologically With The Inclusion Of The Context (Both Political And General) Of Each Speech

#	1		2	3
Year	1994		1995	1996
Date	16-Apr		25-May	21-May
Full Speech Word Count	2658		2819	1905
Hansard Page #	2777	2778	1720	1531
Extracted quotation	"I wish to state my position very clearly. The ownership, governance, and funding of schools, which currently derive from the apartheid era, must be brought within a coherent, national, non-racial framework in which constitutional rights are fully upheld, and which is acceptable in a democratic state. The inherited models of schools, of whatever type, must therefore be replaced"	"I am compelled to voice my personal disappointment that the level of resourcing available to education does not make possible a definite statement of when general education could become fully non-fee-paying"	"May I remind this House that more than half of the millions of our citizens are learning, teaching and working in unacceptably poor working conditions, especially in the rural areas and many township communities, and are achieving woefully inadequate results"	"My Ministry's task is therefore to put right what has been wrong in the provision and resourcing of public education and training at all levels, and to develop the new organisational and governance structures, policy instruments, funding frameworks and legislation required to chart a new course for the system"
Emerging issues	First speech, was still framed in terms of the 19 different racially segregated departments. The minister clearly issues a directive that the ownership, governance and funding of schools must be replaced. These changes are based on a non-racial framework, which was derived from using the Interim Constitution.	Draft White paper 1994 and White Paper explicitly acknowledge the need for free and compulsory basic education, but financial constraints do not allow for this change.	More than half of the millions of learners in the country are teaching, learning and working in unacceptably poor conditions, particularly the rural areas.[]	New organisational and governance structures, policies and funding frameworks are touted early on. This leads to the culmination and introduction of PPPs.
Policy or Document mentioned directly or indirectly	Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 200 of 1993 Draft white paper on education and training (General Notice 1030 of 1994)	White Paper on Education and Training (General Notice 196 of 1995) Draft white paper on education and training (General Notice 1030 of 1994)	White Paper on Education and Training (General Notice 196 of 1995)	SASA (1996)
Education Minister	Professor Sibusiso Bengu (6 speeches)			
President of RSA	Nelson Mandela			
Portfolio	Ministry of Education (Basic & Higher Education)			

Portfolio	President of RSA	Education Minister	#	Year	Date	Full Speech Word Count	Hansard Page #	Extracted quotation	Emerging issues	Policy or Document mentioned directly or indirectly
Ministry of Education (Basic & Higher Education)	Nelson Mandela	Professor Sibusiso Bengu (6 speeches)	4	1997	21-Apr	2359	1547	"I believe there is widespread appreciation in the country now, that a democratic South Africa with a justifiable Bill of Rights cannot permit the inherited gross disparities in per capita public funding of education to continue. It is morally repugnant and intolerable. What is more, it is unconstitutional. Moreover, the Constitution requires that services be provided equitably. Despite some shifts in the right direction, there are severe imbalances in the provincial spending in education. If we in government did nothing about that, we would be liable at law"	Gross funding disparities 3 years after elections. Honest and reflective view by minister. Invokes the Constitution to insist on accountability. Acknowledges decentralisation difficulties (despite national budgets, provinces are spending education funding in an unbalanced manner). Acknowledges 'animus nocendi'.	Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 SASA 1996
							1543	"I regard this body as being co-responsible with my Ministry for transforming our wildly contradictory educational inheritance into the powerhouse of learning, skill, enterprise, cultural expression, self-discipline, morality, democratic practice, and strong citizenship which it must become"	NA responsibility. Parliamentary politics at play which have continued the inequity model (i.e., MPs have never voted bipartisanly to reject the budget)	Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996
			5	1998	11-May	2480	2027	"The fundamental challenge in the management of our national education system is not per se that of finding additional money, however welcome that would be, but rather that of discovering how to allocate funds more equitably, to cut waste, to improve the work-rate, and to target spending where it will make a real difference to education quality"	Main challenge of education in 1998 was not finding more money, but rather how to use the money more effectively. This meant trying "new" methods (systems analysis)	Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 SASA 1996
			6	1999	08-May	2066	1373	"It is unreasonable to expect the education system bear the full burden of society's ills. But the moral crisis in our nation will overwhelm us if the education system is not in the forefront and front line of our struggle to reclaim communities from the ravages of a brutal past and a despairing present"	Clear understanding that education cannot, alone, solve society's moral ills. Seems to contradict the 2011 speech.	Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 SASA 1996
	Thabo Mbeki									

Portfolio	President of RSA	Education Minister	Policy or Document mentioned directly or indirectly	Emerging issues	Extracted quotation	Hansard Page #	Full Speech Word Count	Date	Year	#
Ministry of Education (Basic & Higher Education)	Thabo Mbeki	Professor Kader Asmal (4 speeches)	SA Constitution 29(3)(4)	Minister acknowledges that if public education is poor, people will leave the system and move to private providers. This will have a negative impact on group societal values as the ideals and values of public education no longer represent the greater population.	"If public education is not delivering the level of service that people require, they will go elsewhere... Private providers of all varieties are ready to exploit any perceived gap left by inadequate public provision... What is more, as soon as the public system fails to represent the South African people at large, its capacity for beneficial influence on the civic values and virtues of our new nation will be severely diminished"	16	5750	14-Mar	2000	7
			SA Constitution 29(3)(4)	School enrollment improvements which serve as successes that point towards the ANCs stance of equity and education for all, as opposed to education under apartheid where only a minority were able to attend schools.	"I am also delighted to announce that we have succeeded in increasing enrolment in the schools dramatically. Currently, South Africa has one of the highest enrolment rates for children of school-going age, compared to other developing countries. Over 12 million children are at school, representing more than 90% of all children between the ages of seven and 15 years. Most of our gains have been with regard to the poor, African and rural children, and our participation rate for girls is among the highest in the world."	31-32	4733	24-May	2001	8
			Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 SASA Act 84 of 1996, Section 5A(1)(a)	In 2002, both the president and the education minister publicly announce efforts to eradicate poor schooling conditions will be intensified.	"In line with the President's injunction that no child should learn under a tree, as he announced in the state of the nation address earlier this year, we will intensify our efforts to end the conditions of physical degradation in our schools. Such conditions threaten the health of students and teachers alike and radically restrict the social and teaching activities of schools. We shall interpret the President's statement as meaning any condition in a school which is dangerous to the children and which is dangerous to the health of the children"	28-29	3670	06-Jun	2002	9

#	10	11	12
Year	2003	2004	2005
Date	20-May	18-Jun	17-May
Full Speech Word Count	4232	3844	4404
Hansard Page #	37-38	9-10	9
Extracted quotation	"Let me reiterate, hon members, that there is no place in education for the continued maintenance of historical privilege. Nothing should work to the disadvantage of schools that suffered under apartheid, and which now should be receiving additional assistance, which the Government is committed to. Any continuation of privilege will contradict the equity imperative"	"We are doing all in our power to meet the commitments made by the President to eliminate mud-wall schools and other unsafe school buildings in the course of this financial year... All our provincial colleagues agreed to scrutinise already tight budgets to ensure that no child learns under trees by 31 March 2005... In fact, I think it is a national disgrace that our children learn in such conditions"	"The Freedom Charter states, "Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children." In our Constitution, we committed ourselves to a right to basic education, unqualified by the availability of resources or a progressive realisation of this right. It is clear that much more needs to be done to ensure that exercise of this right is available in all schools, whatever their financial means or location"
Emerging issues	Clear view that any maintenance of historical privilege in terms of funding contradicts the equity imperative. Schools, especially those that suffered under apartheid, should be receiving additional assistance.	The president commits to ending mud-wall schools and other unsafe school buildings by 31 March 2005. The minister, in a sense, says that they are trying their best to meet this deadline which was not set by them.	The Minister clearly and unequivocally says that the right to a basic education is unqualified by the availability of resources. Furthermore, government has committed to this approach.
Policy or Document mentioned directly or indirectly	Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 1955 Freedom Charter SDG4 SASA 1996	SASA Act 84 of 1996, Section 5A(1)(a)	Freedom Charter of 1955 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996
Education Minister	Professor Kader Asmal (4 speeches)	Dr Naledi Pandor (5 speeches)	
President of RSA	Thabo Mbeki		
Portfolio	Ministry of Education (Basic & Higher Education)		

Portfolio	President of RSA	Education Minister	#	Year	Date	Full Speech Word Count	Hansard Page #	Extracted quotation	Emerging issues	Policy or Document mentioned directly or indirectly
Ministry of Education (Basic & Higher Education)	Thabo Mbeki	Dr Naledi Pandor (5 speeches)	13	2006	19-May	4204	7	"Poverty is another aspect we have to act on. The successful introduction of no-fee schools is our partial answer. As I indicated last year, no-fee schools must not become ghettoised into no-quality schools"	Introduction of 'No-fee' schools is governments attempt at reducing poverty. However, because Q4-5 schools can charge fees, their schools are still better advantaged. Q1-3 schools are not able to pick themseves out of poverty with current state funding and hence the quality of the majority of these schools remains lower then schools that charge fees.	SASA (1996) Notice 1205 of 2006 in Gazette 29438 (List of No-fee schools)
			14	2007	29-May	5171	8-9	"While the [no-fee schools] policy is a welcome development... I believe the time may have arrived for us to debate whether South Africa shouldn't draft legislation offering all children free primary school education. This would, I believe, bring us in line with modern democracies worldwide"	No fee schools policy is a welcomed. The minister floats the idea of debating and drafting laws that would offer Primary ed. to all kids for free. The assumption is that all modern democracies do this in legal proclamation and as practice. The reality is far from that, however. Most countries proclaim free ed., but most are contraint financially and prefer financial sustainability.	SA Constitution 1955 Freedom Charter SDG4 SASA 1996
	Kgalema Motlanthe		15	2008	15-May	4238	18-19	"This year... we concluded a historic agreement with teacher unions... For the first time in our history, learner performance will be a part of teacher evaluation"	Agreement with teacher unions that sets out a number of "improvements" for teachers. Most notably for this study is the inclusion of learner performance as a criteria for teacher evaluation which was linked to teacher rewards and payment.. Good intentions as the idea is to improve teacher quality and competence. However, it is Systems Analysis and removes the public good by replacing it with self-interested teachers who could possibly fake the system to get an increase. This helps no one.	ELRC: Collective Agreement 1 of 2008 The National Policy Framework For Teacher Education and Development In South Africa Collective Agreement No. 8 of 2003 at the ELRC (IQMS)

Portfolio	Department of Basic Education					
President of RSA	Kgalema Motlanthe	Jacob Zuma				
Education Minister	Angie Mothsekga (13 speeches)					
Policy or Document mentioned directly or indirectly	SASA (1996)	National Policy for an Equitable Provision of an Enabling School Physical Teaching and Learning Environment' (NPEP 2010)	Government Notice 752 of 2010 (Action Plan to 2014: Towards the realisation of Schooling 2025)	The Delivery Agreement for the Basic Education Sector Signed by the Minister of Basic Education, Mrs AM Motshekga, MP. Friday 29 October 2010		
Emerging issues	Minister does not share the same sentiment of free basic ed across all schools as previous ministers. Instead she wants parents to decide, which again highlights the notion of decentralisation and choice theory (privatisation at its core). With regards to capping of school fees, the minister commits to capping school fees at R50k, however this is never legislated. Some fortified schools charge over R50k per year! The minister doesn't mention her commitement ever again in consequent speeches.	2010 Soccer World Cup optimisim, Signed a policy to provide norms of infrastructure. Major infrastructural backlogs, estimated to be solved in 2030. Human Capital Theory clearly visible in this extract. Solution: draw on momentum from SWC.	Grim reality of South Africa in 2011: high unemployment, a skills shortage and crippling poverty. The Minister's plan to combat these ill's is dependant "on giving South Africans a better educational start in life". Interesting to note the exclusion of other aspects directly related to poverty. For example, there is noticeably no mention of economic and political changes that need to be implemented to reduce poverty. These are red herrings and can also be characterised as circular reasoning.			
Extracted quotation	"Regarding the capping of fees... it is also quite irresponsible to allow, by default, state assets like schools to be privatised by high fees so that they exclude children of poorer parents who cannot afford to pay the fees. This is an open issue, but we are committed to saying that we are not going to allow public schools to charge R50 000, because that will, in a way, really be like stealing state assets by privatising them and keeping them for the rich only... on the question of charging fees, I am not sure why we should deny parents who are willing to give their children the best gift they can, which is education, by saying they can't pay... There should be a spirit of making sure that there is cross-subsidisation in the system"	"We will not live up to our claim that every child is a national asset if we do not concentrate our efforts on tackling our immense infrastructural challenges... estimated at R140 billion... the current rate of financial allocations means we can anticipate eliminating our infrastructure... backlogs only in 20 years' time... In order to address this and accelerate our infrastructure improvement programme, we will draw explicitly on the construction capacity and momentum created to complete the stadia for the FIFA 2010 Soccer World Cup"	"The value of education is echoed in our Delivery Agreement, which states that in the context of high unemployment and skills shortage, reducing poverty depends on giving South Africans a better educational start in life. This is precisely what makes education the apex priority, the real reason for working together to create a delivery driven basic education system"			
Hansard Page #	95	14-15	2			
Full Speech Word Count	3590	2975	2901			
Date	30-Jun	23-Mar	13-Apr			
Year	2009	2010	2011			
#	16	17	18			

#	Year	Date	Full Speech Word Count	Hansard Page #	Extracted quotation	Emerging issues	Policy or Document mentioned directly or indirectly	Education Minister	President of RSA	Portfolio
19	2012	17-May	3631	15	"Our department, together with the Department of Communications, has developed a connectivity plan providing a comprehensive framework for achieving cost-effective and efficient connectivity for all schools"	DBE's drive towards e-Education as the Department of Communications, Telkom and the Department of Basic Education sign an agreement that would provide internet connectivity to 1650 schools and open the door for future universal connection. Important step towards prepareing for 4IR. However, not all schools will be ready as some still have pit latrines! Inequality perpetuated.	The Telkom Masters Services Agreement, signed on 27 March 2012 Government Notice 1922 of 2004 (White Paper on e-Education) in Gazette 26762 Government Notice R920 of 2013 in Gazette 37081 (Section 16 of Norms and Standards for School Infrastructure Policy)	Angie Mothsekga	Jacob Zuma	Department of Basic Education
20	2013	07-May	3167	1-2	"Fellow compatriots, I am humbled by your support. As men and women of South Africa, you have indeed nurtured and jealously guarded children's constitutional rights to education like the robin that lays and shields its eggs over time. It takes honesty, maturity, clarity of purpose and hard work to build the new, equitable and uniform national system of education that is envisaged in the progressive South African Schools Act of 1996"	The minister applauds the member sof parliament for their role in ensuring/nurturing and guarding the constitutional rights of children's education. The minister calls The South African Schools Act of 1996 progressive and insinuates that the members of parliament have worked with honesty, maturity, clarity of purpose and hard work to bring equity.	SASA 1996 Freedom Charter of 1955 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996			
21	2014	15-Jul	2952	4	"In line with heightening accountability and enhancing service delivery, the department is invoking sections 3 and 8 of the National Education Policy Act of 1996 to hold districts and provinces that are not performing accountable. We believe that the time has come to place responsibility and accountability where it belongs"	Minister invokes Section 3 and 8 of Act 27 of 1996. In essence she shifts responsibility and accountability of poor quality in education away from national DBE to provinces. Matters pertaining to poor funding and inadequate provision of resources and infrastructure are minimised and the results of their exclusion are placed at provinces' "door".	Section 3 and 8 of National Education Policy Act 27 of 1996			

Portfolio	President of RSA	Education Minister	Policy or Document mentioned directly or indirectly	Emerging issues	Extracted quotation	Hansard Page #	Full Speech Word Count	Date	Year	#
Department of Basic Education	Jacob Zuma	Angie Mothsekga	NDP 2030	Government places high importance on PPPs. R200million has been set aside to leverage/double amounts that are contributed by the private sector.	"The importance of public-private partnerships is a prevalent theme in the National Development Plan. To this end, we have budgeted R200 million. This allocation is meant to leverage the partnership contributions from the private sector"	14	3137	06-May	2015	22
			SA Constitution	Indirectly evokes Freedom Charter. Right to basic education is limitless and unqualified. Any infringement on this right is unacceptable, for example the Vuwani students who lost their schools in the 2016 protests. Likewise those who are not receiving a quality and equitable education are also recipients of the same kind of right infringement. It too is unacceptable.	"The right of access to basic education is limitless and unqualified... The effects on children of Vuwani arising from such destruction of public assets, the infringement on their right to basic education, and the irreplaceable files and data destroyed at those gutted schools cannot be quantified into rands and cents, it is simply devastating and unacceptable to the extreme"	2	3221	10-May	2016	23
	Cyril Ramaphosa		NDP 2030 NECT's Education Collaboration Framework Policy	Minister acknowledges the great work that the NECT has done. The NECT coordinates support to focus on improving school districts. This is evidently a function that the DBE is outsourcing to NECT and hence shifting responsibility.	"We wish to recognise the... National Education Collaboration Trust, NECT... Guided by its operational mathematical maantra that says the NECT + NDP = hope, growth and future, in its short stint - the NECT has made a great impact in the sector"	13	2816	24-May	2017	24
			National Policy for an Equitable Provision of an Enabling School Physical Teaching and Learning Environment' (NPEP 2010) SASA Act 84 of 1996, Section 5A(1)(a) Government Notice R920 of 2013 in Gazette 37081 (Norms and Standards for School Infrastructure Policy)	Two fatalities relating to inadequate school infrastructure. DBE calls it "lamentable", "embarrasing" and "prevantable". History, however, shows that the DBE's response was "embarrasing" as their slow and inadequate progress was directly responsible for the deaths of these learners.	"The fact that we had to face two fatalities... Grade R children drowning in pit latrines is lamentable and very embarrassing and could have been prevented. We are mobilising all available resources, including the participation of the private sector and the build industry"	16-17	2927	09-May	2018	25

Portfolio	President of RSA	Education Minister	Policy or Document mentioned directly or indirectly	Emerging issues	Extracted quotation	Hansard Page #	Full Speech Word Count	Date	Year	#
Department of Basic Education	Cyril Ramaphosa	Angie Mothsekga	NDP 2030	Research indicates that 45% of today's jobs won't exist in 20 years.Curriculum needs to evolve to adapt for 4IR. To prepare, DBE wishes to connect schools to internet and change the curriculum.	"Research conducted by the Oxford University, reveals that 45% of the current jobs, will disappear within the next 10 to 20 years... Therefore, the need for the basic education sector to refocus the curriculum towards... the demands of the changing world, is inescapable"	12-13	2852	16-Jul	2019	26
			3(4)(l) of the National Education Policy Act, 1996 (Act No. 27 of 1996)	Coding and robotics curriculum is a welcomed addition to the preparation for the 4IR, however, only schools who have the necessary infrastructure will be ready and prepared!	"Despite all the challenges that we're facing under COVID-19... DBE has developed the coding and robotics curriculum for Grade 9"	8	2184	22-Jul	2020	27
			Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (Grade R-9: Coding and Robotics)							
			Adjusted Medium-Term Budget Policy Statement for 2020/2021	COVID-19 decimated the education sector as many schools (fee-paying public and state-subsidised independent) were not able to pay salaries. R2,4b was set aside to ensure that teachers in thse schools were paid their March and April salaries. This amount was already budgeted, but moved around due to the pandemic. The budget can easily be changed if required.	"R2,4 billion... was earmarked to secure SGB-appointed educator posts in fee-paying public schools, and educator posts in state subsidised independent schools. These posts were under threat as schools were experiencing financial distress as a result of parents being unable to pay school fees, because of the economic devastation brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic. Through this initiative, we saved about 27 662 posts"	7-8	2775	20-May	2021	28
			Adjusted Medium-Term Budget Policy Statement for 2021/2022							
			NDP 2030	Subjects that have been, or will be, added to our schools are Marine Sciences and Aviation. These will contribute to our GDP.	"I am pleased to announce the introduction of a FET level subject; Marine Sciences... it is particularly relevant to our NDP goals, since the Ocean Economy contributes over six billion US dollars toward our country's gross domestic product... we are [also] collaborating with the Department of Transport to finalise the draft Aviation Curriculum"	13-15				
			Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (Grade 10-12: Marine Sciences)							