UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

UNDERSTANDING TEACHERS' AUTHORITY IN BLACK SCHOOLS IN CHRONIC CRISIS

A dissertation
presented in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

by

MALLELE IAN PETJE

March 1989

Acknowledgments

I owe much gratitude to the following people who took interest in this project. My supervisor Clive J Millar, and Nico Cloete who provided invaluable services with progressive criticisms. I also wish to thank the former for improving my English. Michael J Ashley, Joe Muller, Yogesh Parbhoo-Narsing and Yael Shalem with whom I had relevant discussions and some for the literature references which they have provided. Pat Maloka (Neusa Resource Centre - Johannesburg) for introducing me to some teachers and also for assisting me to arrange meetings with them. Kabelo Selema and Joan Ledwaba - for accommodation during the research activity. Peter Kgongwana, Gwen Ramokgopa and Myra Katz, and all persons whom I cannot mention, for solidarity. Susan Thorne and Nicole Gordon for doing professional work on the typing. My parents - Mamaritedi Mogale and Rangwato Boledi Petje, my brothers, sisters, and in-laws for moral and practical support during my studies. I am greatly indebted to the teachers and students who braved professional and school suppression to talk unflinchingly about their conceptualisations and experiences within State schools.

The financial assistance of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) towards this research is also acknowledged. Opinions expressed in here, or conclusions arrived at are those of the author and are not to be attributed to the HSRC.

List of abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation
CATA	Cape African Teachers Association
CBER	Council for Black Education and Research
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CP	City Press
CRIC	Community Resources and Information Centre
DET	Department of Education and Training
INSET	Inservice Education for Teachers
NECC	National Education Crisis Committee
NEUSA	National Education Union of South Africa
NN	New Nation
PTSAs	Parents Teachers Students Associations
SAAK	Stellenbosse Aktuele Aangeleentheidskring
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
SALB	South African Labour Bulletin
SAPS	South African Pressclips Supplement
SASPU	South African Students Press Union
SN	Saspu National
SPCC	Soweto Parents Crisis Committee
SRCs	Students Representative Councils
SS	Sunday Star
ST	Sunday Times
TATA	Transvaal African Teachers Association
TUATA	Transvaal United African Teachers Association
UDF	United Democratic Front
WIP	Work in Progress
WM	Weekly Mail

Abstract

Black schooling has been plunged into deep crisis following persistent political and ideological assertiveness by users' against the intransigent State. Assertive practices in the State black secondary schools climaxed with the refusal by students to sit for examinations. Accompanying these assertive practices were the disintegration of order and the alarming failure rate, all of which put teachers in the midst of accusations from both the State and some users.

The State blamed teachers for disorderliness, the lack of discipline of students and for not doing their work efficiently. Some users accused teachers of incompetency and often of sustaining the State hegemony. Teachers, however, redirected the accusations at the State for its authoritarianism. These labellings reflect the impact the interminable education crisis has had on teachers working within State schools which are the site of race and class struggle. The crisis bears heavily and negatively on teachers' authority to an extent where some scholars highlight that teachers have become professionally dysfunctional and have since lost authority (see below).

The study takes these charges seriously and is geared towards understanding teachers' authority within the context of South African education system whose bias favours white, in particular Afrikaner supremacy and the domination of the ruling classes. This could mean that teachers' authority is either a creation of this supremacy/domination and its maintenance or a product of resistance towards such domination. In order to test this theoretical supposition, particular attention was given towards understanding the significance of teachers' authority, its social bases, the way it is exercised and its stability or instability in the context of the current education crisis.

What came to light was the fact that teachers exercised a form of authority predetermined by the State whilst at the same time there were attempts to move away from that practice and establish an alternative authority. The new form of authority was interpreted as being influenced by an ideology whose ultimate aim was to transform the imposed status quo.

The conclusions were that teachers' authority remained in crisis as did the schools, due to teachers' work which either conflicted with the educational policy or which propped up the system in the face of insurmountable resistance from users. It was suggested that teachers are likely to thrive in the crisis if they were able to collectively amass political professional power in alliance with the community to engage in counter-hegemony.

Table of contents

1. INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Development of the thesis

The strength of the social continuity in any society depends on the dialectical relationship between the social (economic and political) base and the educational base, no matter how imbalanced the forces of the bases tend to be at times. In a country such as South Africa where social continuity draws support from the capitalist social base which is more powerful, the nature of governance in the education system is likely to prop up this base, even though such is not always the case. This inconsistency can be attributed to lack of concord among social actors for various reasons which include racial, colour, cultural and class divisions. These divisions are questioned in such a way that the mode of production - that is, forces that contribute to the continuity of the system - is not always as self-perpetuating as the State would have liked.

There should be some form of identity with the essence of the social base and acceptance of the direction and ideology of education by the majority of people before any mode of production can be efficient. The absence of such unanimity has given way to outright coercion where the social and the educational bases favour dominant classes against the subordinate classes. Historically, the establishment of the 'Bantu education' system is a manoeuvre by the State to ensure perpetual reproduction of the social relations and the mode of production. The school as such is beyond the control of the 'community' (see page 12). The interests of the working class are not catered for in the cultural capital of the school. Instead the school generates the interests of the ruling classes by disseminating bourgeois ideology. For instance, white people who constitute the decision making bloc in the Government had succeeded in manipulating resources to entrench their supremacy and to subjugate black people economically and politically in order to sustain the status quo. There is thus a

racial conflict which is rooted in the policy of 'separate development'. But it will be too simplistic to view crisis in black schooling as only the consequence of the colour and cultural divide, particularly in the light of a new reform policy of 'integrated development' of which one strategy is to create and co-opt a section of society (i.e., petty bourgeoisie) to supporting the status quo. As a result, the class nature of the South African society also contributes to the crisis in the sense that the bureaucratic ordering of the education system benefits (petty) bourgeois classes whilst the interests of the proletariat class are ignored.

This supremacy or domination has taken many forms, among others, ownership, control and other privileges of educational resources. The State pressure for a transfer of ownership and control of education from church and private institutions heralded a new form of control viz., State control. With this came constraints on teachers' autonomy and professionalism was defined from the State's point of view. The State arrogated to itself the right to prescribe the curriculum such that it would add to the intactness of the Government and its social order (i.e., a capitalist social structure, a fragmented education system and authoritarianism), hereafter, the GSO. The interaction between users, that is, teachers, students, parents and some members of the community is conditioned in one form or another by the power of the elites so that reproduction of the GSO could occur undisturbed.

The reproduction of the GSO is not unthinkable and is possible within schools when teachers are contracted to and thus stay accountable to the State. Since they are civil servants, the State would like them to engage in curriculum practices which satisfy its apartheid education. This will result in the authority of the teacher being predetermined and teachers becoming intellectual agents of the State. When this happens, continuity of the GSO could go a long way and remain smooth

provided there is no political pressure to alter it. But some form of political pressure such as resistance is imminent in any terrain of race and class struggle.

Counter-hegemony within or resistance to the South African education system, especially in the departments governing black schooling dates back to the 19th century. It intensified when the State took over control of education. The takeover was an attempt for more power to curb autonomous action on the part of users in order that they become reliant on the Government and subsequently fail to control their own destiny as well as to conceptualise an alternative social base. The continuing resistance inside and outside the State black schools indicates that the hegemony of the ruling classes is not without difficulties. Counter-hegemony therefore highlights some kind of contest which is part of the crisis of transformation.

The education crisis which is widely associated with black schooling reflects the extent to which the reproduction of the GSO is made problematic by users in their relationships with the State and in their interaction with one another. The predetermined teachers' authority is not left unquestioned. The crisis is the tension between the GSO and the community with its envisaged social order (i.e., a socialist social structure, a vision of a unitary education system and democracy), hereafter, the CSO. The understanding of teachers' authority within this framework might provide a sound analysis of the crisis that looms in the State black secondary schools.

Teachers' authority is often defined as the teachers' legitimate 'right' to issue 'commands' to students. This reflects a consensus theory where within undemocratic and bureaucratic establishments (e.g., schools) dominant classes arrogate legitimacy to themselves and thus authority becomes manifest as 'right' or 'power'. The conditions of such legitimacy and the nature of commands are taken for granted to an extent where power in education is assumed to be inherent

and therefore inevitable (cf. Giddens, 1980). At the same time notions of teachers' authority as perceived by the ruling classes are imposed on all. This conceptualisation conceals the race and class conflict which is prevalent to the schooling process and portrays a picture that education is itself very far from political and ideological contestation. Teachers' authority is as a result reified as domination and subordination social relationship between teachers and students. Unequal social interaction is thus legitimated.

Teachers' authority has historically and structurally originated as a mechanism of social control in terms of the social processes of the curriculum, that is, supervision, knowledge distribution, maintenance of order and discipline and endorsement/acknowledgment of students' academic progress. It is accordingly a production relationship which is influenced by the socio-economic, political and ideological factors of the school order. This implies that teachers' authority derives its nature, scope and content from the larger society and the social order. It will thus be shaped and reshaped by tendencies of oppression, exploitation, repression and counter-hegemony present in society.

To understand teachers' authority in black schools it is important to conceptualise it as evolving together with the 'Bantu Education' system. The battle-ground between the State and the community within schools is therefore never complete without analysing the state of teachers' authority. In fact the battlefield is the predetermined social processes of the curriculum. Put differently, the crisis in the State black secondary schools is the contest over teachers' authority between the GSO and the CSO. The crisis takes the form of class struggle whose intensity has culminated in the collapse of this authority. The breakdown in the authority of the teacher is as such not a problem resulting from opposition by certain users towards the State, but it is the consequence of the authoritarian imposition of particular ideological perspectives

with regard to teachers' authority. Even when one form of authority crumbles, the vacuum would not be timeless but would instead be filled by either a power struggle or by another form of authority which is likely to be the product of the contest. There will thus be a simultaneous reconstruction of the collapsed authority.

Any change in teachers' authority signifies the powerful altering force of one constituency (the State or the community) over the other. This is so because the processes of political agency accompanying change are consonant with the consciousness of a particular class/es, either the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. The former term refers to the capitalist class whose members own means of production such as land, schools, factories, banks and businesses. The latter refers to the working class whose members own no means of production and have to sell their labour for wages. Since historically the bourgeoisie has dominated, a change in teachers' authority in the bourgeoisie's favour would not be referred to as a shift per se, but more as an intensification of the regulation of teachers' work. For this reason a shift implies a gain by the proletariat. If the collapse of teachers' authority is itself a change, it will be reflected by teachers' own conceptualisations of the situation in which they find themselves. The author assumes that teachers portray diverse and sometimes polar practices in their social relationships with the State officials and/or some users. This can be attributed to the fact that imperative polar calls have been made to teachers to the effect that they should either transact pro the GSO or retro it, that is, in the establishment and the strengthening of the CSO. If any of these seem absurd, it is simply because of the inclination to overlook that teachers' authority is a cultural construct and is more related to the class location of teachers and their ambiguous class positions vis-a-vis their controversial historical functions.

The aim of the study is to give a better understanding of teachers' authority in black schools in chronic crisis. The

much publicised 'black education' crisis will be assessed in order to reveal the contradictions of the status of teaching within State schools and how teachers' authority is critically affected. The crisis is chronic because of the socio-economic, political and ideological aspects of the contestation which emanates from the quest of the ruling classes to stay in power and the determination of the subordinate classes to struggle on.

The point of departure in the study is the assumption that the crisis in black schools is the contest of authority which has its genesis in the socio-economic, political and ideological complexities of the South African race and class conflict. Situating teachers' authority within this context does not only help with a better comprehension of the crisis within schools but also clarifies why the breakdown of the established authority of the teacher and that of the social structure which gives it a social base seem inevitable for the transformation of the GSO and for the establishment of the CSO. The author hopes that the study will give insight into the school praxis - the role of social actors within schools - and will perhaps culminate in laying foundations for building a form of authority which is essential for the pedagogy of a changing society.

1.2 The structure of the study

In this chapter (1) the author details briefly what prompted the study and what it hopes to achieve thereof. The chapters constituting the study are outlined, and towards its end the methodology as well as the terms of reference which might need clarification are depicted. In chapter 2, the crisis is traced into its socio-historical domain. The chapter portrays some evidence about the many ways through which the crisis is manifest within the State black secondary schools. Some of these ways might be a direct result of how 'black education' is perceived and how it can be transformed. Political action is also likely to be influenced by such perception/s.

Hence, the chapter also identifies some attempts to 'quieten' the crisis. Despite the chapter being a historical documentation, it is not approached with the expertise of an historian but that of an historical observer.

Chapter 3 is an attempt to unravel the ideological evolution of teachers' authority within various political-cultural frameworks. This is necessary in order to ascertain the extent to which teachers' authority generates and develops certain consciousness. An attempt to capture and document teachers' and students' experiences and conceptualisations of teachers' authority is made in Chapter 4. The chapter is basically a narration of the interviewees' responses vis-a-vis the social bases of authority, patterns of authority relationships, and techniques adopted in a bid to survive the crisis. The responses have been codified in order to provide a uniform classification criteria and to reduce the difficulties of interpretation and analysis.

The author concludes the study in chapter 5 with the development of a comprehension of the crux of teachers' authority. Teachers are seen within their conventional work situation in order to get a sound analysis of their historical functions. This enables one to ascertain the extent to which they have collaborated with the State more than with the community. The author also looks at what might be the possible implications of teachers' survival mechanisms, that is, the significance of the noticeable shift in terms of the social processes of the curriculum. Some of the conditions which teachers might have to satisfy in order to 'thrive' in the crisis are highlighted.

1.3 Methodology

The chapters 1, 2, 3 and 5 comprise a more general, theoretical and analytical discussions whereas chapter 4 provides an empirical background of data and interpretation. The theoretical sections contain secondary information whereas the

empirical part of the study which necessitated the interviews contains primary data.

The secondary information was tapped from books (mostly published overseas), local and overseas journals, conferences or symposia papers and local newspapers. Overseas literature was essential because it provided some theoretical bases of teacher education and teacher work in relation to the reproduction of particular social relations and the mode of production. Besides, the local literature provides very little information about teacher work vis-a- vis a Marxist perspective which is emphasised in this study. Newspaper reports were very helpful since they portrayed certain major events of the black schooling crisis which had some bearing on teachers' authority. The information enabled the investigator to identify critical areas in teachers' authority following on-going discussions and debates by various scholars. The literature also served to check material against the primary data which was elicited from the interviewees.

The overall sample comprised sixty-five interviewees from two State black secondary schools in Atteridgeville, a township near Pretoria. The sample was not restricted to particular grades. Eighteen teachers and twenty-four students were from the first school whilst six teachers and seventeen students came from the second school. Teachers were interviewed individually and the students in groups. All teachers were 'professionally' qualified though some obviously had more years of training than others. The years they had spent teaching at the same schools varied, ranging from two to thirty-one. Students had spent two or more years at schools.

The interview activity lasted for about eight weeks. The interview questions were structured and open-ended. They were based on four major questions (infra) which were sub-divided into numerous sub-questions (see appendix, figure 4).

- What does teachers' authority mean?
- What are the social conditions of teachers' authority?
- Why is teachers' authority necessary in education?
- How intact is teachers' authority?

It was hoped that responses to these questions would shed some light as to why teachers' authority is at issue in the present 'irrational' climate of South Africa.

The interviews were dialogical with questions built into the conversations. The quality of the responses which were elicited was probably enhanced by the fact that rapport was created with the interviewees, especially teachers with whom it was easier to interact before the interview sessions.

Interviewees were informed about the purpose of the research and about areas of research focus before being interviewed. The response to the interviews was extraordinary considering the emergency environment under which the research activity took place. The interviewees who were all volunteers laid down certain conditions for the interviews to be conducted. Some of the conditions were that :

- only volunteers were to be interviewed;
- the interviews were to be conducted at agreed venues and during times chosen by volunteers;
- interviewees were not to be identified by real names;
- no tape-recorder was to be used unless agreed upon by individual volunteers.

These conditions were observed during the interviews and throughout the study.

Even though the overall sample is undoubtedly small, it proved useful considering the complexities of the issues to be investigated, interpreted and analysed. It made possible an in-depth understanding and sound interpretation and analysis of

the issues involved. The investigator ended up believing that the sample provided vivid experiences of acting within State black secondary schools in ways that would be similar to those any other social actor/s might do in a similar predicament.

The interpretation and analysis of this sociological study were sensitised by the Weberian approach. This approach gives priority to the subjective 'state of minds' of the actors, e.g., teachers and students, in an attempt to interpret their agency within schools and classrooms and relate it to the wider social context. It also draws from both the functionalist and marxist perspectives, and develops understanding of day to day educational practices between and among social agents (cf. Giddens, 1980; Haralambos and Heald, 1985; Blackledge and Hunt, 1985). However, the influence of the Marxist theory dominates analysis in this study because the author believes that it makes the best analytical tool and provides a measure without which there can be no sound comprehension of the intricacies of the State run education system and its relation to society. The choice of this approach and theory ensued from the author's alertness that teachers' authority in South Africa needs to be revamped and placed on a parallel footing with the continuing transformation of the discourse of education.

1.4 Terms of reference

- The term 'black' in the study was chosen in its generic sense and it is retained despite the fact that the interviewees turned out to be all Africans.

- Although the thesis at times addresses black teachers as though they were monolithic, it does not suggest that they are exempt from the internal contradictions like class conflict that characterises all other intellectuals and professional groupings.

- The use of the concept 'community' here refers to the working class which is excluded from political decision making whilst it is simultaneously intended to draw together various classes as are noticeable within the anti-apartheid movement which is opposed to the State and presumably its social base.

- Months of publications such as newspapers will be written numerically. For example, Star, 13 February 1988 as Star, 130288.

- Wherever the concept 'State' appears, it will refer to both the Department of Education and Training (DET) and the Government which represent the institutions dominated by the ruling classes in decision making.

- Concepts such as "powers" and "rights" were used interchangeably with "teachers' authority" by some interviewees and thus where they appear in the study they should be treated as synonymous.

- Terms like "pupil", "child" and/or "non-adult" are employed by some authors and interviewees cited in here to refer to the student.

- The sexist language which appears in quotations is that of authors and interviewees and is here retained to maintain the veracity of the original.

2. THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL LOCATION OF THE CRISIS

2.1 Historical interpretations of education for black South Africans

- 2.1.1 Black schooling as a powerful means of exploitation and domestication by the ruling classes
- 2.1.2 Black schooling as a vehicle for modernization and development
- 2.1.3 Black schooling as a site of resistance

2.2 The manifestation of the crisis in the schools

- 2.2.1 Class boycotts, school stayaways and closure of schools
- 2.2.2 The decline of the prefectorial system
- 2.2.3 Shifts in the role of power holders

2.3 Theoretical explanations of authority crisis

- 2.3.1 The industrial input factor
- 2.3.2 The curriculum factor
- 2.3.3 Material factor
- 2.3.4 The provocateur factor
- 2.3.5 Political stress

2.4 Conflict resolution

- 2.4.1 Progressive educational agency
- 2.4.1.1 Democratization of social relationships
- 2.4.1.2 Conscientization of users
- 2.4.1.3 Redirection of the control of schooling
- 2.4.2 The job market shift
- 2.4.3 Repression

2. THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL LOCATION OF THE CRISIS

In this chapter the author outlines some theoretical positions about the crisis in black schools. The aim is to provide an understanding of the evolution of black schooling and also to show how teachers' authority is at the centre of the controversies surrounding the social functions of the school.

2.1 Historical interpretations of education for black South Africans

The evolution of black schooling since the colonial era has been understood differently. 'Black education' is here placed within various analytical frames which are important in so far as they highlight the unfolding of the crisis of authority. Different though the frames are, the interpretations convey a deep-seated discontent about the direction and the ideology in education. The dissatisfaction is the intolerance of users with regard to the State's inability to bring about positive political and educational innovations. Analysis of users' conceptualisations about 'black education' indicates that there is an indictment of the State for administering black schooling in order to reinforce its hegemony.

2.1.1 Black schooling as a powerful means of exploitation and domestication by the ruling classes

Black schooling is often perceived as a powerful process through which the dominant classes oppress and exploit the subordinate classes. The process is well suited to the demands of the capitalist economic development which places priority on hard labour where black people serves the interests of white people. The mass of the people becomes alienated from its labour and thus have no other option but to rely on the Government for subsistence. This is realised in the "production of a supply of cheap black labour consisting of individuals with appropriate skills or semi-skills to perform the different

tasks or jobs that are generated by economic development" (Alexander, 1985).

Through mass education, black schooling developed parallel to industrialization where majority of black people were schooled into meeting the needs of the bourgeoisie. According to Kallaway (1987:14):

> The provision of industrial education for blacks was seen to provide a means of drawing blacks into the labour market and making them appreciate 'the dignity of labour' in the modern sector. Not only would such an education provide the skills necessary for the settler economy to flourish, but it was intended to ensure the development of attitudes appropriate to the capitalist/settler economy and society.

This trend resulted in the productivity of the mass of the people being relegated only to areas of work where the Government hegemony was intact. The creative energy of the mass of the people was channelled with the intent that it (mass of the people) remain in servitude. This step and process is viewed as domestication i.e., a manipulative teaching and learning process where participation and expressiveness of students is ignored and also where students passively assimilate whatever is taught them (Nkondo, 1986).

2.1.2 Black schooling as a vehicle for modernization and development

In contrast to the view that black schooling is exploitative, oppressive and domesticating is another view that it is civilising black people into the technological requirements of the economy. Concepts such as black advancement/upgradement make the framework of modernization, development and leadership where the goal is, among others, to ease the upward mobility of few black people. The State manipulates its socio-economic incentives to co-opt a sector of the mass of the people into the enfoldments of the

capitalist system. Few people accumulate more material assets. As a result the State succeeds in regulating the interests of the co-opted people and subsequently distracts the focus of their struggle from purposeful life into the maximization of individual welfare.

It can be argued as Kgware (Van der Merwe et al., 1978) does, that 'black education' provides the mass of the people with skills to counter the acute lack of skilled labour and to fill jobs usually reserved for whites. Although this rightfully points at the problem as part of the economic crisis it is, however, a short-sighted understanding of the undertone of the modernization and civilization going along with the crisis in economy. As Alexander (1985) points out, development in the current climate where the strategy of 'divide and rule' intensifies "fits in with the present global policies of the government [whereby] educational policy will tend to stress in the content of all subjects taught at schools the superiority of confederal and perhaps federal systems of government, as well as ethnic pluralist approaches to social and cultural studies."

The process of modernization, then, fails to skill the mass of the people for effecting social change. Development or civilisation would thus mean reification of apartheid education and everything that goes with it. Mathonsi (1988) who says that whilst "the economy demands docile workers, the education system cannot afford to produce anything else", affirms this. As the modus operandi of the grand apartheid machinery gets firm, it would imply that education schemes initiated by the State for modernization and development are only mechanisms to ensure greater hegemony.

2.1.3 Black schooling as a site of resistance

The intention of the State to affirm its domination can be traced as far back as in the 1920's when it increasingly centralised control of schooling. The intensification of

control took another turn in 1976 when users resisted enculturation via the medium of the Afrikaans language. This form of control represented a political strategy within the system of 'Bantu education' which according to Nkomo (1981) was meant to contain black people in constant subjugation but has instead "spawned a culture of resistance" (cf. Collins, 1980; Levin, 1980).

Black schooling as a site of resistance refers to attempts by users to negate the current policies of the State in order to transform the status quo and ensure that education reflects another culture, that is, the interests of the majority of the South Africans. The function of the school in the reproduction of the unequal social relations is questioned. The school is perceived as being capable through bourgeois ideology of making people remain submissive and glorify practices that sustain relations of power and the capitalist mode of production (Turner, 1980; Apple, 1982; Althusser, 1984; Hartshorne, 1986a). The spirit of defiance sweeping schools can be attributed to the racist and separate system of education, its direction and ideology. As Sonn (1984) puts it, the crisis revolves "on opposition to a total system which denies equal human dignity and participation, or any real hope, as it is seen of meaningful change happening in the near future" (cf. Neusa, n.d.: 14; Moerane in Van der Merwe et al., 1978 : 40; Chikane, 1986 : 337-338). The black schooling crisis is therefore the product of outright coercion to elicit hegemony and the resultant processes of counter-coercion.

2.2 The manifestation of the crisis in the schools

This section introduces various facets of the crisis that have bearing on the contest for authority. The author hypothesizes that the schooling crisis is the crisis of authority. This is based on the assumption that the form authority takes within the school is influenced by the socio-economic, political and ideological scenario in society. The crisis is the result of

the diminishing hegemony of the dominant over the subordinate. It has come "precisely in the fact that the old [ideology/authority] is dying and the new cannot be born, in this interregnum a great variety of morbid symptoms appear" (Gramsci, 1971). The contest is not only between the consciousness of democracy and authoritarianism, but it is also the incompatibility between elite, adult representation and youth recognition.

2.2.1 Class boycotts, school stayaways and closure of the schools

Without discounting the 1976 students' revolt which halted black schooling in South Africa for some time, there have been continuous class boycotts and school stayaways which culminated in the refusal by students to sit for examinations (WM, 2811-041286; Murray, 1987 : 374). The persistent nature of the events alone leads one to think that schools have been in a very serious crisis with very little formal education taking place (Frontline, 1986).

Boycotts and stayaways are users', in particular students' peaceful means of expressing dissatisfaction with the authoritarian mechanisms of control and the schooling system. These mechanisms are not only techniques of resistance or protest to black schooling, but are also tools of the struggle for forging solidarity among the subordinate groups. The impact which these techniques have made on the school authority is captured in the announcement by the State following the closure of schools that it will only reopen them "after parents have assured the DET that they will ensure children cooperate with DET and teachers" (NN, 2702- 120386). The closure of schools denotes the breakdown of authority, causes anguish and compels teachers to make "specific and sometimes agonising responses to some quite critical changes in their classroom worlds" (Barton and Walker, 1984).

2.2.2 The decline of the prefectorial system

The dismantling of the prefectorial system is another direct attack on the extension of the domination of the ruling classes within schools. Prefects are not only serving as catalysts distracting students' opposition to the hegemony of the power elites, they also extend teachers' control into spheres of students' lives that would otherwise not have been accessible to teachers. The establishment of the students representative councils (SRCs) as a substitute for the prefectorial system is an impairment of the teachers' scope of domination. It is also a force with which students bargain for the "right of government" (Kallaway, 1984).

In some schools the SRCs have terminated a vertical top-down directive by demanding and attempting to democratize social relationships from below. This collective effort by students to flout authority is not difficult to imagine. The SRCs were careful not to emulate the prefects whose task was mainly to escalate the regulation on the freedom of students within schools and classrooms. They (SRCs) elevated themselves to a status acceptable to students by rallying them to get rid of the exploitative social relations. The consequence has been the students' seizure of control, therefore compelling teachers to reconsider their despotic patterns of control and discipline (Molteno, 1983a, 1983b; 1987; Speak, 1986; Finnegan, 1987; Taunyane, 1986 quoted by Hofmeyr and Pavlich in Ashley and Mehl, 1987).

2.2.3 Shifts in the roles of power holders

Students have often and expediently manipulated their unity to have decisions against them reversed and nullified. At Hofmeyr Secondary School, students boycotted classes in 1984 to secure the readmission of some of their peers who were denied enrolment on the grounds that they were above age. It was soon after the DET's regional director had instructed the headmaster

that the students were readmitted (Bot, 1985). This change of decision indicates the influence of the students' collective power on the State officials. As Finnegan (1987) says, "after the 1976 rebellion, power had shifted dramatically from the nominal authorities to the students, so much so that nothing happened in the township that was not approved by the students" (cf. Sebidi, 1987:7).

The power of students in influencing decision making within and without schools is indeed immense. Although they are not represented in the higher levels of decision making structures, they have actually become the 'leading activist force' to even prompt the Cric (1986) to say that "power in the schools no longer lies exclusively with the DET's [sic], not with the government or the school principals." The success of the students in influencing decisions in their favour marks a stage where traditional elite, adult authority is not only questioned but it is also given direction.

2.3 Theoretical explanations of the authority crisis

There are various explanations given for the crisis of black schooling which the author postulates is manifest via the crisis of authority. The crisis is integral to the race and class struggle, and is shaped by the socio-economic, political and ideological hiatus between users and the State and between users themselves. It is perpetuated by numerous factors, among which are the industrial input factor, the curriculum factor, material factor, the provocateur factor and political stress.

2.3.1 The industrial input factor

The crisis relating to the output the school prepares for the market place or the industry is two-fold: in terms of quantity and quality. The pressure that is placed on the school by the economy makes it imperative for the school to supply the industry with 'scientifically and technically' ready products.

This leads to the conception that formal schooling ensures socio-economic security of users. This is true with only few school leavers being able to get jobs. Many school graduates and 'left-outs' are never guaranteed job opportunities despite the marketable skills which they might possess. Sebidi (1987:8) points out that:

> The students, the youth felt this economic pinch in the form of the escalating unemployment of the young black graduandi [sic] and drop-outs. cf. Kane-Berman, 1978:49.

This facet of unemployment is crucial as it tells on the failure of the economy to accommodate the working class. It could lead the mass of the people into losing faith in the role of the 'school and formal education. Unemployment and the schooling process could then be easily interpreted as mechanisms of the capitalist economic control at work to ensure the exploitation of scarce labour for maximum profits. These mechanisms are the necessary ingredients of the capitalist mode of production for sustaining support and cooperation for a stable reproduction of the status quo. It is perhaps for the same reason that Kallaway (1984:25) avers that the "schooling crisis [is] the manpower crisis and a fundamental dimension of the political crisis."

Since opposition to black schooling "amounts to a fundamental attack upon the severe limitations which an inferior education system imposes on their [users] job and life opportunities, and in the habit of passive acquiescence to hardship and authority which its content is designed to indoctrinate", it can be inferred that another aspect that sustains support and cooperation in the school vis-a-vis the industry is the social processes of the curriculum which emphasize moral values appropriate for the capitalist economy (Salb, 1978). This implies that authority in the capitalist social structure is an interaction production modelled on dominance and subordination. Consequently, the power bloc in industry is certain to want the school to ensure that a similar interaction prevails between teachers and students (Star, 090987). This is not unexpected

because when one considers an "economistic ideology with its model of the teacher as agent of industrial progress", the school has to ensure continuity in the production of behavioural models to be reflected in its output on entering the job market (Grace, 1978). Also affirming the dialectical relationship between the school and the industry is Bowles (1983) who says that "the social relations of the school would replicate the social relations of the workplace and thus help young people adapt to the social divisions of labour." The notion of authority as 'legitimate power' is therefore politically economistic and appropriate to a capitalist social structure. It is intended to grant some the privilege of domination whilst laying conditions for the subordination of others.

The relationship between these two - the school and industry - as State establishments impose on teachers the need to impersonate in one form or another managers in industry. They (teachers) are likely to do this when the quality of their relationship with students resembles a type of the 'haves' and 'have nots' or master-slave interaction. This would amount to a translation of the industrial authority (power) into school authority, and analogically managerial power into teachers' authority which becomes in practice power. Authority translation is thus among other causes responsible for the schooling crisis, particularly when one considers students grievances about teachers' authoritarianism and the indifference of school officials towards students' demands for school and classroom democracy. Industrial-type disputes, where some users within schools employ assertive practices to defy authority in the same way manual labour (workers) flout power in industry, also give evidence to this translation process.

2.3.2 The curriculum factor

Grievances of some users about the curriculum content, form and processes in the State black schools are not new. Whilst it can

be argued that the curriculum is similar for both black and white schooling with regard to political and social purposes, there is however, greater difference in the impact these have on black and white students and ultimately users. The curriculum so far favours the ruling classes and reflects mainly the culture of whites perhaps more Afrikaner than English. The curriculum content stresses values which are necessary for efficient, effective apartheid and capitalist systems which have secured the ruling classes. The intellectual elites who had designed the curriculum are also likely to share similar ideals and perspectives with the ruling classes (cf. Peteni, 1981; Buckland, 1982; Cosatu, 1986).

Established forms and processes of the curriculum undoubtedly encourage the reproduction of the unequal social relations consonant with "racial capitalism"; that is, a system of hierarchical domination and capitalist relations of production where actors are accorded roles on the basis of race and class (Saul, 1986). It is understandable why the curriculum which is a cultural construct of the ruling classes is rejected by some users as weighted down by excessive garbage. As Beattie (SS, 310886) puts it:

> The problems in education have come about precisely because the children have examined the content of their education. And their answer is that it doesn't take them anywhere.

The fact that teachers are functionally compelled to inculcate the predetermined curriculum into students has created problems of cooperation between and among themselves.

2.3.3 Material factor

Black schooling is an extraordinary experience as compared to white schooling. Black students are subjected to the hardships that ensue from overcrowdedness, inadequate educational resources, unbalanced teacher-student ratio and dilapidated school buildings (Hyslop, 1987; Mboya, 1987). These

discrepancies in the prevailing schooling conditions between black and white are undoubtedly caused by the disparity in the State budget on segregated schooling.

State expenditure on black schooling is far less than that of white schooling. In the year 1985/86, per capita State expenditure was approximately R290.00 per annum on black students whilst on white students it was R2160.00. In the year 1986/87 the State per capita spending rose to R369.00 on black students and increased geometrically to R2508.00 on white students (SA Barometer, 100487; WM, 24-300688). Due to this disparity there are shortages of teaching personnel, schools and classrooms which lead to overcrowding and subsequently the exclusion of some eligible students. An acute shortage of teaching personnel is reflected by the 1986 student-teacher ratio within the DET black secondary schools which was 31,5:1 (WM, 24-300688).

Exclusions of students have recently caused some controversy. These can be based on the chronological age of students and, as it is widely believed, also on the status of students as, ex-detainees. Concerning the former criterion the rationale is that the older the student is, s/he is likely to create disciplinary problems to the school officials. Whilst it is true that 'old' students will resist certain forms of discipline, there is however no educational justification for their exclusions based on this rationale (Kallaway, 1984; Hartshorne, 1985/86). Some users have argued that this form of exclusion is a mechanism of control by the State to weed out of schools politically conscientized students (Bot, 1985). In so far as the latter criterion is concerned, it is believed that students with leadership qualities are removed from the school often under the pretext of 'emergency regulations'. Upon their release they are, however, barred entry into any State school (WM, 12-180288; Star, 290488; CP, 010588; NN, 22-280988; WIP, 1988). This form of exclusion too is difficult to justify educationally and vindicates suspicions that the exclusions are mechanisms of political and ideological regulation.

2.3.4 The provocateur factor

The provocateur factor refers to a theory which seeks to explain that the crisis within schools results from either an outside influence, for example such as from 'agitators', 'mindless radicals' or 'communist inspiration' or inside influence from users who might be interested in a power struggle. The provocateur theory is very often used in the height of the crisis. It lays grounds for the removal either through transfers, detention, banning or expulsion of users who do not give in to the established order perceived as oppressive and exploitative. The major purpose of the theory is to divert the attention of users from seeking to understand the fundamental sources of the crisis.

Although it will be naive to ignore the possibility of incitement in the educational arena, it is however, one thing to presume its existence and another to identify and determine its magnitude. As Bot (1985:2) indicates:

> Earlier claims by the government and DET spokesman that 'outsiders' have been responsible for pressurising or intimidating pupils to boycott schools 'for their own political ends' are clearly inadequate. These simplistic allegations cannot explain the involvement of extremely large numbers of pupils, especially during the second half of 1984.

Depending on which side of the contest of authority a person is, it might be considered a 'political provocation' instead of an 'educational provocation' to conscientize students about the social processes of the curriculum which tend to solidify the status quo. Political provocation refers here to the encouragement to usurp legitimate authority whereas educational provocation refers to the skilling of persons to eradicate structural and cultural practices which obstruct the equalising of opportunities. This ambivalence can be attributed to the polarised nature of the South African society, and the education system and the fact that the system is imposed. As a

result, critical analysis of the system is considered political subversion by the State whilst its political defence is encouraged. The failure to distinguish between the two types of provocations also leaves teachers unsure which one supplants the other when attempting to make certain that students understand the socio-economic, political and ideological intent of the educational policy and showing them (students) the 'know-how' of acting either pro or retro that intent.

So much so that Ashley (1986) says "pupils and teachers must be made critically aware of their oppressed conditions, [and] this active drive for awareness must characterise all educational activities [and that] teachers [must] see themselves as part [through involvement] of the community of parents, workers and pupils, not as persons superior or apart", it is clear that 'educational provocation' is indispensable and a relevant form of praxis. It is also doubtful whether where the legitimacy of the established order is itself crucial, the two types of provocation could occur distinctively (cf. Freire and Macedo, 1987:38-39). It is the uneasiness that ensues from attempts to demarcate between these 'provocations' that makes the functions of teachers remain controversial. Teachers' authority is often criticised negatively as a consequence of the timidity of teachers to engage in 'educational provocation' for fear of being unnecessarily labelled political provocateurs.

2.3.5 Political stress

Teachers often object to certain conditions in their workplace which make educational practice unbearable. One would expect them to complain about psychological stress emanating from increased volume of work and the responsibilities which they shoulder, but they hint more at political stress brought about by State interference in the terrain of teachers' autonomy. According to the WM (17-231086) a teacher seriously considered quitting teaching because "she has seen her efforts at 'preparing pupils for a future leadership role sabotaged by a

stubborn DET ... the inspectors [who] have been blaming teachers for the deteriorating situation'" in the State black schools.

The structures within which teachers work are closed to any opposing ideological views. This is a structural arrangement by the State in order to ensure that its bourgeois ideology is disseminated and elaborated very effectively. This could explain teachers' devil-may-care attitude and the subsequent failure of teachers to manage the revolution of conscience currently sweeping State black schools (Bot, 1985). Whilst this political stress reflects badly on the structures that have historically protected teachers, it also has bearing on the professional underpreparedness of most teachers.

2.4 Conflict resolution

There have been attempts to resolve the crisis in black schools. Approaches to such resolution vary according to the way agents perceive and contextualize the intricacies of the crisis within the frames of race and class. Some approaches are aimed at transforming the status quo whereas others are clearly geared towards the return of a superficial calmness in order to preserve the status quo.

2.4.1 Progressive educational agency

By progressive educational agency (PEA) the author refers to any educational innovation which is informed by the socio-political dynamics in the community and of which the aim is to formulate curriculum practices which are acceptable by the majority of the people in society. Recently users have embarked on a major educational campaign in an attempt to alter the present education system. This development which is born out of the ongoing crisis has ushered in a new mentality enlivened by the concept of 'people's education'. People's education represents a new complex dimension of protest and

challenge in South African politics of education. According to Muller (1987) it "marks the shift of oppositional strategy in education from simple boycott to the construction of alternatives." It provides hope and inspiration for collective recovery of a community long defeated by State. An important historical event pertaining to this collective recovery is the commitment of users to democratize education. The emergence of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) in 1985 is evidence for this type of a search for alternatives. AS Zille (1987) puts it :

> the whole raison d'etre behind the formation of the NECC was to find a concerted, community-based means of ending the boycotts and replacing them with directed, organised action for fundamental transformation in education.

A democratic move by the NECC, before its restriction, at both the structural and cultural levels was to seek legitimation from the mass of the people. This was a concerted effort to unify and consolidate the liberation struggle at the educational level and to ensure an intellectual response to the political crisis. This was necessary since the involvement of the people would ensure a constructive and solid response to the crisis and transform the NECC into a broad-based organisation. The NECC clearly perceived the kind of context and political forces with which it was dealing and therefore sought to increase its bargaining power by gaining support from the victims of the system and those who seek to alter it.

The return to school in 1986 after a long spell of class boycotts and a school stayaway was more an educational as well as a political statement of intent to resolve the crisis by students in support of the NECC. Thus the resumption of schooling marked a great achievement on the part of the NECC especially when viewed in the light of the political undertones of the students at the time - 'liberation before education' (Murray, 1987). The NECC subsequently demonstrated its intentions by laying guidelines for a progressive educational

agency. This (PEA) remains essential for the creation of conditions which will be conducive for the resolution of the conflict. These guidelines can be represented by three phases which have to be realized concurrently. The phases are: democratization of social relationships, conscientization of users and redirection of the control of schooling.

2.4.1.1 Democratization of social relationships

In the schools where interaction is usually based on domination and subordination, teachers' authority would signify an imposition from above. Finnegan (1987), pointing out that this is likely to be defended at all costs, writes about some teachers who "stalked the school grounds with canes in hand, daring anyone to dispute their regained authority." The democratization of relationships should radically depart from this form of authoritarianism. It should be seen through increased cooperation and negotiation between users. This process of dialogue should form part of the strategies by users to end the reproduction of unequal social relations. According to Bot (1985), teachers and students felt a "real need to defuse conflict and improve the relationship" between themselves. This indicates the significance of democratic interaction which is necessary since rigid, authoritarian, non-dialogical or irreciprocal patterns of teacher-student interaction and rote discourse suppress the development of critical thinking. Above all the search for meaning which in any pedagogical activity is a natural part of the inquisitiveness of students becomes disastrous the moment it is repressed.

A step towards school democracy is noticeable in the establishment of the SRCs and the parents-teachers-students associations (PTSAs). These being democratically constituted bodies and legitimate representatives of users, are a major breakthrough in the bureaucratic arrangement of the education system at the school level (SN, 1984). This democratic process

will undoubtedly reduce the gap in representativeness in decision making that exists between users. It is also likely to alleviate antagonism which usually characterises social relationships between classes not equal in status (Freire, 1971; Gramsci, 1971).

2.4.1.2 Conscientization of users

Conscientization refers to the development in users of critical understanding of society and an awareness of their capability to change society. Conscientization is thus considered a sine qua non of users' commitment to the active and collective involvement in political action which is necessary for the transformation of the status quo. Conscientization plays a vital role as a form of political mobilisation whereby users are not only engaged in the critique of various bodies of knowledge shaping their activities but also accumulate the know-how for initiating alternatives (Alexander, 1985).

Since the battlefield is the social processes of the curriculum, 'people's education' would certainly counter State political and ideological conscientization with the aim of developing class, critical or 'revolutionary' consciousness for 'people's power' (cf. Giddens, 1980; Sisulu, 1986). In this sense conscientization becomes a relevant, affirmative action for the development of proper leadership and it is indispensable for direction and reflection in redressing the conflict. It is also central to any progressive educational agency where social actors seek to clarify educational problems through insistence on a process which Aronowitz and Giroux (1985:36) refer to as making the "pedagogical more political and the political more pedagogical" (cf. Star, 130288).

2.4.1.3 Redirection of the control of schooling

When the State took over education from provincial control, feelings of discontent among users increased. This was because

the takeover meant an educational policy and system based on "the principles of trusteeship, no equality and segregation" (Rose and Tunmer, 1975). It meant a new direction and ideology, and subsequently a new authority, all of which reflecting lack of respect for human dignity. The education system was turned into a State's private enterprise which is manipulated from time to time to attain the ends of the ruling classes (cf. Giddens, 1980:131).

The quest of users to redirect the control of schooling in essence implies reconstructing the content of education (i.e., its ideology and direction), greater involvement in all decision making levels and entitling the community to determine the ideal nature of the education system in such a way that it might not be manipulated through coercion to sustain cohesion of the social formation. This quest stems out of the realization that the ruling classes benefit substantially at the expense of the subordinate classes from the work that the school does in the reproduction of unequal social relations and in the maintenance of support for the capitalist mode of production.

These phases of PEA have short and long term goals. Their short term objective is to set up within schools conditions which are conducive for better pedagogic habits. By reconstructing the social relationships which have been destroyed by the crisis, the agency uplifts users and tones up their commitment so much so that they are saved from educational dysfunction (Star, 291286). With respect to their long term aim users are given hope for the future. This is important since it will make users consolidate their involvement in progressive political action (Muller, 1987).

2.4.2 The job market shift

The job market shift indicates a process whereby the focus on the crisis is diverted from political causes to the 'purely'

social and economic. It represents a reactive response to the crisis and it is probably influenced by a perception of the conflict as emanating from users' lack and denial of socio-economic benefits. Consequently, the obvious and initial capitalist move towards responding to the conflict will be to maximize the welfare of some users. In the educational arena the State increases the salaries of teachers and put more money into general expenditure on schooling resources. Besides salary increments, socio-economic incentives might include financial assistance for medical aid schemes, pension rights and housing subsidies. This approach represents a thoughtful form of co-optation, that is, a process where the State pulls teachers into the (petty) bourgeoisie fold. Since it improves the lot of some users, co-optation might, at face value, appear appropriate. However, it is not an essential political reward in education but an intensification of management control and a strategy to 'quieten' teachers to minimize assertiveness (SS, 310886). The State, thus, manipulates its economic resources to prevent the much feared collective power of users.

General expenditure on education is necessary but it should be more transformative of the conflict rather than reformative. The political purpose of the reformative general expenditure is to create among users the impression that not only the current functions of the school and teachers are significant but that the education system per se is relevant and only needs to be improved. It is an attempt to distort the root causes of the crisis as though they were only of an economic nature rather than also embedded in the political and ideological formation of the race and social class system. It is for this reason that Hartshorne (1985/86:23) says:

> solutions to the education crisis are not to be found by merely throwing more money at the problem without any reconsideration of the basic policies and ideologies on which the system of schooling rests. There has to be full recognition of the political nature of education, and of the way it has been used in South Africa as an instrument of government policy and control, to reinforce the ideology of apartheid.
> cf. Star, 030887:8

teachers are engaged in spying on the activities of students. According to Finnegan (1987) "soldier-teachers were required to fill in a form each week with the local authorities giving the names of any students who seemed to harbour politically subversive ideas". This practice is undoubtedly outside the scope of the functions of the professional teacher. It is educationally retrogressive and very likely to hamper the active participation of students in the classroom which is necessary for the unfolding of their critical thinking. The only reasonable assessment of such appointments is that they appear politically motivated instead of educationally intended. Recently NEUSA (South, 2910-041187) condemned similar appointments as "high-handed" and saw them as a "control measure". Although the assignments might be made with good intentions, the roles of the assignees within schools prove the contrary (cf. Murray, 1987:201).

The RSA is manifest in the schools through a repressive physical act (as in above), a repressive psychological act and a repressive legal act. The RSA acts repressively and psychologically when, for example, the State affirms its domination over users by curtailing all channels of communication and negotiation. A notable case is the dismissal by the DET of consultation with the NECC on the grounds that the NECC is not a "'legally recognised representative body' ... has no locus standi to negotiate" (Zille, 1987). All the State wants to achieve is to secure for itself a political space by implanting into the psyche of users the fear that the NECC is illegitimate and it is not worth bothering about. This will over a period of time, in the absence of a political force to challenge the State, make users change their hardened attitudes towards the State and consequently legitimize it. This reflects the intransigence and shortsightedness of the State concerning the situation in black schools. As Auerbach (Zille, 1987:7) puts it:

> The government has absolutely no idea of the dimension of the crisis, and still less of the political dynamics within the townships.

> Otherwise it would have seen the emergence of the NECC as the most positive development in the recent education history and the only hope of negotiating a resolution of the on-going crisis.

A repressive legal act refers to the role of the RSA where users are detained, driven into underground asylum, barred entry into and use of school facilities and where various stringent school regulations are enacted under the State of Emergency (SOE). 147 teachers employed by the DET including the Secretary-General of the African Teachers Association of South Africa (ATASA) were detained in the first twelve months of the SOE (Hartshorne, 1988; cf. Star, 030887; NN, 11-070888)). By legalising repression, the State broadens and intensifies its scope of domination over and political interference with the authority of the teacher. This interference is also reflected in the emergency regulations which "empower departmental officials to bar pupils from registering at schools, without a need to supply reasons or hear appeals ... to place pupils in any standard or class ... regulate pupils from partaking [sic] in activities on school premises unless they are supervised or have a direct bearing on tuition ... prohibit pupils from being 'outside the boundaries of premises normally used for human habitation' during school hours ... Bar others from being on school premises" (Saps, 1986; 1987).

Repression is on the one hand a political activity by the State to suppress freedom of speech, movement and association and on the other to diminish the social space for non-State innovation. Users are thus left with little opportunity and hope of any recognition at decision making levels and of any progressive innovations. Repressive acts are also a pronouncement and an acknowledgment by the State that the crisis is beyond its control. This lack of progressive solutions within repressive acts is best captured by Sebidi (Hartshorne, 1986b:67-68) in the following :

> However instant political coups d'etat may be, they cannot bring about instant radical education changes ... there are no educational coups d'etat.

If repression represents an attempt at resolving the conflict, it is probably that which is geared to maintaining the status quo. What might seem inevitable in this context is a 'military capitalist control' (i.e., statism) which is itself an expansion of repression where the RSA is considered to be the panacea for all crises, including non-State initiatives.

3. PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE SCOPE OF TEACHERS' AUTHORITY

3.1 Aetiology

3.2 'Conservatism' and authority

3.2.1 Forms and sources of teachers' authority

3.2.1.1 'Traditional' or 'cultural' authority

3.2.2 Patterns of teachers' authority

3.3 'Liberalism' and authority

3.3.1 Forms and sources of teachers' authority

3.3.1.1 'Professional' authority

3.3.1.2 'Rational-legal' authority

3.3.2 The basic tenets of teachers' authority in the liberal tradition

3.4 'Reconstructionism' and authority

3.4.1 Forms and sources of teachers' authority

3.4.1.1 'Emancipatory' authority

3.4.2 The demands of emancipatory authority on the interaction between teachers and students

3.5 Teachers' authority and the development of consciousness

3.6 Retreat from authority to the exercise of 'power'

3.6.1 The significance of authority for educational practice.

3. PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE SCOPE OF TEACHERS' AUTHORITY

3.1 Aetiology

The concept of teachers' authority has acquired various connotations in the evolution of schooling in South Africa. This can be attributed to the prevailing race and class conflict, the direction and intensity of which is influenced by socio-economic, political and ideological differences which have in most instances been internalised and therefore appear natural. Some such differences which inform the analysis of teachers' authority in this chapter, are teachers' social status and assumed understanding of the political as well as ideological functions of the schooling policy. It is, therefore, appropriate to take as a point of departure the view by Lauwerys (Auerbach, 1981:3) that:

> Wherever there exist in society any profound divisions of whatever nature, these divisions will be reflected in the educational system established ... when you have great class or racial or religious differences existing in a country, you find education systems which reflect these differences.

The South African schooling system and policy are based on apartheid ideology which legitimizes race and class division. They are much influenced by Christian National Education (CNE) which is modelled along lines of Calvinist religion which emphasizes that any social order is God-given and that social agents must conform rather that change it. As a result the system remains conservatively rigid and racially capitalistic (Beard and Morrow, 1981; O'Meara, 1983; Enslin, 1984; Hartshorne, 1986a). Teachers' authority which is embedded in this system will tend to prefer continuity of the conservative rigidity and class or racial hierarchy of the system. This form of authority will be referred to here as 'creator authority'.

Schooling under apartheid education is certain to influence some teachers, as well as all schoolgoers, within State schools to subscribe to creator authority. This is possible due to the exposure and the power of ideological conscientization under pre-tertiary and tertiary forms of education that are inclined to reproduce the GSO. However, not all teachers will automatically reproduce creator authority. Some, depending on the influence of their socio-economic, political backgrounds, social awareness and exposure to forms of education that are destined to discredit the GSO, are likely to resist.

In order to portray the impact of ideological differences on teachers' authority, various perspectives are assessed. Teachers' authority is traced within three educational ideologies viz.,"conservatism and liberalism" (Grace, 1978; Degenaar,1983; Leatt et al., 1986) and "reconstructionism" (Ashley, n.d.). The scope of interpretation and analysis in this chapter is limited to these three ideologies because they seem to reflect the core of the race and class contest at the cultural as well as the political levels of the South African crisis.

3.2 'Conservatism' and authority

Huntington (Hagopian, 1985:184) defines conservatism as "that system of ideas employed to justify any established social order, no matter where or when it exists, against any fundamental challenge to its nature of being, no matter from what quarter." The raison d'etre of conservatism is that in order for the status quo to be effective and stable, subordinate classes ought to cooperate with the dominant classes. It requires that persons in the low social standing should show loyalty to those in the high social standing who are often the elites arrogating to themselves social and political roles of leadership.

Whilst this is true of any group of people, conservatism is often perceived as an ideological perspective and practice of the right. This applies in particular to the South African situation where differences in terms of race, ethnicity, religion and language which embrace norms and traditions are affirmed and preserved as part of God's creation by the right. The differences are perceived as essential for the continuity and stability of cultural and political identities as well as 'group rights'. The dictum that "parts are subordinate to and contribute to the welfare of the whole" is a popular philosophical defence and justification of unequal social relations and a given social formation (Hagopian, 1985). Similarly, race and class divisions are seen as natural and indispensable. The idea of the 'volk', for example, is born out of such understanding (O'Meara, 1983; Leatt et al., 1986). It is not surprising that conservatism stresses social inequalities as part of human nature. These are seen to be necessary to contribute to the welfare and freedom of a class. Attempts to transform the 'imperfect' social order are opposed because they are considered a violation of natural laws and, therefore, an exercise to disrupt human nature (Degenaar, 1983).

At the political level, discrepancies are based on race or class hierarchies which are determined by the possession and accumulation of power, wealth and private ownership of resources. The differences between the rich and poor as are those between ruling classes and subordinate classes are likely to be understood as inevitable consequences of nature or the order of the supreme being. At a cultural level, for instance in education and schools, the responsibility of transmitting cultural and traditional norms and values will presumably be assigned to the elites. Within the cultural tradition are implanted basic forms of educational knowledge which are regarded as 'objective' and only to be discovered by students or youth when they submit to the practices and orders of those superior to them (Gunter, 1974; Beard and Morrow, 1981).

The crisis of authority is then attributed to activities of persons attempting to change the established social order. Consequently, conservatism would make one believe that solutions to the crisis could only be found if such activities are curtailed, suppressed and persons behind them get 'disciplined' to stop them from disturbing or undermining the given social formation.

3.2.1 Forms and sources of teachers' authority

3.2.1.1 'Traditional' or 'cultural' authority

Convenient to the above framework, authority is vested in the cultural traditions of the ruling classes who are often the elites and mostly elders. It arises out of an endowment by this group whereby parents of the students entrust their conventional home authority to the teachers whose duties are to ensure that student espouse those cultural traditions. Its legitimation is rooted in long-time standing customs, culture and an "habitual orientation to conform" (Bocock, 1986). It rests on the belief that the established mores and the structural arrangements are right and ought to be accepted as part of human nature. As Hagopian (1985) says, "authority develops upon a person because he or she occupies a role that is part of an organic social whole that is presumed to be just and legitimate."

The patriarchal status of teachers is also the determining factor for them to possess traditional or cultural authority. It is usually related to their social positions which are based on chronological age, parenthood, sex and some rituals in society. The roles of teachers in loco parentis have a direct bearing on this. Teachers act authoritatively when they do as the parents of the students want them to do, especially in matters of discipline. This form of authority is taken for granted for as long as the norms and values of the dominant group/s are intact. Shipman (1968:123) says:

> the older the school the more likely are the cultural traditions ... to remain as a force. If they do, teachers can be secure because their authority is not questioned.

The strength of the traditional or cultural authority depends on the static nature of the dominant groups. Adherence to the cultural traditions by the subordinate classes is considered a condition for observing authority. This is necessary to ensure loyalty to the superiors. This is made possible by some form of an evangelical ideology or 'biblical fundamentalism' which purports that established forms of authority are sanctified by God. The sacred obligations are manifest in deistic authority which rests on the assumption that authority is delegated to adults or elders from the supreme being. Gunter (1974) says that the teacher has "vocation and task via the parents from God, to whom he is responsible for all his educational and teaching work and from whom he holds his mandate including the infliction of punishment" (cf. Gluckman, 1981:108). As a result it would appear immoral and unacceptable to challenge unequal relations and the directives of those in hierarchical high positions.

The sanctity of the traditional, cultural or deistic authority and immemorial mores represents then a religious deification of the conservatives. Legitimation of teachers' authority becomes a compliance with the cultural-traditions of the ruling classes since that is the source of the delegation of authority. Degenaar (1983:5) points out:

> morality is understood in terms of prudence: it is prudent to accept the structure of society as developed over time for it is the product not of one man but of many, not of theoretical reason but of practical reason, not of vision but of pragmatic compromise.

Reification of social inequalities is, hence, considered inevitable.

3.2.2 Patterns of teachers' authority.

A prevalent opinion among conservative teachers is that there exists an objective body of educational knowledge; that authority has been delegated to them by their superiors and

that they are automatically entitled 'to exercise it over students who must comply. Since the educational knowledge is made up of values and norms of the past culture (which to a large extent shapes the present culture) of the ruling classes, the methods utilized to transmit the educational knowledge i.e., bourgeois ideology, are likely to be orthodox in style. Such methods are not arbitrary because teachers' authority must accordingly conserve the past cultural inheritance and sustain the established social order (Grace, 1978).

Teachers will assume greater control (following their adult authority) in curriculum transactions including exclusive planning and teaching of lessons. Participation of students in the lesson will significantly be realized when they receive and absorb the subject matter as given (Boocock, 1980). Since the curriculum is orientated towards the past, the students will be conditioned to adhere. If this seem to be indoctrination, it is precisely so because it is indispensable to conservatism. Students are conceived as being too ill-informed to be able to suggest anything relevant to update the curriculum. They are in the popular concept of Gunter (1974) "non-adults" i.e., too immature to know anything intelligent.

Alternative forms of education are perceived as misguided and so much more a threat to the past cultural inheritance because of their focus on the future. It is believed in the conservative lobby that the school is there only to train the mental capacities of students and that the past traditions must be assimilated. Any effort to democratize the social processes of the curriculum is seen as a weakening of the systematic teaching order and as opening up authority relationships to abuse. The fear of alternatives is rooted in the belief that what is 'expressive' are those conventional techniques of teaching and evaluation which have stood the test of time, that is, those which have always succeeded in maintaining the status quo. As Hagopian (1985) points out, conservatives accept change only when it is orientated towards "growth and renovation" rather than "construction and innovation".

The major tasks of teachers are to ensure the smooth success of the students and to ease their adaptation and adherence to the social structure. Conformism is the ideal and is easily achieved because the social processes of the curriculum focus on the "advancement of learning not socialization, community ... regeneration or political consciousness" (Grace, 1978). Moreover, learning implies perpetuation and consolidation of biased educational content and attitudes found in the predetermined curriculum. Since it is believed that structural hierarchies are blessed by God, teachers are likely to defend them philosophically.

Good discipline would imply acceptance and conformism by students to the directives of teachers. It will signify loyalty to those occupying high positions in the hierarchy of the school. Discipline between teachers and students will be impersonal since the model of control is autocratic, that is, where standards of individual conduct are imposed (Schonfeld, 1976). It would derive from the "system of controls in the total social system" which is authoritarian and repressive (Swift, 1972).

3.3 'Liberalism' and authority

Liberalism perceives education as the unfolding of the individual's ability and the potential to function as a free being. An essential education task would accordingly be to motivate the individual to create conditions where equality and individual autonomy could be experienced. It is believed that authority rests within individuals who have the right of control over all the resources privately associated with them. Liberalism would thus emphasize that individuals should maximize their welfare by utilizing their intellectual rationality to accumulate resources in order to attain individual success and independence (Hogan, 1979).

Liberalism would identify the crisis as the result of

structural inefficiency and maladministration. The solution to the crisis might be perceived to come through the alteration of structural, hierarchical, behavioural patterns and attitudes in such a way that freedom is facilitated. Hirst and Peters (1970:115) point out that "authority ... is necessary in order that freedom shall be a reality as well as people's basic interests shall be safe-guarded". It appears that should individuals assert their intellectual rationality and freedom, and affirm their personal autonomy within the established social structure, they could facilitate social justice. Liberalism purports rightfully that the purpose of structures is not to suppress the roles of individuals such that individuals become mere servants of power. However, to believe that structures have the potential to suppress autonomy but then argue for a change from within is to envisage some form of conformism. According to Hirst and Peters (1970), authority functions effectively when individuals obey , pay recognition to the rules and submit to a system in which what is "correct and true" is settled by an appeal to another person who has the right to enforce rules. It is for this reason that Grace (1978) says that the operational needs of liberals thrive within the established order.

Leatt et al. (1986) point out that "liberals attack the racial arrangements of the South African system but not necessarily its capitalistic presuppositions ... purport to fight for the freedom of individuals, but having achieved a measure of freedom they become conservative supporters of the status quo" (cf.Giddens, 1980:285). Liberals are thus caught up in the dilemma where they do not approve of the structural inequalities but appreciate their privileges. They identify the crisis as the product of structural dysfunction but take for granted the way structures originated and are composed . Hence according to Grace (1978), when liberals talk about change they imply "'social change in a piecemeal fashion, within the existing framework of social institutions'." The liberals' rationale of social change is that a revolution of individual attitudes and behaviour can bring about social revolution.

3.3.1 Forms and sources of teachers' authority

3.3.1.1 'Professional' authority

Professional authority comes about through the individual's capability to utilize appropriately her/his intellectual rationality. The acquisition of intellectual knowledge depends on the success of the individual and ability to compete for academic credentials. This suggests that professional authority is the product of formal educational training enriching the individual with certificated experience and intellectual theoretical expertise. Its base is the efficient and effective utilization of mental labour i.e., intelligence (Shipman, 1968; Moore and Lawton, 1978; Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985).

Academic credentials within bureaucratic social establishments are not only a confirmation of the authority of the individual but are also a passport to official positions in the bureaucracy/hierarchy. Social upward mobility is part of the individual's own betterment into the stratum of the (petty) bourgeoisie. This is regarded by liberals as necessary to create conditions for personal independence, freedom and autonomy. Professional autonomy, therefore, is represented by (petty) bourgeois intellectuals bargaining with their mental labour. Similarly, students who submit to teachers' authority are believed to do so as an exercise of their individual freedom. Their conformism is accordingly conditioned by their realization of the significance of professional competence of the teachers. According to Apple (1982), this conformity projects the acceptance of the structural hierarchical differences which are made possible by reification of different levels of educational attainment as though they were natural. Reification is resorted to by particular classes as an integral part of ideology for protecting their social status and interests in the given social formation.

The professional authority of the teachers is not just realized through expert impartation of the educational knowledge, but it

also depends on the success of teachers in bringing about changes in the curriculum through their professional autonomy. But, professional autonomy is conditioned by the ethics of the profession. Recognition of the ethics or the code of the occupation is considered part of the responsibility of the teacher. It is also regarded as a necessary condition for teachers' authority so that the work of one teacher does not jeopardise that of the others. Whilst this appears to be a limitation on the authority of the teacher in the sense that autonomy of the individual teacher is never real until many others enjoy some measure of freedom, it however, broadens the scope of accountability of the individual teacher towards her/his professional colleagues.

3.3.1.2 'Rational-legal' authority

Although bureaucratic official positions are themselves conditioning and determining the role of individual teachers, they are likely to be seen as necessary for the affirmation of the authority of the teacher. Believing also that official positions have been rightfully competed for and achieved, the teacher will conceive the rules which are consonant with the bureaucracy as rational and indispensable. Consequently, teachers will believe that failing to enforce such rules is tantamount to failing to exercise authority.

The rules that are vested in the official positions in the school hierarchy are supplemented by means of legal backing such as the Education Policy Act. This is also likely to condition the code of the teaching profession. Whereas professional ethics expanded the accountability of the teacher to her/his colleagues, the Education Policy Act extends and constrains that accountability towards the ruling bloc that designed the Act. This is made clear by De Wet (1986) who says that teachers' authority rests "in his knowledge, his training and appointment by the Department [DET], whose representative he remains at all times". When liberalism emphasizes an

exercise of the autonomy of the individual which presupposes the freedom to choose and set conditions for the scope and accountability with regard to curriculum and professional practice, it exposes the tension which is brought about by constraints of the Education Policy Act. Insistence on professional autonomy and/or authority represents, therefore, the teachers' desire for greater independence in educational transactions. This contradicts the rational-legal authority which encourages collaboration with the State. Since teachers are contracted to the State, it is clear that the rational-legal authority will override professional authority. This is crucial because it marks a point at which the teacher is compelled to sacrifice her/his beliefs, ideas and values in order to perpetuate those social processes of the curriculum which s/he might otherwise want reformed. Perhaps Peters (1959) perceived this liberal ambiguity and as a result purported authority to be a form of "rights which derive from personal achievements and history in a specific sphere ... a word that is reserved for a type of conformity that is confined to men."

3.3.2 The basic tenets of teachers' authority in the liberal tradition

Since liberalism identifies the sources of the conflict as structural dysfunction, maladministration, underachievement and authoritarian relationships, it should be expected that the liberal teacher will engage in educational activities that are aimed at eradicating these conditions. One appropriate step is for the liberal teacher to refrain from acting as the repository of knowledge whose duty it is to hand out to the students in the classroom the knowledge and skill which they lack. This is possible because the liberal teacher eschews indoctrination. Hence the pursuit of truth is the central theme in the liberal education for social justice. According to Downey and Kelly (1975:108):

> some justification for the exercise of authority by teachers may be found, therefore, in an appeal to this connection [education and truth]

> and a demonstration that in particular cases authority is being exercised in the cause of promoting truth, by insisting that children explore all sides of an argument before reaching an opinion, rather than adhering to a prejudice acquired from parents or elsewhere.
> cf. Anderson, 1968:8; Hirst and Peters, 1970:117

This is congruent with the belief that students are not tabula rasa and could have their creative thinking developed to the fullest by creating conducive conditions in the classroom for them to participate actively. The task of the teacher is not to "impose his own judgment but to inform and discipline that of his pupils" (Gaforth, 1979). The duties of the teacher are mainly concerned with the unravelling of forms of educational knowledge which are hidden within the domain of the interests of certain classes in order to enable students to acquire sound understanding.

The participation of students in the classroom is democratic only in so far as it is the result of volitional compliance, cooperation and acquiescence in the teachers' mastery of forms of thought and judgment rather than an imposed domination. According to Gaforth (1979), teachers "cultivate in students the skills required for moral judgment - such skills ... as the capacity to seek out relevant facts and the ability to reason from them, an awareness ... of the fallibility of one's conclusions".

The demands for an appropriate curriculum fall within the liberal framework of reform. It is within this area of education where professional autonomy is considered necessary. Although professional autonomy seems the 'language of impossibility' under the present education system, it is however considered an important condition for the success of the educative nature of the classroom activities. It is perceived as the potential for innovation. The need for professional autonomy is basically to set a climate where there could be active and reciprocal participation in the classroom. The participation of students is regarded as part of the developmental process towards maturation (Apple, 1982).

Control is perceived as an appeal to reason and in no way different from the students acceptance of teachers' authority based on the intellectual expertise of the teachers. Peters (1981) stresses that control is different from laissez-faire in the sense that the teacher is always alert to "bring the child to see the necessity for a course of action before he could be expected to embark on it".

It is accordingly realised in consensual forms of curriculum transactions and has bearing on the"subjective definition and the relationship between those who give orders and those who follow them" (King,1983; cf. Smith, 1975). The liberal approach to control thus emphasizes the development of positive attitudes between teachers and students. As Grace (1978:75) puts it: "Pastoral care represents an epitome of liberal concern for efficiency with humanity."

3.4 'Reconstructionism' and authority

This section is an ideal type analysis of the implications of reconstructionism on teachers' authority as a contested process integral to the race and class struggle. Reconstructionism which draws from radicalism and marxism refers to a perspective in which alternatives to some social problems are put forward as a model for future solutions (cf. Shor and Freire, 1987:185). This takes many forms in South Africa due to the diversity of political cultures informing the struggle for post-colonial transformation. Some forces of reconstructionism perceive apartheid as the major source of the crisis whilst others focus on racial capitalism as the core of the conflict. The forces remain in solidarity with each other in so far as they regard the established social order - the GSO - as illegitimate, unjust and authoritarian (cf. Ashley, n.d.).

The raison d'etre of reconstructionism is guided by the critique of the South African society as characterised by oppression, exploitation and domination of the working class by the (petty) bourgeoisie. This critique emphasizes that:

> what is being provided for working class children is schooling rather than education; that the process of schooling is oppressive and manipulative in character; that this manipulative process is being carried on in institutions which are dominating in their bureaucracy, authoritarianism and hierarchy; that the total effect of the schooling process is to control, to domesticate [see page 16], to make passive and exploitable; that in the schooling process the person is regarded as an 'object' rather than as a creatively conscious 'subject'.
> Grace, 1978:88

The reconstructionists perceive the wrongness of the schooling process as lying in the inability of the school to transform society. The school is seen to be conservative and capitalist orientated. The crisis is seen as that of the direction taken by the role of social agents and the way the established order has originated and its structure composed. The solution will accordingly be an alteration of the established social order through empowerment of classes which have been cast off by the established systems of apartheid and capitalism. The point of departure is that control of education has been misappropriated, that it should be under the control of the mass of the people rather than the State. Emphasis will be placed on the collective and active participation of users at all levels of decision making. It is believed that empowerment in this way would gradually eradicate hierarchically systematised styles of domination and subordination (Apple, 1982; Youngman, 1986).

Opposition or resistance to the governance of the power elites is likely to be encouraged and to be found as indispensable in the discourse of transformative education. Emphasis will be on the democratic participation involving organised social actors as representatives of others who join in solidarity and united action. Authority is likely to be conceived as vested neither with the inheritance of the past cultural traditions of dominant classes,individuals nor their official positions but with the progressive educational agency. As Molobi in Mluleki and Molobi (1987:7) says:

> the DET chooses a few obscure intellectuals and bureaucrats who sit down to design and impose their plans about education. Our position rejects this: planning and decision making must be opened up to all. This is anathema for bureaucrats, individuals, and elitists who have known no other form of work than their own.

Authority, thus, reflects a pragmatic quality resting within human activity - praxis. It is realised when users commit themselves to political action which is aimed at transforming the very bases that render them powerless. It derives its social base from the political commitment of social agents. As Sisulu (1986) puts it:

> people's power, unlike exercise of power by individuals, tends to be disciplined ... develops the confidence of our people to exercise control over their own lives and has the capacity to achieve practical improvements in our everyday lives.

3.4.1 Forms and sources of teachers' authority

3.4.1.1 'Emancipatory' authority

The force of progressive social processes of the curriculum will be to hamper reification of role and structural inequalities which render the mass of the people powerless. The perception that the established order is a systematic plan to ensure perpetual oppression, accumulation of more power and the domination of the ruling classes is only necessary to activate users to involve themselves in political action. According to Azapo (n.d.:13):

> what is clear in the educational system of the country is that it needs to be supplanted rather than amended or perpetuated. The preoccupation of all parties concerned with education should be to identify the defects of society and devise means to rectify them.

By inference, teachers' authority would refer to involvement in the process of 'educational provocation' where "students learn to encounter and engage social differences and diverse points of views", where teachers substitute the social processes of

the curriculum which stress "disciplinary control and one-sided character formation" with strategies that provide students with an opportunity to "engage in critical analysis and to make choices regarding what interests and knowledge claims are most desirable and morally appropriate for living in a just and democratic state" (Giroux and McLaren, 1986).

Emancipatory authority stresses those social processes of the curriculum which generate class consciousness to enable users to rid themselves of the false consciousness (i.e., naive consciousness that fails to negate the ideology of the power elites) derived from bourgeois ideology which is manifest through the predetermined curriculum. The debate for an alternative curriculum within the reconstructionists lobby can be seen as reflecting the desire for new forms of educational knowledge and systems of evaluation. A relevant curriculum will be one whose content emphasizes another culture to eradicate the bias of the ruling classes. This implies winning teachers over to the side of the working class since they are "the bearers of critical knowledge, rules and values through which they consciously articulate and problematise their relationship to each other, to students, to subject matter, and to the wider community" (Giroux and McLaren, 1986; cf. Gramsci,1971; Sarup, 1983; Youngman, 1986).

This form of authority is likely to reduce the intellectual and political hiatus between teachers and other users, in particular, students. It demands that teachers should interact with other users with a clear understanding of the suffering that permeates the lives of those who have been subdued by the ruling classes. Cooperation and solidarity are emphasized. Emancipatory authority offers a unique form of identification. It is itself a base for class alliances, more through practical political mobilisation and less through solidarity debates.

pupils willingly submit themselves to certain good influences." It is perhaps for the same reason that Alexander (1985) and Sisulu (1986) urge teachers to leave students to submit to 'voluntary democratic discipline'.

3.5 Teachers' authority and the development of consciousness

Teachers' authority is integral to any system of education. When the system of education is designed either to domesticate, to civilize for the capitalist economy or to emancipate, it will have as its form of authority one consonant to such processes. Similarly, a racialist and class structure will have teachers' authority that reproduces the contradictions and the conflict inherent to that system. As Popkewitz (1987:2) points out in the following, the mode of production of material life conditions teachers' authority.

> We live in a society in which there are differences in social class, gender, race, ethnicity and religion. In significant ways, methods of teaching, theories of instruction and practices of student teaching are part of a discourse that responds to tensions and power arrangements underlying these two dynamics ['professionalization of knowledge and cultural/social formation'] of our social conditions.

Teachers' authority thus generates a particular consciousness, that is, "beliefs, values, self-concepts, types of solidarity and fragmentation, as well as modes of personal behaviour and development "within classrooms; and in turn the consciousness sets the framework for the types of processes which teachers and/or students adopt in their educational transactions (Bowles and Gintis, 1976). This is precisely so because as Youngman (1986) points out, "Consciousness changes when the fundamental forms of social life change". The intellectual knowledge of the teachers and autonomy are, by inference, dependent on their involvement in production and class struggle.

In South Africa, teachers are compelled by their legal condition of service, such as 'professionalism' and predetermined curriculum to act in accordance with the expectations of the established social structure. The limitations over teachers' control of their own labour by the State are important here because they explain the kind of conflict that permeates schooling and at the same time sharpens the consciousness of teachers.

The conservative and capitalist nature of the social structure confines teachers to involve themselves in only those social roles which boost the status quo. Emphasis on consolidation of hierarchical inequalities, unequal social relations and the perception of teachers' authority as an undertaking of professional experts develops conservative ideology that integrates capitalist needs with educational policy. Teachers' authority as a production relationship of the power elites pulls teachers towards the bourgeoisie (cf. Giddens,1980:109). This is a mechanism of control to which the State resorts in order to mystify perceptions of teachers so that the nature of the social structure and the imposition of educational knowledge which is embedded in the culture of the ruling classes are made to appear as if they represent the interests of all. Subsequently, claims that certain forms of educational knowledge are objective and right are as Bachrach and Baratz (Popkewitz, 1987) put it, a "mobilization of bias" to protect the interests of certain classes which are then redefined as global didactic values. As a result, attempts to provide equal opportunities have instead heightened the conflict by promoting meritocracy and competition. An affirmation of equality and freedom within the capitalist social order provides leverage to bourgeois ideology and portrays the image of society as open and free (Sarup, 1983).

Since teachers' authority draws its content from the given social structure which is both racialist and class based, teachers will act in such a way that they nurture attitudes

and behaviour in the students which will not contradict the social relations in the capitalist mode of production. This process of moulding student consciousness into worker consciousness was referred to previously as authority translation. The teachers also develop into students that consciousness which is integral to the stability and furtherance of the school bureaucratic order. As Bowles and Gintis (1976:127) point out, "The reproduction of the social relations of production depends on the reproduction of consciousness". However, the reproduction of consciousness is never uncontested as is the ideology which directs the production. Depending on which ideology interpellates (i.e., subjects, recruits and transforms) the teachers, the consciousness that will be developed in students will thus not always be in harmony with the expectations of the school order. In this instance,the perspectives of the teachers might be in conflict with those of the State and (very) near those of the students with a community base (i.e., social awareness). Their teaching functions will thus not undermine the class consciousness of students in order to consolidate theirs.

Although bureaucratic structures condition and sometimes determine the roles of the teachers within schools, the consciousness of teachers plays a vital role in the adoption of choices. Suppression of school and classroom democracy because students are considered 'immature' or are lacking professional 'know-how' is not always a direct consequence of the structural constraints but the affirmation of professionalism by teachers as a means to protect their class interests (White and White, 1986; cf. Cloete and Pillay, 1988). The promotion or failure to generate class consciousness within classrooms is another such choice. Teachers are unlikely to introduce notions of emancipatory authority if their consciousness is not developed to that level. Teachers should be interpellated by an ideology of reconstructionism before they can disseminate and elaborate class consciousness. As Youngman (1986:34) puts it:

> The process of developing class consciousness for socialism involves the growing understanding that the emancipation of the working class (and other subordinated classes) necessitates the overthrow of capitalism and the evolution of the practical commitment and ability to achieve this.

In the same way, teachers who adhere to the predetermined curriculum are likely to identify in one way or another with the established social order. It appears that teachers' authority within the present social structure is a false consciousness and a political tool utilized to blinker teachers in order to prevent them from transforming unequal relationships and searching for alternatives.

The diversity of forms of teachers' authority as portrayed above, indicates that there is variation in teachers' consciousness. This can be attributed to the various conflicting educational ideologies. This in turn presupposes that teachers in the school are engaged in different class roles vis-a-vis other users and the State. This is precisely so because teachers' authority as a production relationship is not immune from race and class conflict. The consciousness of teachers is therefore intricately intertwined with form/s of authority prevailing in any educational transaction.

3.6 Retreat from authority to the exercise of 'power'

A retreat from authority refers to a practice whereby teachers exercise power even though authority is recognised as legitimate. Authority can be traded for power in various ways. Authority translation in the form of managerial power into teacher authority, and creator authority are two examples. It should also not be overlooked that certain working conditions make it impossible for teachers to engage in any authoritative action and as a result they turn to exercising power as a survival strategy of teaching. Finnegan (1987) highlights this by pointing out that during the school boycotts in the Cape Peninsula some students "seemed to have absorbed the overall idea of defying authority more than they had its progressive intent."

Students are in most instances, especially within authoritarian structures, the target group of domination by the elites or adults. This is because of the perception that teachers' authority is an approvable domination or 'legitimate power'. This conceptualisation masks the fact that the power which is exercised by the teacher reproduces race and class conflict or ideological contestation in black schooling. This perception portrays power in education as natural and therefore inevitable. It is possible, therefore, that when structures deny students some 'voice', they will simply react without reflection. As a result, they will resort to the most uncritical form of bargaining energy visible to those in hierarchical high official positions - reactive power because "power can negotiate with power" (Mphahlele, 1984). Reactive power is as such not the result of militancy but is the product of frustration emanating from unattended, oppressive conditions of coexistence. It is also not of the students' and to some extent of the teachers' choices, but is the result of structural constraints.

The best way to ascertain whether the exercise of power has any place in education would be to ask: whether teachers would be justified in exercising power in an attempt to reclaim authority that is crumbling? The rationale of the response is that if authority is essential for any educational practice, teachers would rather salvage authority in any other way except by the exercise of power.

3.6.1 The significance of authority for an educational practice.

The exercise of authority demands that teachers and students should get more involved in a collective effort in curriculum transactions. Involvement presupposes that they should understand and agree with the conditions and the expected type of discipline within schools and classrooms. The exercise of authority implies the recognition of autonomy which according

to White and White (1986) is the "enemy of hierarchy" because it points to both teachers and students having some say in decisions that affect them.

It would be easier for students to internalise patterns of control to which they have consented rather than those which have been imposed. Imposition which often takes the form of covert authoritarianism, because it is concealed and legitimated by school order, might come about as a result of the preoccupation of teachers with school 'law and order' at the expense of an alternative understanding which is necessary for cooperation and negotiation. Since State schools are traditionally not places for such understanding, teachers who retreat from authority will not be doing anything new but will be reproducing the order as set out by the ruling classes. Teachers should not become authoritarian because that perpetuates the power struggle instead of resolving conflicts and laying grounds for participation of students where students could equally act authoritatively. If there are no such grounds, then the exercise of power will not in anyway save authority from collapse, but will further limit the capacity of students to act democratically or to have any progressive intention of dealing with structural constraints within schools. At the same time when students perceive the authority of the teacher as power, its legitimacy disappears. (See appendix, figure:3). The disappearance of legitimacy might lead to antagonism between students and teachers.

When antagonisms are left to flare up into open conflict it indicates that teachers lack the ability to persuade students to reach consensus. An option left for the teacher is then authoritarianism. In the light of the inferior education and training to which most teachers have been subjected, authoritarianism or the exercise of power is not only a conservative cultural force but reflect also professional underpreparedness. Teachers' lack of predisposition towards democratic alternatives is accordingly the outcome of the

constraints of the education system. Teachers contribute towards the constraints when they do not open up avenues for students in order to enable them to refrain from retaliation so that they conduct themselves proactively rather than reactively. When authority informs the agency of any educational transaction, any attempt to usurp it is worthy of condemnation.

Teachers should broaden their scope of involvement with the students. This requires the ability to use negotiation skills. In a social space where conflict is a characteristic order of the day, the application of force or power would amount to repression. The exercise of power is in fact a confirmation that teachers have failed as school and classroom practitioners. In order to avoid resorting to power, it might be necessary to invoke the authority of either internal users and/or external community. Social actors such as the SRCs and staff bodies and/or PTSAs could be requested to assist in resolving recurrent conflicts. The aim would rather be to reduce the tension even if it means a long process. In this way conflicts could be contained and compromises arrived at within generally agreeable procedures. Coercive tendencies to retain authority, let alone power struggles within the school, negate the very basis of progressive education because they hinder the transformative force of authority and its potential for pedagogy (Burbules, 1986).

As a form of social interaction, authority is essential to any educational practice. Considering Barnard's (Smith, 1975) views about "authority as a type of communication" and the "willingness and capacity" of users to "submit to the necessities of cooperative system", it is imperative that teachers should involve other users when setting up social conditions for greater participation and dialogue in order to minimize antagonistic feelings. According to Shor and Freire (1987:92):

> the teachers' authority must always be there but it changes as the students and the study evolve, as they emerge as critical subjects in the act of knowing ... without authority it is very difficult for the liberties of the students to be shaped.
> cf. Stenhouse, 1983:183

It can be inferred from this that authority signifies a democratic process whereby teachers and other users formulate and reformulate the bases of their curriculum transactions. This implies a greater consensus and cooperation among social actors. Authority is interwoven with the development of the person's creative thinking or class consciousness.

The exercise of power suppresses the potential to generate creativity and productivity. In a democratic situation a threat to authority is not aimed at usurping authority so that any attempt to resort to power could be justified. It is a hint to those who wield power to democratize the social processes of the curriculum. Authority is indispensable because it holds together the educational contract without which schooling will slump. As Engels (Gouldner, 1980:273) points out:

> Wanting to abolish authority in large-scale industry is tantamount to wanting to abolish the industry itself, to destroy the power loom in order to return to the spinning wheel.

Analogically, to divorce authority from any educational practice is tantamount to demolishing the discourse of schooling and rendering the educational contract unworkable. Authority, not power, should typify social relationships if the motive of the social actors is to educate. A challenge for teachers and students is to search for alternative ways through which they can develop better understanding.

4. EXPLICATING TEACHERS' AUTHORITY IN STATE BLACK SECONDARY SCHOOLS

4. EXPLICATING TEACHERS' AUTHORITY IN STATE BLACK SECONDARY SCHOOLS

This chapter portrays some secondary school teachers' own conceptualisations of authority, the way it is exercised, its state, the accounts they give for any change in the nature of their authority and the methods which they have adopted in order to cope with the crisis in the schools. Since the data is based on empirical evidence from the interviewees own accounts, the responses are, where possible, verbatim quotes. The responses are codified for classification reasons. Both teachers and students are identified only with symbols, for instance, TA for teacher A. S1 and S2 refer to the two groups of students from the first and the second schools respectively. Individual students are referred to alphabetically as SA, SZ, SAC and so on.

Although conflicts are inherent in State black schools, it is generally believed that besides the 1976 students' revolt, the eighties, particularly 1984/86, witnessed a serious and direct challenge to racial and class based authority within schools. The responses of the interviewees focus mainly on the events of these three years although sometimes they draw from experiences of other crucial years in their schooling experience. The responses are qualitatively rich but pose a problem of interpretation for the researcher due to their general nature.

The generality of the responses has conditioned a type of interpretation and analysis which might overlook variation in the impact of the crisis on one teacher or another. For the analysis, commonalities have been drawn together, and one must accept that a summary of the responses is likely to emphasize those responses which appeal to the author in so far as they fall within his own classification criteria. The danger may be the bracketing out of some important issues.

4.1 Teachers' comprehension of authority

4.1.1 Authority as a form of Christian virtue

Some teachers think of authority as an ethical practice guided by certain 'christian' principles. They emphasize that authority is realized between persons who have had a 'christian' upbringing. Exposure to this kind of upbringing is, accordingly, a prerequisite to possessing any other form of authority. According to TB:

> Authority concerns faith, trust and love in the student and the teacher. Without these there cannot be respect ... and if students have faith in you [teacher] they will sort of accept even your authority.

Whilst pointing out the derivational base of this form of authority which is congenial to what was previously referred to as deistic authority, TC affirms TB's explanation in the following:

> The base of authority is from God ... that is religion. By trust, sympathy and understanding of the student you come to acquire authority ... If you get a class that comes from a christian environment ... respect for authority is there ... then comes the expertise in the subject which only adds on to authority.

This perception reflects the philosophy of early missionary education, but it can also be culturally located in the CNE or Afrikaner nationalist ideology which is one source of the current State education system. The ideology is a redefined Calvinism which has historically provided the Afrikaner 'volk' with some sense of patriotism in their struggle against the British imperialists. It is significant to the Afrikaner because it expresses their common racist identity and secures their interests as members of the power elites or ruling class. It is as such a conservative cultural force to perpetuate the domination of intellectuals or ruling classes and at the same time ensures their unity for common capitalist interests (O'Meara, 1983). In this context the teachers will portray

their authority as being sanctified by God so that it is exempt from the legitimacy that comes from mortal souls. This is a political technicality which ensures that their roles are not questioned. Consequently, unequal social relationships within schools and in the social structure are conceived as divine.

4.1.2 Authority as parentage

There are teachers who see the status of parenthood and adulthood as conditions for possessing authority. They also believe that they act in loco parentis and as such conceive parents or elders in the community as having delegated authority to them. TK says:

> according to their [students] parents we mustn't leave the students to do what they like. We must show them the way by calling them to order ... authority is when you can order students to behave as you and their parents want them controlled.

Seniority is often linked with parenthood and it is on this basis that it is assumed that adults have authority. The same logic is prevalent in certain teachers and students. TV says, "I am a parent and pupils must respect me ... they are not my age ... I am a teacher ... I know what is best for them." Si also says that "teachers have 'powers' because they are bigger [older] than us ... They are like our parents." This is likely the result of the traditional imposition of teachers as 'second parents' over students, an historical occurrence which until lately (i.e., after the 1976 students' revolt against 'cultural invasion') was sacrosanct in African culture. Authority in this sense is related to a person's patriarchal status which is determined by age and even charisma. It is also possible that this perception may be more culturally ethnic than across-the-board. It is further consolidated by a belief in the school as an extension of home and education as a process of cultural transmission. The legitimacy of authority is equated with the respect often ascribed to every older member of society. Although this view emphasizes that authority is a

sphere but is also applicable to interaction between and among teachers and administrators. The emphasis is on the assumed official integrity which persons have. The bureaucracy distinguishes the powerful from the meek. The implication is that teachers who consider themselves lacking authority because of their low hierarchical, official positions are likely to rely on those who are ranked above them with regard to decision making in the school. Such teachers will be reliant on others, particularly for matters of discipline and innovative ideas concerning the curriculum. This will result in the delay of decisions and responses to issues and situations that require urgent and immediate attention.

4.1.4 Authority as a form of professional expertise

Some teachers perceive the base of this form of authority i.e., authority as professional expertise, as being their exposure to formal professional training at a tertiary level. The resultant qualifications and mastery of the subject are stressed. TN says:

> by merely training as a teacher you have authority. I have qualified from the school [university/college]. I have read enough ... I can differentiate between right and wrong ... at least I know better than pupils.

Some students are, however, pessimistic about the relevance of academic credentials especially when control is an issue. S2 says:

> ... teachers tell us that they are more educated than us, and that they have degrees, therefore we must respect them ... we respect them because we fear them. They beat us ... and they have the 'powers' that the government gives them ... if they do not control us, the principal tells the government that they are not powerful, and the government comes to tell the teachers to stick to the regulations.

This conceptualisation undoubtedly emanates from the belief that teachers are professionals with intellectual knowledge which is perceived to be objective. Teachers and students are

divided respectively into the 'haves' and the 'have nots'. It is not arbitrary that there is such division. Students are considered the 'have nots' because they have not yet been exposed to formal tertiary education. An ability to discern between right and wrong indicates a responsible function in the social formation. It implies an exercise of leadership in relation to the social functions in the school order. This leadership, which in an imposed school order is basically domination disguised by mastery of educational knowledge, refers to the inculcation of bourgeois ideology. Professional authority then signifies, in this context, teachers' ideological domination over students. The idea that intellectual expertise is objective is according to Larrain (Cloete and Pillay, 1988) "not just a belief system [in the profession] but stems from a particular location in society" to reinforce the status of the ruling classes.

The implication is that students should show loyalty to authority by accepting the educational knowledge which is imparted to them. There is a subtle appeal for students to conform to the direction teachers give because it is assumed that as intellectuals they know which ideas are worth disseminating and elaborating, and therefore, cannot go wrong. The intellectual gap between teachers and students is reified as natural instead of as a contingent quality. Some teachers then resort to the gap as a subterfuge for continuous domination and sustenance of hierarchical inequalities. In this way their authority serves to legitimate relationships of power and is exacerbated by a further division of labour into the 'haves' and the 'have nots'.

4.1.5 Authority as a form of classroom contract

Authority is also perceived by some teachers as an interactive process of an educational nature. It is achieved and realised through consensus between teachers and students. TM says:

> I think it is only when you get students to participate that you can talk of having authority. Teachers, and not all, when they get to the class and talk alone, they think they have authority ... talking alone and making students sit and listen is not authoritative, it is dictatorship.

By inference, authority is a participatory contract. This is made clear by TU in the following:

> it is important that a teacher must know the subject, but that does not mean he must not listen to students' opinions. If we say because students don't know then we must do everything for them, it is oppressive. They should be made to know that we are there to help them and not to dominate them ... authority is when you can do anything in the classroom and remain in harmony with students ... if they complain then you lose authority.

Participatory authority seems to be a remedial educational practice aimed at bringing cohesion between teachers and students in the classroom. Its significance perhaps lies in the fact that the process indicates vigilance on the abuse of authority and emphasizes autonomous control. It is likely to be better informed by the teachers' understanding of the classroom situation. It is as such a thoughtful strategy to provide a proactive formulation of alternatives rather than a reactive response. It might be an important approach to the crisis since it appears certain to minimize antagonisms that emanate from structural constraints and in the division of labour between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'.

* * *

FURTHER OBSERVATION AND IMPLICATIONS

Teachers' authority is profoundly diverse in meaning. This is due to various derivational bases of authority, some of which have been taken for granted. In order to get a coherent meaning of teachers' authority, it is necessary to try and understand how these derivational bases conflict with one another. A

retain my post." Authority as the entitlement that accompanies the status of the office is, therefore, a masking of teachers' lack of autonomy. It is a political technicality where teachers' labour is put under the direct control of the State. Consequently, a promotion within the school organisation signifies an increase in power. It implies greater opportunity for domination at the expense of more loss of control by teachers over their own labour. As teachers advance very close to the high official positions in the education system, the State management control becomes intact.

4.2 The state of teachers' authority

4.2.1 Exercising authority

Some teachers exercise authority in ways which can be classified into two forms of practices viz., those practices which are influenced by a school 'law and order' mentality referred to here as 'instrumental', and those practices that are aimed at democratizing the bureaucracy of the school and the classroom, referred to here as 'expressive'.

4.2.1.1 'Instrumental' practices

Instrumental practices ensue from teachers' preoccupation with enforcing the school regulations the intention of which is to affirm greater teacher control over students and to ensure that the school order stays fixed. Adherence to school regulations can be justified in many ways by teachers. Certain teachers might see adherence as some kind of character formation; as enabling a speedy teaching process in order to complete the syllabus within the official schedule and as the best technique to remind students about teachers' positions in the hierarchy. Instrumental practices appear to be the most effective way through which teachers' authority is used as a controlling device. According to TA:

> you must control them [students] straight from the assembly and to the classroom ... Sometimes they just stand anyhow [scattered] and we must order them to queue ... In the classroom we control students by giving them more work because if they do not work they become loose and naughty.

TI (infra) hints at some form of rigid and tight supervision of students by teachers as a necessary condition of these practices.

> Well, just by being strict, telling them what they should do, and to behave as pupils should do ... come to school early, be where they are supposed to be, that is, in the classroom all the time ... when I find them at the toilet I order them back to their classroom.

Instrumental practices are a must (i.e., non-negotiable) and students must willy-nilly comply with the directives of the teachers and the school order. If they do not they are punished. As TL points out:

> Authority is when you command the student he will do it, and he should not question why he must do this and not that ... students must take my commands, they must obey, otherwise we give them punishment ... without punishment you cannot enforce orders.

Accompanying instrumental practices is often a backing by means of punitive measures which vary between the following methods depending on the nature of the offence committed. These are: "making them [students] scrub floors, clean the windows, take out weeds and pick up scattered papers in the school premises" (TD), "freeze them [depriving students of their basic rights and privileges]" (TR) and/or "pick up a stick and discipline those who won't be listening" (TK). (See also appendix, figure:2).

There is a remarkable correspondence of responses between teachers and students, however, with little difference in the scope of revelation. According to some students in S2:

the elites, the petty bourgeoisie and the dominant classes, but the demands of their legal service contract which are aggravated by their economic alliance with the State, make them appear as part of the State (cf. Shalem, 1987).

The class positions of teachers are contradictory because as Wright (1978) and Sarup (1983) say, teachers are engaged in ambiguous activities at the ideological level. Their professional and individual autonomy is 'licensed'. Historically, the mental labour of teachers has taken the form of 'prescriptive intellectualism' by acting educationally through acquiescence in the confines of the existing educational policy and subsequently reproducing creator authority (cf. Freire and Macedo, 1987:122). This contributes towards the proletarianization of their work. This proletarianization is undoubtedly the result of the capitalist ideology which proliferate hierarchical divisions of labour in the mode of production. It is itself a political constraint which nevertheless provides teachers with the basis for moral identity with the community.

When the divisions heighten and the resultant conflict becomes threatening to the capitalist mode of production and those classes that have a stake in its social relations of production, the community will want teachers to change their functions. As Haskell (Popkewitz, 1987:8) says "the authority of the intellectual [is] legitimated by the changing role of the intellectual," teachers are thus urged to place themselves in a favourable position with the community by asserting themselves through alternative activities which transform the GSO by establishing and strengthening the CSO. This is another imperative call made to teachers by the community. The only backing the community might give teachers is solidarity, moral support and the promise of legitimacy for future social processes of the curriculum. The only hope of winning teachers over to the community is on the grounds of the political and moral justification that the State is illegitimate, unjust and

> ... teachers use sticks ... sometimes they give us many lashes and do not follow the rules in the punishment book ... they also expel us out of the classroom so that we miss the lessons ... they threaten us that we will fail and if you are not in form five it is easy for them to fail you in the exams ... when we ask questions they refuse to reply ... they scold us ... the principal also sides with the teachers so we cannot complain. When you complain the [headmaster] punishes us or sends us home to call our parents ... No one can refuse because the principal will call the soldiers or expel you. (SV; SY; SAK).

It is clear that the school might be building into itself certain methods for the regulation of relationships. The methods are undoubtedly harsh especially in the light of the rigid nature of the school. Teachers expect students to perform and behave expertly whilst at the same time the socio-economic and political conditions of most students in and outside the school undermine that ideal. The credibility gap between teachers and students is made worse by an imposed curriculum. Students lack space for self-expression and instead of opening up spaces in the bureaucracy, teachers and the administrators close the avenues of communication available by escalating possible punitive measures. There is no student who likes to fail, to be expelled, to be detained and to lose parental favour and an overuse of the threat ultimately constrains students severely thereby defeating its ends.

4.2.1.2 'Expressive' practices

Some teachers believe that it is only when students are intrinsically motivated to learn, that there can be normality. They point out that they involve students in the classroom with the aim of reducing lack of interest in the students vis-a-vis the subject matter and to bridge the social distance between themselves and students. They think this will develop better understanding. TL and TP respectively say:

> in the classroom I involve students to participate actively because that is the only way to get their concentration ... the more you ignore students, the more they keep into that cocoon and they become rebellious and even poisonous to the others ... there are things which they do not like in the syllabus but I try to make them understand that it is important to learn them for examination ... I try to be honest and answer their questions because if you dismiss some of their questions, there will be trouble and you won't have the type of discipline a teacher expects from pupils.

*

> I must win students to be with me ... there should be mutual understanding between us ... every time I get to the class I find out whether they are in the mood because if I impose something on them they become aggressive ... I want them to take the lead, and then I come as a guide, not a dictator ... if I can respect their intellect, I know we can function better, they will know that I do not undermine them.

Teachers who engage in these expressive practices might be influenced by a humanistic outlook towards discipline and the logic of their approach is likely to be informed by some sense of the social processes of the curriculum as part of the structural and legitimacy crisis in education. In order to reduce the social and intellectual gap between themselves and students they share authority so that students have some say in the classroom.

The power of the examination system is likely to condition this attempt by teachers to reduce the social and intellectual gap. When the examinations are set internally there is some chance that teachers might succeed even though not significantly. Any deviation from the predetermined curriculum is likely to win more students towards teachers and vice versa because teaching and learning will be more conciliatory. Internal examination results cannot be jeopardised because methods of evaluation are firmly under the control of teachers and students. However, the fact that this is a direct challenge to the school order and the educational policy might create problems for teachers and

students concerned. The ruling classes might not be willing to give up control over the social processes of the curriculum. There is very little chance for deviation when the examinations are set externally. This is precisely because any deviation implies sacrificing the academic progress of students, therefore resulting in high failure rate. Parents and students are not likely to accept this, let alone teachers whose work demands competitive teaching.

* * *

FURTHER OBSERVATION AND IMPLICATIONS

Instrumental and expressive practices should be seen as concomitant processes with the possibility, however, that some practices might dominate over others. It is certain that the preferences with regard to these practices will differ. This can be attributed to particular understandings teachers have of their duties in the school. Since structural constraints to some extent condition choices of teachers concerning a particular set of practices, it is therefore their consciousness that determines their preferences.

Teachers who adhere to the instrumental practices perhaps see their roles in professional terms as the imparting of educational knowledge despite the fact that they have not participated in the planning of the curriculum. In fact they see no wrong with being excluded from the planning of the curriculum so long as it is perceived that other intellectuals, presumably professionals, have taken part. This perception enables them therefore to demand and attempt to ensure 'normality' (i.e., acquiescence of students to the curriculum) before they impart the subject matter. Even more so, the ability to create normality could be seen as a precondition for teachers' authority, hence they are preoccupied with the enforcement of the school order. The fact that instrumental practices are non-negotiable can be attributed to the

conservative ideology in which authority entails an unquestionable loyalty to the established social order. Teachers who prefer instrumental practices are likely to see the disintegration of order as the outcome of lawlessness instead of concerted efforts by users to alter production in the social formation for educational gains. Similarly, they might perceive the transformation of unequal social relations and the means of production such as the curriculum as a political subversion rather than as an urgent professional necessity which falls within the scope of their educational transactions.

Teachers who prefer expressive practices might do so because they perceive adherence to instrumental practices as giving a credibility to the school order which is undemocratic. Their deviation from the pregiven curriculum, no matter how little the impact of this is, indicates readiness to reject "cultural invasion" (Jessop, 1985). One should also not overlook the power of an alternative political and ideological force i.e., resistance within schools. It is also likely that teachers find this pressure unbearable and therefore simply submit to it. However, the submission of intellectuals is not just an unconscious process. On the one hand it could be that they simply submit whilst on the other it might be a strategy in order to lessen the force of students' counter-authority. The idea that ideology is a 'lived relation' reinforces the view that teachers' submission might be a change of position from one class mentality to another. Such a strategy is likely to give way to a compromise or negotiation of some form of authority to an extent where teachers are compelled to relinquish the framework of authority which is derived from the apartheid education system. Even though teachers might continue disseminating and articulating ideas that serve the interests of the bourgeoisie, these practices (expressive) reflect the need by teachers for their own control of the ideological content of education. This need signifies that the domination of the ruling classes over students is no longer effective, especially when teachers have conflicting perspectives.

4.2.2 Sources of counter-authority

Most teachers point out that unusual behaviour adopted by a loose group of individuals or an organised force of students since the 1984/86 crisis is mainly responsible for causing fundamental changes in the nature of teachers' authority. The unusual behaviour which is referred to here as counter-authority cannot be separated from the historical processes of race and class struggle in the social structure. The direction and the intensity of counter-authority is influenced by the tension between the repressive and emancipatory activities within a particular immediate environment such as the school in relation to the larger environment - society. Accompanying these activities as well as counter-authority is an alteration within social actors (users) themselves and their surroundings.

4.2.2.1 Lack of student cooperation

Teachers' interviews indicate that there is a new wave of student conduct which is a deep seated reaction to teachers and the school order. TD and TT respectively say:

> ... in the class, when a student is asked a question, I think it is mannerly that he should stand up and then answer me. Since 1984 they don't do that anymore ... When we stand at the gate to control late comers, you see a student strolling and when you shout at him to hurry up, he continues as if he hasn't heard a word.

*

> Students do many things ... before the soldiers came into the school, they [students] would just walk out of the class ... now you go into the class to teach, say, Maths, they just take out an Afrikaans book and some start reading loud ... when you are busy writing on the [chalk-] board, a student throws you with anything [projectile] and when you ask who did it, they look at you and laugh ... some just start singing out of nothing [without provocation] ... you won't know if it is a trap or not ... there is nothing you can do, we just leave them.

It is clear that students have identified some areas which bother them within the school and the classroom and are directing their efforts at counteracting the usual order. Students know precisely what kind of behaviour is expected from them, they know the repercussions if they do not obey, yet they persistently reverse the expectations teachers and the school order have for them. It is likely that students are not satisfied with the nature of the school organisation and therefore think that its perpetuation is an abuse of authority by teachers.

4.2.2.2 Students' front

Some teachers also reveal that there is a well orchestrated form of students' behaviour which is more severe and which is directly aimed at them rather than at the school order per se. According to TO:

> ... students would come into a classroom and order other students out for a meeting either within the school or outside at another school ... when you ask why, they just tell you 'meneer, shut up!' ... a teacher was molested by the militant students after they were ordered outside ... he was accused of deliberately holding back the students ... since the so called political funerals took place during the week, when a student has passed away after being killed in the clash between students and the police, they [students] take us by force to the funeral ... It happened twice ... The other time they demanded that a certain mistress [woman teacher] leave the school and the principal had to tell her to pack and go ... eh, eh, it was a question of eh, eh we lost total control ... the students would come to school without uniform and start singing their freedom songs ... they would wear T-shirts of political organisations ... when they had them on, it meant trouble for us ... we reached a state where we told ourselves we don't care and when they realised that, they would come to assembly and sing freedom songs instead of hymns ... they didn't even pray.

Some students acknowledge targeting some teachers but argue that they were compelled to do so after they had lost patience following the failure of teachers to respond or heed their demands timeously. S1 says:

> ... teachers were confronted because we told them to change their bad treatment on us ... when they did not change we took steps ... those who changed like mistress [censored] we left them ... the SRC called a meeting at the assembly and after we discussed what to do with her, we agreed to tell her to change and she told us she won't cause problems again.

Students' front appears to be militancy directed not at the well-being of individual teachers but at challenging their 'could-not-care-less' attitude. Students no doubt perceive this as either a lack of social awareness or as a politically motivated choice. Even though students do not state this, they may have scrutinized teachers and found that they were not satisfied with the functional relationship between teachers and the State. Since they realise that they cannot change the conditions of the relationship themselves, they choose to act upon teachers hoping that they will exert pressure on them to review the relationship per se.

It would appear also that students want teachers to assert and identify themselves politically. If this is the case, then the attack by students upon teachers has its base in the teachers assumed social or political quietism. Teachers are therefore charged with being politically inconsiderate of the concerns of other users. This is crucial especially in the kind of climate in which teachers work. Such tranquillity might be interpreted rightfully as a support for the status quo.

When students compel teachers to attend 'political funerals' the intention may have been to create a situation of conflict between teachers and the State, that is, where teachers will have to account for their absence from workplace without permission from State officials, especially when they attend gatherings which are likely to be distasteful to the State. Although the author does not have ready evidence on this condition of teachers' working contract, it is generally believed that it is part of the code of their profession not to take part in any capacity in any event of a political nature.

It is, therefore, not arbitrary that students chose to replace the school uniform with crisis uniform (i.e., T-shirts of political organisations). Whilst this provides them with some form of political identification, it gives the impression that they want teachers to do the same, that is, clarify their class roles and class identity within the production relationship and the social structure. Were any teacher to oppose the crisis uniform, it may be interpreted less as disapproval because of the violation of school regulations pertaining to standards of dress, but more as opposition to the political ideologies which interpellated students and the movements that were being popularised. Teachers may consequently be viewed as being against the political or social cause which students advocate. As Sebidi (1987:10) points out:

> The youth appeared to baulk at any authority exercised on them if it did not stem from a particular socio-political commitment or orientation. For them, therefore, any authority - parental or of teacher origin - reminded them painfully of the hateful and asphyxiating authority of the system, the Establishment.

That the students' counter-authority was powerful and had overwhelmed teachers is reflected by some teachers who mention (infra) that even in the absence of students' front of a physical kind, graffiti had become an alternative and an extended form of students' power. TR says:

> We would see things written on the walls and discuss them among ourselves or inform the principal. Perhaps there is a teacher they don't want, so when we read on the wall that so and so is next, we can act to quell the confrontation that could emerge ... sometimes when we ignore these writings, even on the blackboard the worst things happen.

* * *

FURTHER OBSERVATION AND IMPLICATIONS

The raison d'etre of counter-authority is to render the school structure dysfunctional. Although its aim might be to argue for the replacement of the established order, the objective is to

the elites, the petty bourgeoisie and the dominant classes, but the demands of their legal service contract which are aggravated by their economic alliance with the State, make them appear as part of the State (cf. Shalem, 1987).

The class positions of teachers are contradictory because as Wright (1978) and Sarup (1983) say, teachers are engaged in ambiguous activities at the ideological level. Their professional and individual autonomy is 'licensed'. Historically, the mental labour of teachers has taken the form of 'prescriptive intellectualism' by acting educationally through acquiescence in the confines of the existing educational policy and subsequently reproducing creator authority (cf. Freire and Macedo, 1987:122). This contributes towards the proletarianization of their work. This proletarianization is undoubtedly the result of the capitalist ideology which proliferate hierarchical divisions of labour in the mode of production. It is itself a political constraint which nevertheless provides teachers with the basis for moral identity with the community.

When the divisions heighten and the resultant conflict becomes threatening to the capitalist mode of production and those classes that have a stake in its social relations of production, the community will want teachers to change their functions. As Haskell (Popkewitz, 1987:8) says "the authority of the intellectual [is] legitimated by the changing role of the intellectual," teachers are thus urged to place themselves in a favourable position with the community by asserting themselves through alternative activities which transform the GSO by establishing and strengthening the CSO. This is another imperative call made to teachers by the community. The only backing the community might give teachers is solidarity, moral support and the promise of legitimacy for future social processes of the curriculum. The only hope of winning teachers over to the community is on the grounds of the political and moral justification that the State is illegitimate, unjust and

frustrate those who carry out orders within the bureaucracy so that they become disinclined to enforce orders. When this succeeds, the new wave of conduct over time becomes legitimated by an unwritten pact of acknowledgment between teachers and students. Teachers would gradually cease to have any strong influence over students in the school and classroom. Consequently , students' own government substitutes that of teachers or a new consensual one is born out of teachers' and students' deliberations.

The agency of counter-authority succeeds in introducing certain forms of conduct into areas normally closed to them. The fact that teachers were forced to act in ways they would otherwise not have done is evidence of an invincible change from within. However, counter-authority is limited in this sense because within the established order it is directed towards democratising the status quo rather than changing it. This is perhaps its short term purpose which when successfully actualised might lead to an unfolding of an alternative social order, presumably its long term purpose.

4.3 Underlying factors promoting students' power

Power here refers to counter-coercion, an element very lively within most forms of students assertiveness. It is a consciously organised force as well as a spontaneous conflict. It is counter-authority, however, at the higher level of proaction rather than reaction. There are two kinds of factors that promote students' power by directly undermining teachers' authority, namely: those functions of the teachers which contribute towards "statification" i.e., particular social processes of the curriculum of which the tendency is to re-intensify control (Hyslop, n.d.b); and those social trends within schools that proletarianize teachers' work i.e., relegating teachers to instrumental tasks in such a manner that they become unable to engage in any oppositional discourse (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985). The contradiction in the latter

is that whilst they render teachers powerless, they simultaneously pave way for solidarity between teachers and students. Subsequently, their sense of an alternative authority which might be based on cooperation, participation and democratic control is strengthened.

4.3.1 Factors contributing towards 'statification'

4.3.1.1 Negative discrimination

Negative discrimination refers here to treatment by teachers, which varies inconsistently from one category of students to another despite common offences. On the basis of the evidence below, the sex of the student influences the inconsistency of the treatment and therefore of the discrimination. This presupposes sexist treatment in the State schools which even though it is not new one cannot conceive of any educational justification for it. It is a DET rule for example, that "corporal punishment may not be administered to girls. It is considered an offence to do so" (Engelbrecht and Lubbe, n.d.:227). There is no doubt that this 'legal' sexist discrimination has made way for an abuse of power by some teachers. As S2 says:

> some students are not punished even if the mistakes they did are serious. Instead of punishing them, especially girls, teachers propose [woo] them and tell them that they will not get punishment.

The scope of such negative discrimination is wide. It does not only take the form of direct demands for sexual favours though these are central, but as TD warns below, there are other indirect measures to which some teachers resort:

> a teacher should not use favouritism ... some male teachers become involved in love relationships with the children and others win these children to their sides by giving unearned marks in the tests.

The impact and the conditions of the relationships can be extenuated in many ways but the danger lies in the fact that

these forms of negative discrimination might constitute some form of exploitation. When some students are able to progress academically on the basis of 'unearned marks' failure might be seen as deliberately plotted and as punishment in the same way as is trapping students for sexual favours in return for 'non-punishment'. Teachers perhaps rely on the assumed fixed, immutable and non-negotiable, hierarchical structure of the school to abuse their privileges and subsequently impose their superiority over students. Bearing in mind that in the 1984/86 crisis love relationships between teachers and students were of major concern (e.g., the demand for an end to sexual harassment), favouritism might be seen as a reinforcement of structural domination. At stake is also the reliability and validity of assessment methods when as a ploy teachers credit some students with 'unearned marks'.

4.3.1.2 Physical coercion

The use of force when reprimanding students is said to have been one of the major causes of prolonged conflict between teachers and students. As TG puts it:

> three years ago [in 1984/86] the situation was so bad that one of the students' complaints was corporal punishment ... I think they were right because everything was just dictated to them, and the stick was always there in case they do not obey.

Some students also point out that the stick was regularly used to an extent where it became the 'other mouth' of teachers. SI says:

> before 1984 the teacher will just enter the classroom and ask from the monitor [prefect] a list of noisemakers. If the monitor says he has no list, the teacher punishes him. When we ask the teacher why, he shows us the stick.

Corporal punishment is the most hated mechanism of control within schools. To understand why this is so, it is important to situate users in an environment where they are under constant domination and the threat of the ruling classes whose

hegemony is achieved through coercion rather than consent. In the schools coercion finds its place in the apartheid education of which the social processes of the curriculum represent a cultural imposition by the ruling classes. Coercion is portrayed as a necessary deterrent for anyone who might undermine the imposed order and as an inevitable rehabilitative mechanism. Hence TI maintains:

> people usually say it is an offence to use corporal punishment. Our [teachers] main problem is ... a black child is a black child, and they have grown up that way. Even if you talk to them they don't listen ... that is why we have to use corporal punishment ... if you don't use a stick you don't get the desired results.

Besides the use of corporal punishment which some teachers condemn as "excessive and harsh" (TB) even though relied upon by others as "the symbol of teachers' strength" (TK), fists are sometimes used to "discipline cheeky ones" (TC). TS substantiates this latter conduct in the following:

> A boy in my classroom attempted to throw me with a book and I caught him ... I beat him with my own bare hands ... I hit him hard and he bled from his face .

Resorting to coercion or power in order to restore authority is far from being an educational strategy of solving conflicts. It is authoritarianism which has its roots in the professional underpreparedness of most teachers due to the inferior education system and schooling conditions which compel them to adopt survival teaching strategies. (Sub voce 3.6.1). Fighting is one such technique as it is corporal punishment. These techniques are in fact attempts to legitimize force, power or coercion as a rehabilitative apparatus (Schonfeld, 1976; Burbules, 1986).

It should not be overlooked that teachers may be under the illusion that since according to the school bureaucracy teachers' authority is the result of successful enforcement of rules associated with official positions, it is therefore,

appropriate to coerce students. As a result control or discipline becomes equated with domination and teaching as a process where the dominant classes impose themselves on the subordinate classes. Some kind of an environment is created where teachers make certain assumptions about their superiority in order to reinforce their sustained privileges and prejudices. It then becomes easier to rationalize and justify coercive mechanisms of control whilst failing to understand the resultant recalcitrant behaviour of some users.

4.3.1.3 Teachers' reliance on the RSA

At the height of the crisis joint action by police and the army was undertaken to enforce emergency regulations within schools with the aim of 'quelling' the crisis. This action has been prolonged with the continuous imposition of the SOE. This has meant a continuous presence of the security forces in some schools. Some teachers perceive the presence of the security forces as creating a "conducive atmosphere for us to teach" (TO). Others point out that the troops "suppress public confrontation between students and some teachers and the principal but do not do a thing to solve problems" (TV). Some students see the troops as "another corporal punishment" and probably another source of strength or power for teachers (SP). Since the school is one terrain where the race and class struggle is waged vehemently, the deployment of the troops in the State black school cannot simply be dismissed as a consequential event following the crisis, but it should instead be viewed in the context of the repression of dissent against unjust social relations. S2 says:

> We are afraid to make them [teachers] know [that] we disagree with them because if you refuse corporal punishment soldiers are there to carry you to the principal's office to get punished ... the principal and teachers just make you keep quiet by the stick and show you the soldiers ... they [soldiers] just serve as another corporal punishment.

TH describes below an incident where a teacher was at loggerheads with a student in the classroom and after failing to resolve the clash, the principal was called in and the soldiers were summoned to help.

> A certain boy became bully to a mistress ... the mistress then called the principal and he said to the boy 'you don't even respect mistresses' ... he ordered the boy to the office. When the boy refused, the principal called the troops who then carried the boy to the office and the principal punished him there.

The role of the RSA has been dealt with at length in 2.4.3 above. However, one can point out that the functional alliance between teachers and the RSA further corroborates conceptions that some teachers are collaborators in the oppressive mission of apartheid State. The consequences of this have been highlighted in 4.2.2 above. This functional alliance lays conditions where teachers' authority might be undermined on the grounds that it serves the interests of the State. It will no doubt impair social interaction between teachers and students as TH substantiates below:

> ... pupils took their books and went away. We were charged, especially the principal ... that we called the police and troops into the school ... at one stage they called for his resignation ... they striked [boycotted] and did not talk to us for a long period.

4.3.1.4 Teachers' political ignorance

The crisis of authority is perceived by some teachers as in no way isolated from the social crisis in the country. It is compounded by political ignorance among teachers in a school environment which is heavily influenced by the speedy development of class consciousness in most students. According to TM:

> ... it is the resentment, the influence of the politics around us. Students are rebellious ... the present child is so politically aware ...

> they are politically clear of what is happening around them ... They want to show off how much they know and they have discovered that most of us [teachers] don't know ... you can't control a person who thinks he knows, you can't ... unless you find other relevant ways ... relevant to the mood of the time ... that is what we are trying at the moment.

The impact of the 'mood of the time' is captured by TT who says (below) that students were not only challenging the functions of teachers, but were also questioning the continued link between teachers and the State.

> Students accuse us of being sellouts, they say we are part of the system ... at one stage almost three quarters of the students in our school was in dispute with us saying that if we really serve and support them we must resign from the department [DET].

This serious demand should be understood in the context of the current socio-political climate in South Africa of which the impact is so strong that any claim of political ignorance especially by intellectuals such as teachers is according to Derber (Densmore, 1987) an "historically evolved defensive response to ideological proletarianization" which is often resorted to by professional classes in order to "avoid important moral and social questions". The socio-political climate to a large extent shapes and reshapes the interaction of teachers and students within schools.

Teachers' authority is a crucial part of the class struggle in apartheid and capitalist education. When the established order is perceived as illegitimate and therefore undermined on that basis, it is not surprising that all classes which benefit from it are subsequently undermined. Teachers are considered to be part of the established order and it is for this reason that their authority is flouted. They are also followed by calls to distance themselves and to stop collaborating with the State. As Sebidi (1987:7) points out: "There was this methodic disregard and disdain for anything white - the predominant white image". It is clear that teachers' authority is

undermined following the perception that it is an illegitimate creation of the system in which teachers have no convincing voice.

4.3.1 Factors proletarianizing teachers' work

When the State prescribes for teachers what they must do within schools, it intensifies its management control over them. Teachers become less influential and their work less productive in terms of formulating alternatives. Whereas this practice tightens State hegemony, it is also contradictory since it opens up the work that teachers do to more negative criticisms thus creating grounds for teachers' opposition to the State. It is for this reason that the practice is referred to as the proletarianization of teachers work.

4.3.2.1 Powerlessness of teachers

The lack of professional autonomy is a topical issue in education. It is indicative that teachers have no control over their intellectual labour. The degree of autonomy which they appear to enjoy is somehow 'licensed' i.e., restricted within curriculum boundaries which are set by the State. This implies that the only control they have over their labour process is within the boundaries of what they are permitted to do as dictated by the State and conditioned by the school order. This signifies some form of 'prescriptive intellectualism'. This has led to powerlessness which gives way to general discontent among some teachers who say that State officials ignore their ideas vis-a-vis changing any aspect of the curriculum. According to TA :

> ... some of the things we do not want in the syllabus we mention during the in-service training but we have not got any response from the department [DET] ... we do not have the 'powers' to change the curriculum without being told so by the department.

Constraints about what teachers could do under licensed autonomy do not only come in the form of evaluation and examination system under the control of the State, but even go so far as to include suspensions and dismissals. These are part of the repercussions that might befall teachers who assert their professional individual autonomy. For example, TP says:

> When a teacher follows the instructions of the high authorities without using his own discretion, that is not authority ... a teacher should have the right to exercise authority, but unfortunately you find that teachers fear losing their jobs.

The participation of teachers in the planning of the curriculum will undoubtedly give credibility and increase the legitimacy of their teaching roles and authority. Yet, their innovative ideas remain further subdued.

The denial of professional autonomy with regard to curriculum planning should be seen as a serious violation of teachers' authority. According to Hyslop (n.d.a; n.d.b.) "This is a particular blow to an individual's standing in the community in a situation where the State does not exercise an effective hegemony over a larger proportion of the people, the teacher becomes delegitimated".

It can be argued that most teachers have been subjected to inferior education and professional undertraining and do not have the necessary expertise to design the curriculum. Although this might partially be true, it should however, not be overlooked that the system is itself a cultural imposition and therefore such an argument is but a ploy by those who fear that teachers might dilute the bourgeois ideology which holds together the cultural traditions of the ruling classes. It is certain that such a dilution will significantly threaten the State hegemony.

Mathonsi (1988) asserts that the State manipulates for socio-economic and political reasons, the educational progress

of black students to suit the capitalist system. One aspect of this can be teachers' powerlessness, especially when teachers are compelled to impart the curriculum to which they have not consented, let alone taken part in its planning. This is compounded by the fact that teachers are supposed to instil the same curriculum content into a growing number of students not willing to 'consume' it. Despite the lack of evidence about the educational success or failure of students at the schools from which the interviewees came, an overview of the impact of the general powerlessness of teachers could be weighed against the external examination results. In 1987, 56.3% (some estimate as little as 48%) of the black matriculants within the DET schools (excluding Transkei) scraped through. Whilst on average 95.83% of the white matriculants in South Africa passed (Upbeat,1988; SA Barometer, 290188; Star, 050588; NN, 11-170888). As the rate of success remains stagnant over years, not only does it reflect badly on the education system but it also exposes teachers' authority to negative criticisms.

4.3.2.2 Centralisation of authority

The hierarchical order of the school is such that teachers seldom experience personal autonomy except when they occupy top official positions in the school organisation. As a result their dependency on the heads of departments and the headmaster remain substantial. They are not certain when to respond and take decisions that might breach their jurisdiction. According to some teachers this dilemma is exacerbated by the bureaucratic way in which some State officials execute their roles. TP and TL respectively say:

> We don't have 'powers'. Everything just comes from above. They just undermine us [teachers]. We are always overlooked when problems in the school emerge ... The DET would in time of crisis close the schools without consulting with us. In 1985 we came to school to find troops and police around the school ... it is only then that we knew the school was closed ... nobody, even the inspectors ever came to ask us what was happening in our school.

> We couldn't offer the SRC to students because we have no such 'powers' ... the department [DET] should have told us that we need to offer students that ... I didn't know whether I should get involved or not because it was the higher authorities who were dealing with issues like that.

The centralisation of authority is a crucial issue for teachers because they are left to shoulder the responsibility for problems which arise after they have executed decisions which have been taken without their consent. Serious problems are likely to emerge when teachers refrain from taking decisions during emergency situations on the basis that they have to be delegated authority when in practice immediate and perceptive responses are needed. It is this very aspect of loss over decision making which Densmore (1987) refers to as "ideological proletarianization". Conditions are thus created where students might continuously undermine teachers on the basis that they resemble pawns in the school organization.

Those in the bureaucracy continue to enjoy maximum domination since centralisation of authority intensifies their seniority over the subordinates. The scope of involvement of the subordinates and their capacity to influence decision making is reduced. This jeopardises the working relationship between ordinary staff members and State officials. This is understandable because where one's (e.g., administrator/s) competency and efficiency are determined by one's ability to decide for others (e.g., ordinary staff members) who have to implement and defend such decisions even in the face of resistance, there is bound to be perpetual status conflict. The survival of some would depend on the successful destruction of others, either physically through resignation and victimization or psychologically through the fear of both.

4.3.2.3 Teacher burn-out

The load of school work, overcrowding, the long school day and pressure of teachers' own academic studies undeniably threaten

the effectiveness of teaching. Teachers are likely to resort to competitive teaching which undoubtedly detach them from students and colleagues. This form of detachment or a cynical and dehumanized perception of other users drives teachers towards some form of teaching which is bureaucratic in orientation. As Densmore (198 7:149) says:

> a high work volume increases their dependence say on prescribed materials ... they simply do not have the time to create many of their own lessons or to do much beyond distributing predesigned curricular materials.

Teachers' authority is thus negatively affected. The more teachers worry about their work, the more it is likely that their morale will deteriorate. This will lead to 'burn-out' which according to Maslach (Gorton, 1983) is an emotional exhaustion caused by stress. As TM highlights:

> We are given many subjects to teach, even the ones in which we are not experienced ... It becomes difficult to specialise in my subject when I am teaching many subjects in many classes ... the students are many, we don't even find time to prepare lessons and concentrate on our studies.

The crisis of teachers' authority is also a problem of stringent management control, the solution of which demands a review of educational policy and the political conditions of the teachers' workplace. Densmore (1987) points out that teachers' work in any school is related to a particular mode of production whereby under capitalist social structure it is a "product of attempted and contested solutions to problems of fiscal crisis and capitalist development". In order to redress teachers' burn-out, the reconstruction of the capitalist mode of production becomes necessary.

4.4 Teachers' survival techniques

Despite the gloomy picture portrayed by the interviewees, there are however, attempts at alternative mechanisms of dealing with the crisis. The alternatives represent both greater

There is a greater opportunity of movement away from the dictates of the official curriculum. Any such move is likely to provide hope for future positive interaction and greater legitimacy for teachers. TR highlights how such can be achieved:

> We all have a fresh start, and we are sort of developing another attitude as staff ... a positive one ... we must be creative ... have a sense of what is appropriate ... to do things without waiting to be told ... we are trying to develop with pupils. If we forget that we are superior and stop boasting, I'm sure there won't be a void between us and the pupils ... we are far too much above them ... we should do things together.

This is a direct and perhaps an effective way of responding to the breakdown of teaching and learning processes. The technique reflects an understanding of the dynamics involved in the crisis and the problems to be solved within schools. The essence of this lies in the fact that it can enable teachers to transcend the barriers of individual rigidity.

4.4.2 Invocation of external authority of the community

There is a growing interest among individual teachers in consulting freely with the parents of the students. Even though consultation with the parents of the students is not new, there is now emphasis on broadening the school space for *more* parental influence. This move will certainly challenge the conceptualisation that teachers' authority rests on intellectual expertise, a claim which when internalized could lead to teachers viewing the invocation of external authority of the community as threatening since it signifies a sharing of responsibilities which will reduce the scope of teachers' dominance. TF says:

> We try to work with the parents of the pupils. If we carry on consulting them, it will not only be our responsibility to see that everything is orderly within schools ... if we called parents before the strikes, we wouldn't have problems now.

Some students agree with this idea but express reservations in so far as parents appear to receive, absorb and submit to the school bureaucracy without questioning. S2 says:

> They [teachers] should not call parents here, but if they come they should not listen to the teachers and the principal only. Many parents listen to the principal and agree with him because they fear he will chase [expel] us out of the school when they disagree.

The invocation of external authority of the community enables teachers to extend their scope of contact into the community. This might alleviate the tension and lack of understanding that exist between teachers and other users.

4.4.3 Diminishing the involvement - detachment ambivalency

Most teachers have until lately avoided any involvement in activities inside and outside schools that might be considered by the State as having political connotations. The emergence of many organisations to the left of the State has rendered that tendency something of the past. Teachers are becoming more accustomed to participating in extra-mural activities within organisations where they are able to meet informally with other users. They claim that this involvement makes understanding possible between themselves and the students. TX says:

> I participate in PTSAs ... there are some teachers from the school. This gives us the chance to meet informally with students and their parents. It improves communication and mutual understanding between all of us ... they also accept us as part of the struggle and not as part of the system ... unfortunately there are still some teachers who stay away from these organisations ... in fact, they fear the DET.

This form of involvement is likely to increase the awareness of teachers and commits them to identifying with the community more than with the State. It will in fact alleviate some accusations that teachers are merely the servants of power.

4.4.4 Beating the system

The bureaucratic schooling system emphasizes rigid behavioural order as the basic determinant of the efficient authority of the teachers. The rationale is that if there is disorder, teachers' authority has collapsed, hence teachers try to mask the conditions within schools and classrooms that might expose the fact that they have lost control over students. They do so by bluffing the State officials that there is normality when in fact the situation in the school is far from being conducive to any educational activity. In other words teachers beat the system. According to TT:

> we would shepherd the few pupils who were around just to be with them in the classrooms ... they would get in but refuse to be taught without the others .. . we would ask them to remain seated and silent in class so that everything appeared normal from the outside ... practically, that was all we could do ... we couldn't teach or give orders.

4.4.5 Scuttling policy

Taking leave or periods of study does not seem to be a coping (survival) mechanism. But for teachers who have temporarily left and returned, it gives them a chance to reflect, to reconsider and to commit themselves anew. It thus provides them with a base to contend with the conflict. As TK puts it:

> ... in 1985 my name was mentioned in one of their meetings ... that I was strict ... there was nothing I could do ... I felt frustrated and I nearly left to find myself a job elsewhere outside the profession ... I survived by taking a study leave ... that is why I have come back now but a different person with a positive attitude.

This technique can be understood as a coping mechanism particularly when certain students are inclined to use the crisis for their own ends. Teachers might find the pressure of such students unbearable and thus perceive them as a problem or part of it. This is so because by the time a teacher who has

these choices are motivated by an urgent need for an expedient solution to the crisis of authority, teachers would opt for any pragmatic initiative that seems appropriate. When such coping techniques appear political it might not simply be that teachers have become politicised or conscientized as such but that the techniques seem to provide them with hope for future and a new meaning for social change. However, it is important that teachers should realise that social change cannot come through individual assertiveness. Teachers must involve themselves collectively if there is to be any effective or successful formulation or implementation of alternatives.

5. CONCLUSION : THE CRUX OF TEACHERS' AUTHORITY - AN ANALYTICAL REFLECTION

5.1 Review of the issue of authority as in chapters 1 to 4

5.2 Structural location and functions of teachers

5.2.1 Ambivalent class positions

5.2.2 Controversial historical roles

5.3 The shift towards the community

5.3.1 The significance of counter-hegemony in black schooling

5.3.2 The implications of the shift

5.4 Summary

5. CONCLUSION : THE CRUX OF TEACHERS' AUTHORITY - AN ANALYTICAL REFLECTION

5.1 Review of the issue of authority as in chapters 1 to 4

This chapter seeks to provide an understanding of the predicament in which teachers find themselves concerning their authority. It is a concluding as well as an analytic chapter. It will while clarifying issues through propositions, not conceal problems that arise. The author argues that there do not at present exist conditions in which the authority of the teacher can be a liberating experience. This can be attributed to the continuous race and class antagonisms between the two constituencies and among users themselves. Teachers have also taken for granted the grievances of other users with regard to democratising the social processes of the curriculum. They have not been able to reconstruct their authority to the satisfaction of the community. Instead they have through claims of professional neutrality, ideological desensitization and a 'purist' view of education (i.e., a view that education is a manipulation process where people are persuaded to consent to the status quo) quickened the momentum of cooptation into the petty bourgeoisie.

The author will point out that the dilemma which teachers face comes as a result of their ambivalent class positions. Teachers as elitist, intellectual civil servants remain legally and strategically part of the State through their historical functional roles, whilst, because of certain demographic factors and political conditions they are simultaneously part of the community. They might not support the State on ideological grounds, but for economic privileges they do. This suggests that they do not absolutely identify with the social expectations of the community. Teachers are petty bourgeois intellectuals whose functional roles within the capitalist social structure have been to organize and provide elitist leadership. At the same time their economic consumption power

has been concentrated on improving their petty bourgeois life-styles. In contrast their political circumstances due to racialistic ideology reflect that they are members of the community. For instance, most teachers have not been immune from racial discrimination on the job market. Like most members of the community they are equally affected by the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and are denied voting rights (cf. Alexander, n.d).

The equivocal class positions of teachers are crucial in that, historically, teachers have collaborated with the State more than with the community. Often what authority means in one constituency, it will not mean in the other. This is central to any race and class contest. The historical roles of teachers which are inseparable from their status as organic intellectuals (i.e., persons whose activities persuade others to consent to the hegemony of the ruling classes) of the State are assessed, analysed and the author will point out that they have propped up the GSO whilst simultaneously inviting resistance from the community. The interpretation made on the basis of their survival techniques is developed further in order to ascertain their possibility of thriving-in the crisis rather than just merely coping or surviving it. The noticeable shift in terms of the authority of the teacher signifies some form of resistance which is the result of the pressure exerted on them inside and outside schools by both students and the community. The shift represents a new base for a counter-hegemonic approach towards apartheid education and capitalist social responsibility. This is likely to contradict the historical functions of teachers within State schools. The author will then portray the implications of these alternative forms for the traditional profession and will show their significance as steps towards redressing the crisis. As Schonfeld (1976) avers, any innovation is itself crucial and therefore, the shift will undoubtedly result in unintended consequences for individual teachers. This can be tolerable only if teachers acknowledge that in racial and class societies, education produces educational casualties (Muller,

1987). Moreover such unintended consequences are part of class sacrifices.

For broad purposes of analysis in this chapter, the notion of the State versus the community is retained. This does not overlook the existence of intra-community conflict as already pointed out, but is solely to give a sense of community unity currently emerging i.e. an alliance of classes (e.g., the anti-apartheid conference in Cape Town which was however, banned) which is essential for the successful reconstruction of teachers' authority (cf. WM, 231288-120189). The differences within the community are reflected in cleavages between young and old persons (students and teachers), rural and urban dwellers, women and men, bourgeoisie and proletariat and also between ethnic groupings. The fragmentations undoubtedly reflect different levels of cultural, economic, political and ideological consciousness among users. As pointed out in chapter 3 the same varied consciousness permeates users and influences (differently) their conceptualisations of what teachers' authority should be like. Hence the significance of counter-hegemony in order to create conditions for strengthening the community solidarity which is necessary for the transformation of the unequal social relations of production and the GSO (Bozzoli, 1987).

Recent developments both inside and outside the schools indicate an attempt to reduce the conflict of race and class. This is necessary for the community that strives for emancipation (South, 04-100288; WM, 01-070888; Tsele, 1986). In order to provide a better understanding of the way in which the established creator authority is problematised; of the direction and the social bases an alternative authority is likely to adopt; it is important that analysis should not overlook attempts by the community to "regain control of the schooling system" (Speak, 1986).

5.2 Structural location and functions of teachers

5.2.1 Ambivalent class positions

Assuming that the conflict between the State and the community is being heightened, the split between the elites and the non-elites is likely to be witnessed vividly in education and in the schooling process. This is because schools are hierarchically organised in such a way that there is clear division between intellectual labour and social labour. Since the crisis reflects a contest where one constituency (community) wants its fundamental rights recognised and the access to all amenities equalised via the transformation of the GSO, and the other constituency (State) is geared towards sustaining the status quo, teachers find themselves taking part in this class struggle in a somewhat controversial manner. They are polarised between these two constituencies and thus between the "logic of reproduction and resistance" (Freire and Macedo, 1987). As petty bourgeois intellectuals teachers play vital roles in the reproduction of the capitalist social relations and in the dissemination and elaboration of bourgeois ideology (Sarup, 1983). However, this reproduction is not self-perpetuating. Teachers do not have effective control over the ideology of education vis-a-vis curriculum planning. Consequently, lack of consensus will affect the transmission of bourgeois ideology.

Teachers are legally and strategically bound to the State. Their civil service status ties them to bureaucratic and conservative positions in the school order. Their social upward mobility within the school bureaucracy ensures the upgradement of their status and welfare. This form of acceptance and advancement of the official positions in the schooling hierarchy is a conscious choice on their part which reflects a quest to be like the bourgeois members of the capitalist social formation (cf. Shalem, 1987). This signifies that teachers align with the ruling classes. Although this alliance might be out of ideological convenience, it is certainly out of economic

necessity. Whilst teachers form an intellectual category very close to the bourgeoisie, they do not have the control of the apparatus of production as a whole, nor do they have real control over much of their own labour process. As State servants, they are directly exploited vis-a-vis their 'creative energy' but not in terms of the benefits of surplus economic returns despite the fact that they work for pittance (cf. Giddens, 1980; Harris, 1982; Jessop, 1985:170).

Economic returns are powerful means through which the State co-opts teachers into the ruling class. The process of cooptation is made possible by the fact that teachers have strong inclinations to maximize their social welfare in a way that is always consonant with petty bourgeois interests in the capitalist relations and the mode of production. The legalism of their contract and economic apparatus represent political resources utilized by the State to tie and condition the organizational and ideological influence of teachers' authority.

The State has ensured that teachers align with it not only through the legalism of their contract and economic incentives but also via the fallacy that professionalism is apolitical. Teachers have never been in a strategic position to generate professional goals which are distinct from the established order. As Densmore (1987) avers, the professional aspirations of teachers do not jeopardise their civil service status "which signifies a work context with hierarchical authority relations, bureaucratic control, and conditions of limited time and information", but instead sustain it. In fact as Cloete and Pillay (1988) point out, the affirmation of professional autonomy within the capitalist social structure is necessary to protect the status of intellectuals and sustain the interests of the ruling classes. This is one imperative call made to teachers by the State. Teachers may not have a choice to teach the alternative curriculum, but to transact ideologically as the State prescribes. They might not want to be identified with

the elites, the petty bourgeoisie and the dominant classes, but the demands of their legal service contract which are aggravated by their economic alliance with the State, make them appear as part of the State (cf. Shalem, 1987).

The class positions of teachers are contradictory because as Wright (1978) and Sarup (1983) say, teachers are engaged in ambiguous activities at the ideological level. Their professional and individual autonomy is 'licensed'. Historically, the mental labour of teachers has taken the form of 'prescriptive intellectualism' by acting educationally through acquiescence in the confines of the existing educational policy and subsequently reproducing creator authority (cf. Freire and Macedo, 1987:122). This contributes towards the proletarianization of their work. This proletarianization is undoubtedly the result of the capitalist ideology which proliferate hierarchical divisions of labour in the mode of production. It is itself a political constraint which nevertheless provides teachers with the basis for moral identity with the community.

When the divisions heighten and the resultant conflict becomes threatening to the capitalist mode of production and those classes that have a stake in its social relations of production, the community will want teachers to change their functions. As Haskell (Popkewitz, 1987:8) says "the authority of the intellectual [is] legitimated by the changing role of the intellectual," teachers are thus urged to place themselves in a favourable position with the community by asserting themselves through alternative activities which transform the GSO by establishing and strengthening the CSO. This is another imperative call made to teachers by the community. The only backing the community might give teachers is solidarity, moral support and the promise of legitimacy for future social processes of the curriculum. The only hope of winning teachers over to the community is on the grounds of the political and moral justification that the State is illegitimate, unjust and

undemocratic and that to sustain it is tantamount to taking part in its apartheid mission. If there is to be any sacrifice in the class positions of teachers in favour of the community, it is certain to be based on political grounds rather than for economic gains.

Teachers are in a 'no-win' situation and the fact that they often become educationally dysfunctional has to do with the polarization resulting from the race and class contest. The crisis means that teachers are the subjects over whom the battle rages. The instability in teachers authority is, therefore, the product of the ongoing race and class struggle between the community and the State. Exasperation, frustration and an element of indecision that characterise teachers' work are due to the battle of teachers to respond to the two imperative polar calls without choosing the constituency that promises a home for progressive educational agency. One can understand this state of affairs because teachers will certainly not succeed in appeasing both constituencies.

As the crisis deepens, teachers' authority becomes more contested. Consequently, teachers do not find any space where they can practice authoritatively. The State is not likely to give in, because no State has ever voluntarily chosen to lose any contest. The community too is not likely to succumb to domination. In order to prove that the relationship between teachers and the State is not that of master and puppet it becomes necessary that they forge alliances with the community. This is indispensable and inevitably a condition to be observed in any counter-hegemonic struggle. But before teachers are drawn into counter-hegemony it is important that the historical functions which the community urges them to relinquish (through its imperative call) are analysed.

5.2.2 Controversial historical roles

The legal contract is one powerful form of control in which the State strategically ties up and manoeuvres teachers so that

they serve it. Teachers are required to implement the educational policy, the political and ideological content of which reflects the culture of the ruling classes, mainly the Afrikaner elites, whilst excluding the perspectives of the community. Their prescribed intellectualism within schools includes the impartation of certain preformulated views and ideas about reality, and sets of biased attitudes towards life as are portrayed and laid down in the curriculum. The control which teachers have over the labour of the students in the classroom is a strategic aspect of the legalism of their contract. This is essential to the State so that in the process of disseminating bourgeois ideology they eventually perpetuate the State by reinforcing its hegemony.

The State could not have been successful without manoeuvring professionalism to ensure that teachers assume 'purist' perspectives on education. Teachers have been made to believe that their intellectual expertise has no place in the political reality of the teaching profession or vice-versa. In this way teachers have become cowed and blinkered within the limited conceptions of the pregiven school functions (Jessop, 1985). The result has been an alienation of their 'critical energy', which has led them to becoming accountable to the State and effective supporters of capitalism. This is made clear by Hyslop (n.d.a; n.d.b) who points out that "the functions they are maintaining in the classroom are those of surveillance and control ... the 'functions of capital' while those they are losing are those of the creative educator - the 'functions of the collective worker'" (cf. Giddens, 1980:301; Harris, 1982; Shalem, 1987:37).

Teachers' authority has become little more than a production relationship of control motivated by a subjection ideology. This submission follows the assertion of teachers professional autonomy which according to Cloete and Pillay (1988), is not only a "workplace gain, [but] is also used by mental labour [intellectuals] to advance their interests and as a smokescreen

for concealing their ties to the ruling class." This implies that the historical functions of teachers which reproduce dominance and subordination relationships do not only sustain the capitalist mode of production but ensure the stability of teachers as a class with interest related to the established order. As All (1981) points out, the State can only "benefit in the sphere of power from the work that schools do (in the sphere of symbolic relations) because, paradoxically, teachers rule' according to a certain logic and practice in the classroom" (cf. Swift, 1972; Licata and Willower, 1975; Mphahlele, 1981). It is not surprising that teachers resort to more power, certain prejudices and assumptions to defend their authority from imminent collapse. As Sebidi (1987:10) avers:

> Teachers symbolised the abrasive authority of one of the most irksome and questionable institutions of authority in the whole structure of racial domination Department of Education and Training (DET). Their structural association with the institution totally eclipsed whatever personal attitudinal positions they adopted vis-a-vis their people's struggles.

Now, when one talks about a stable form of teachers' authority within schools one possibly refers to the historical roles of teachers which reduplicate the creator authority. Similarly, when they are thought to have lost authority, it refers to a specific moment of truth at which they have ceased propping up the system.

Since the collapse of teachers' authority threatens the hegemony of the ruling classes, beneficiaries of the GSO will denounce teachers as incompetent and inefficient. This is understandable because the privileges of the beneficiaries are sustained by teachers' authority as a controlling device ensuring that the power of the ruling classes stays intact. This does not suggest that the ruling classes or beneficiaries are not conscious that educational progress is difficult under conditions which undermine teachers' authority. It is this consciousness that motivates them to contain and diminish the

scope of teachers' professional, individual and/or collective autonomy. This ensures that there is educational progress through submission guided by the subjection ideology, because in essence this is the type of progress that has historically sustained the interests of the ruling classes.

In order to revive the authority that has collapsed, attempts will then be made to commit teachers anew to this kind of educational progress. The power of State apparatus (i.e., carrot and stick or cooption and repression) is made more subtle. On the one hand, salaries are made more attractive whilst on the other, rules, regulations and the legal service contract are made more stringent in an attempt to ensure that the State ideology remains dominant. Since the sphere of ideology is one of class struggle, the contest of authority reaches the apex resulting in the State's imperative call to be weighed against the community's imperative call. When this happens, it is significant that the ruling classes are no longer in a position to rule hegemonically, but through coercion.

In the present environment in South Africa it is doubtful whether teachers will continue executing their historical roles for long. The changing image of the school in the community which can be seen in the continuous occurrence of classroom boycotts, school stayaways and the exodus of students into exile implies that the historical roles of teachers will become void in a situation where there are no students who are willing to learn and where there is no community support (Mathonsi in Sowetan, 271087; Alexander, 1988). This might compel teachers to negotiate new bases for their authority. Similar to counter-authority, the processes of negotiation presuppose that teachers should undermine the legitimacy of the State and engage themselves in counter-coercive activities which Gramsci (1971) sees as leading towards counter-hegemony. The shift towards the CSO should be seen in this context as an attempt to thrive rather than an end in itself.

5.3 The shift towards the community

5.3.1 The significance of counter-hegemony in black schooling.

The turmoil in State black secondary schools indicates a growing dissatisfaction in the community with the work that schools do as apartheid establishments and in particular with the functions of teachers as intellectuals generated by capitalism. The community that opposes the system will no doubt stand against those who prop it up. In the same way that the community is demanding the transformation of the system, it is likely to want organic intellectuals generated by capitalism transformed into organic intellectuals for socialism. As Alexander (1988:22) puts it:

> The sharpening of the contradictions between the oppressed and the exploited people and the ruling classes has led to a situation in the schools where increasingly teachers have to decide to support the demands and actions of the black students or face the fact that they are no more than agents of an oppressive and repressive state once all the pious prattling about 'vocation' and 'duty to children' has been bracketed out.

A bone of contention is that teachers sustain the system which is itself not credible. It is argued that teachers should become part of the 'culture of resistance' both inside and outside schools. Teachers are urged to perceive as one of their educational tasks, contribution to eradicate the apartheid system which is "built upon social marginalization and political disenfranchisement of a superexploited black population" (Saul, 1986; cf. Bingley, 1984).

Resistance or counter-hegemony in black schooling dates back to the 19th century and in particular to 1952 when 'Bantu Education' was on the verge of implementation. Teachers associations such as the Cape African Teachers Association (CATA) and the Transvaal African Teachers Association (TATA) undermined the system and rallied support from teachers and

parents to oppose the system. This was to be followed by an indefinite, though unsuccessful, boycott of schools in 1955 which was spearheaded by the now outlawed African National Congress (ANC) in its 'resist apartheid campaign' (Lodge, 1983; Christie, 1985).

The 1976 students' revolt and the 1980's student resistance also ushered in a new era of counter-hegemony within black schooling. Of significance is that students, youth, were in the forefront, not only protesting and challenging the 'cultural invasion', but also visualizing and calling for a democratic system. An upsurge of alternative users' structures within schools in the 1984/86 crisis is indicative of this (cf Murray, 1987:198). The Congress of South African Students (COSAS), now banned; the SRCs in the place of the prefectorial system; the PTSAs in the place of school committees and the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC) and later the NECC are but few examples. The fact that many young people participated within these alternative structures indicates a radical change in the politics of patriarchal involvement where traditionally, elite, adult authority reigned over youth authority (cf. Murray, 1987:203).

Over these years counter-hegemony intensified due to poor material conditions in the schools, a high failure rate and growing repression. These synchronized with the economic and political crisis to draw black schooling firmly on to the terrain of race and class struggle (Levin, 1980; Lodge, 1983; Christie, 1985; Saul, 1986; Nasson, 1986; Chikane, 1986).

It is also important to note that the conflict in schools occurred concomitantly with the struggle waged by the community. The emergence of the now restricted United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983, the subsequent student organisations' alliance with it and the fact that the ANC sent messages of support for the reassessment of the school boycotts and stayaways meant that the struggle for the reconstruction of

the education system was not seen as separate from the struggle for the transformation of the established social order (cf. Levin, 1980; Murray, 1987:197, 404). It also meant a growing understanding that the problems of black schooling were the result of an orchestrated mission by the ruling classes whose interests are satisfied by the perpetuation of a particular mode of production and its social relations. As such, it cannot be left only to students and teachers to seek solutions to the schooling crisis. It is for this reason that "the issue of democratizing control over school challenges its [school's] bureaucratic dimensions, provides opportunities for debate about, and public involvement in, defining educational purposes; and helps to counteract the isolating and individualistic features of teacher professionalism (for example, hostility or suspicion toward parents and community)" (Densmore, 1987:156).

The solidarity between parents, teachers, students and workers heralds a major breakthrough of class alliance that is essentially needed for the success of counter-hegemony (cf. Levin, 1980; Murray, 1987:156). Counter-hegemony is unmistakably a transition towards the solution of 'cultural invasion'. It is necessarily an intellectual as well as a political task because the transformation of consciousness requires both a change in ideas, values and a change in the conditions which produce them (Youngman, 1986). Counter-authority and counter-coercion in and outside schools should be seen in this context as directed against apartheid and the capitalist system. This provides an explanation of the pressure on teachers to relinquish creator authority.

Teachers are required not only to adopt a humanistic approach in their work but are also urged to show empathy for the suffering of the community. Since teachers are structurally part of the community that is subdued, their functions should be orientated towards developing class consciousness in their students and other users (i.e., 'skilling' them with the 'know how' of eradicating conditions that subjugate). At issue is

their accountability. Counter-authority demands that teachers become more involved in the struggle in order to redirect their accountability towards the community. Since Freire and Macedo (1987) point out that "it is as impossible to deny the political nature of the educational process as it is to deny the educational character of the political act", counter-authority forms part of bridging the gap between the educational provocation and political provocation (cf. Bingley, 1984; Youngman, 1986; Sebidi, 1987). In the same way that the political success of State hegemony in education has come mainly through teachers' authority as a vehicle of bourgeois ideology, the community looks upon teachers to become its organic intellectuals by contributing towards the transformation of the GSO and strengthening the CSO (cf. Jessop, 1985:218).

The techniques of individual teachers in attempting to survive the crisis within schools reflect their quest to prove that they are not proxy forces of the State. Mechanisms indicate that teachers have begun to rethink their submissiveness to "organizational rules ... superiors' order[s], the legality of their appointment[s] and sheer seniority" (Gouldner, 1979). At the same time, the survival mechanisms indicate a shift towards the community, but due to the absence of collective power on the part of teachers these still lack the quality of being counter-hegemonic. Counter-hegemony demands that there should be alliances between all classes that undermine the legitimacy of the State. This cannot come through individual teacher radicalisation as is the case with teachers trying to cope with the crisis within schools. One way of thriving in the crisis might be the establishment of a political-professional teachers' union. This has been the subject of debate in the teaching intelligentsia (WM, 12-180687; 01-070788; South, 04-100288). Frictions in this intelligentsia are probably the outcome of the intensity of the crisis that is "pulling apart those whose class interest sometimes appear to cohere around the common platform of opposition to racial oppression" (Saul, 1986).

The failure of some professional teachers associations/ organisations lies in the fact that they have prioritised concern for the socio-economic welfare issues of their workplace over the political curricular issues of their classroom worlds. So that now, whatever professional sensitivity teachers have had, it has been disproportionately incommensurate with other users' counter-hegemonic struggle to initiate the climate for alternatives. Citing Wright (1978) and Disco (1979) Cloete and Pillay (1988:5) point out that the disproportion emanates from:

> the location of the profession as a stratum in the dominant class ... they do not need to contest material interest in such an adverserial way as manual labour [workers]. Rather, material interests are catered for in a complex alignment that is beneficial to both the bourgeoisie and the intellectuals.

The implications have been anything from that teachers' professionalism is a subterfuge for social quietism to that it lacks the ability to bring about social change.

The revitalization of teachers' authority depends mainly on the awareness of teachers about the need for a political professional teachers' union and the direction of their class alliance which is essential for counter-hegemony as a force for empowerment. Only an alternative teachers' authority that reflects social and political concern for the community might be the catalyst in enabling teachers to thrive in the crisis.

5.3.2 The implications of the shift

The shift from the GSO towards the CSO is aimed at negotiating new bases for teachers' authority. This can be done through alliances with the mass of the people and via attempts to develop class consciousness. The shift implies that teachers should empower users with skills to determine the process of transition towards the CSO. Marx and Engels (Youngman, 1986) emphasize that intellectuals have a vital role to play in the

class struggle by supplying the mass of the people with "educative elements" which should however, be void of "remnants of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, etc. prejudices" (cf. Bingley, 1984:10).

In order for the teacher to empower other users, it is necessary that they commit 'class suicide', that is, relinquish privileges and certain material interest associated with the capitalist relations and mode of production. It can be envisaged that this is unlikely to happen because as it was previously pointed out, teachers' identification with the community is for political gains rather than for economic reasons. For as long as the State still owns and controls major educational resources, determines the systems of evaluation and the hiring criterion (i.e., screening of teachers) there are still going to be sharp tensions and contradictions between petty bourgeois intellectuals, the State and the community. Since teachers are legally and strategically bound to the State by virtue of it being the major employer for most of the teaching workforce, 'class suicide' could result in suspension and dismissal. For instance, about 4854 DET teachers (1585 permanent and 3269 temporary) had their services terminated by the department. These teachers constitute 9,6% of the entire DET teaching force (Hansard, 290688; cf. Murray, 1987:273). This is crucial because in the racist and capitalist system retrenched teachers are not likely to get teaching jobs again. Hence, it is necessary that in the process of forging alliances, the balance of forces between the State and the community should be recognised (cf. Jessop, 1985:165). In so much as teachers might eventually shift towards the CSO, the process will be conditioned by the socio-economic and political forces between the two constituencies. It can be expected that the State will tighten its hegemony by imposing stringent measures for control. It is for this reason that Sisulu (Alexander, 1988:21) cautions:

> It is important that we don't misrecognise the moment, or understand it to be something which it is not. We are not poised for the immediate transfer of power to the people. The belief that

> this is so could lead to serious errors and defeats. We are however poised to enter a phase which can lead to transfer of power. What we are seeking to do is decisively shift the balance of forces in our favour. To do this we have to adopt the appropriate strategies and tactics, we have to understand our strengths and weaknesses, as well as that of the enemy, that is, the forces of apartheid reaction.

Although teachers will for some time remain legally part of the GSO which diminishes the social space for progressive educational agency as the base for emancipatory authority, it does not mean that they cannot personally ease the chance of creating a climate for collective and collaborative action with the community. It is important that they begin a process of social and political awareness. Differences among teachers as were reflected in their exercising of authority (see chapter 4) are a potential source of conflict in hampering collective reconstruction within schools. Teachers can therefore take these differences as a point of departure in their debates around topical issues which concern their functional roles, their location in the social structure and their interaction with other users in and outside schools. Although indications are that individual teachers have started this process (as evidenced by survival techniques), it warrants the establishment of staff bodies for collective action within each school. This might enable teachers to interact with students and community organisations within school on a more collective and collaborative basis. Collective or team work might create conducive conditions for the establishment of school councils which can be made up of mandated representatives of parents, teachers and students organisations. The school council is necessary for formulating and taking decisions with regard to policy and regulations within schools. Staff bodies like the subject committees have not served this ideal since they have organised teachers for the purpose of modifying the syllabus to ensure greater and more sophisticated perpetuation of the interests of the ruling classes. However, as State repression further closes the scope and space of action by social agents and structures, many users, especially teachers, might look towards In-Service Education for Teachers (INSET) to play a

role in the development of class and alternative, curriculum consciousness. Whilst it is beyond the limits of this thesis to determine the extent to which INSET as outlined by some contributors (in Ashley and Mehl, 1987) is positioned to bridge the gap; it can be a worthwhile innovation if it commits itself to the democratic process and emphasizes the agency of teachers.

Personal and professional reeducation workshops remain essential for teachers. The workshops are important in order to bridge the gap between intellectual 'ivory towerism' and social action. Workshops undoubtedly require thorough planning. This can certainly be achieved through readiness to initiate and through collective involvement (Mphahlele, 1981).

5.4 Summary

The South African apartheid education system has been run as a State private enterprise. This has come through the State's ownership and control over education. It has left the State with absolute power to regulate teachers, their work, and to determine the social processes of the curriculum. As a result teachers' authority has reflected the perspectives of the dominant classes. Teachers' authority, which in this sense resembles creator authority, has been a political device utilized and relied upon by the State to sustain its hegemony. This has led to an education crisis with far reaching political, ideological and socio-cultural conflicts which indicate that teachers' authority is interpreted differently. The crisis begins when an all-embrasive concept of teachers' authority is confined to some perspectives of which their subsequent meanings are passed as legitimate and taken for granted. Whilst the curriculum remains embedded in the culture of the ruling classes, particularly, the Afrikaner 'volk' with its conservative, capitalist control ideology, teachers' authority within this framework has been its carrier reproducing a vision of a fragmented society.

Teachers' authority reflects, then, the social processes of the curriculum which are predetermined by the State thereby reproducing the capitalist social relations within the established social order. Teachers in the State black secondary schools act authoritatively when they reify social inequalities via the dissemination and elaboration of bourgeois ideology. This authority is a top-down, management control and remains rigid. (See appendix, figure:1). In this framework teachers' authority is perceived as the ability and the professional/intellectual expertise to ease the progress of students upward the capitalist organisational ladder in and outside schools.

As Nasson (1986) points out that "apartheid education most emphatically has a dual social and political character by reproducing racial and class divisions ", this has led teachers' authority to become a terrain of the race and class contest. This has provided a basis for counter-hegemony which aims at generating an alternative form of authority. In this sense, teachers' authority is perceived to reflect a democratic, social processes of the curriculum of which the aim is to empower users with class consciousness for the process of emancipation. This conceptualisation, though stillborn, is influenced by a reconstruction ideology which enables people to question their social space with the ultimate goal of transforming the GSO, thereby establishing and strengthening a vision of a unitary society.

A shift from creator authority towards emancipatory authority follows the realization that the current education system needs to be revamped on a completely different footing rather than on reforms initiated by the State. Since teachers' authority is historically a designation from above, it is important that its reconstruction should come from below. The significance of the shift therefore lies in its creation of conditions for challenges for collective action via class alliances in order to work towards a climate where the educational contract

signifies the involvement of teachers in relation to the community rather than teachers vis-a-vis the State.

That teachers' authority is in crisis, as chronic as that in the schools, is due to contentious social processes of the curriculum which either conflict with the stagnant nature of the present schooling system or perpetuate it. The present system of schooling guarantees the continuity of the GSO and teachers are entrusted with the responsibility of securing the State hegemony. It is for this reason that the historical functional roles of teachers remain controversial. This is compounded by the contradictory class positions of teachers where on the one hand they provide leverage to capitalism while on the other their work is being proletarianized, consequently situating teachers within the community.

The success or failure of teachers in propping up the system is equally crucial. On the one hand, success implies that their authority causes ferment and resurrects resistance from other users. On the other, failure signifies that they have stopped contributing to the support and continuity of the State, a breach of their legal service contract. The result might be stringent, punitive measures imposed by the State.

Teachers' authority mediates the race and class conflict in apartheid education. Due to this, teachers' authority represents an agonizing educational experience, with sterile practices void of political action. Political action is necessary for social change and to ensure teachers' opportunities to thrive. Thriving entails involvement which is a political commitment to reconstruct their authority. Teachers know the source of the crisis, they feel its intensity and could bargain with their 'profession', which is currently amassing power, to participate in the transformation of the system.

Appendix

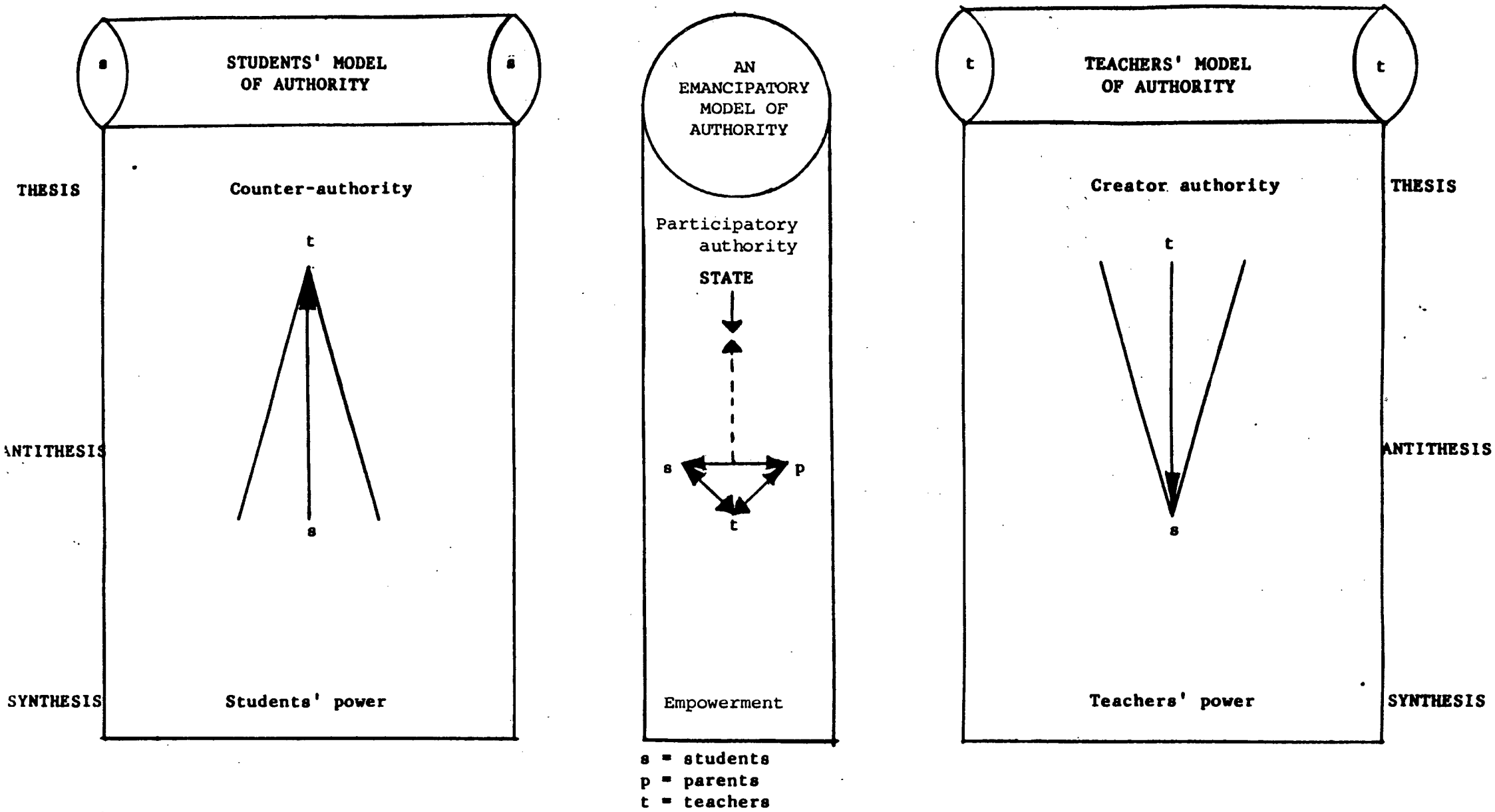
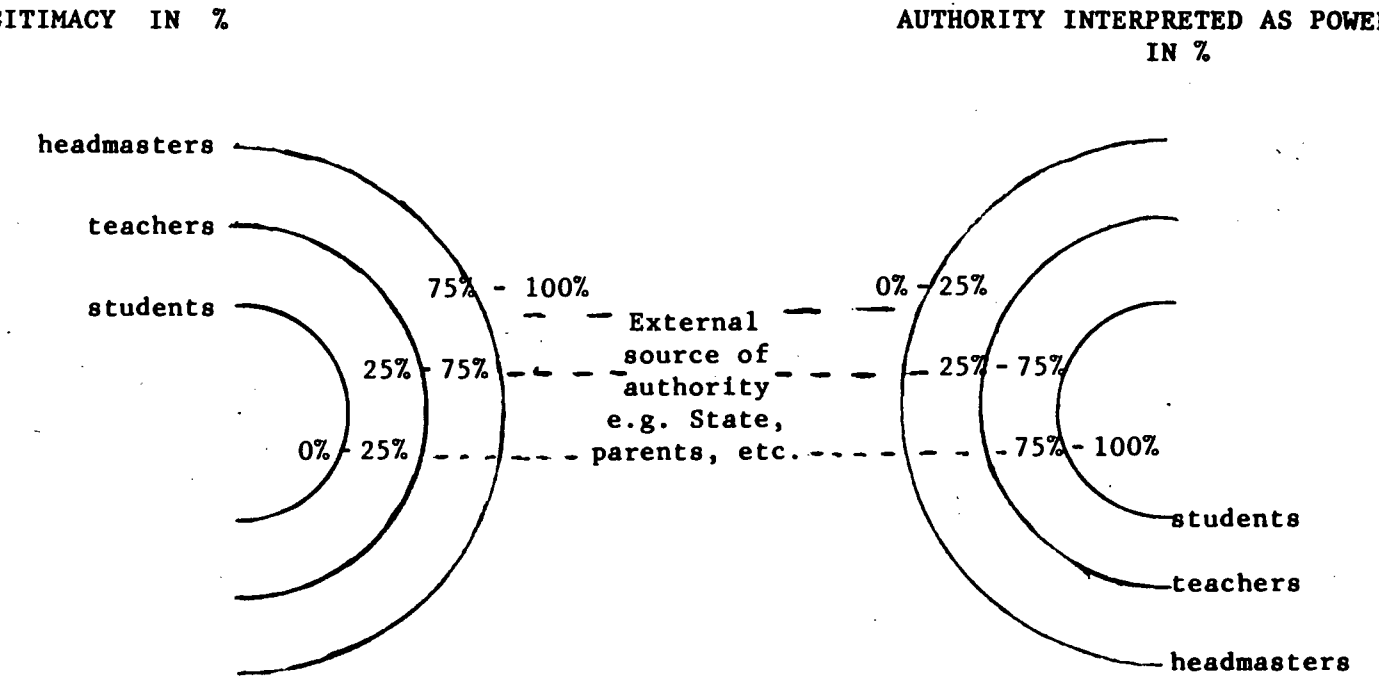


FIGURE 1 : An analogy of teacher/s-student/s interaction within the schools/classrooms, and the emerging emancipatory model.

OFFENCE	THE NATURE OF THE OFFENCE	TYPE OF SANCTIONS
Misbehaving in the classroom	* Distracting other students * Inattentiveness * Bullying the teachers * Not handing in or delaying the class-/homework	Verbal reproach; freezing and corporal punishment D/P-C
Misbehaving within the school	* Loitering at the toilets or being at the 'wrong' place at the 'wrong' time * Not wearing the school uniform * Fighting * Smoking * Violent rebellion	Verbal reproach; scrubbing floors, cleaning windows, picking up papers, removing weeds, etc.; freezing and corporal punishment D/P-C
Idleness	* Bunking classes * Late coming	Calling parents; freezing and corporal punishment D/P-C

D/P-C indicates that the offences are difficult to punish during crisis

FIGURE 2 : A typology of students' control problems and various accompanying sanctions by teachers



When authority is interpreted as not (or less) power, there is greater legitimacy. When it is interpreted as (or more) power, there is less legitimacy.

FIGURE 3 : A 'percentile equation' of the exercise of authority, its subsequent interpretation as power and the resultant legitimacy thereof.

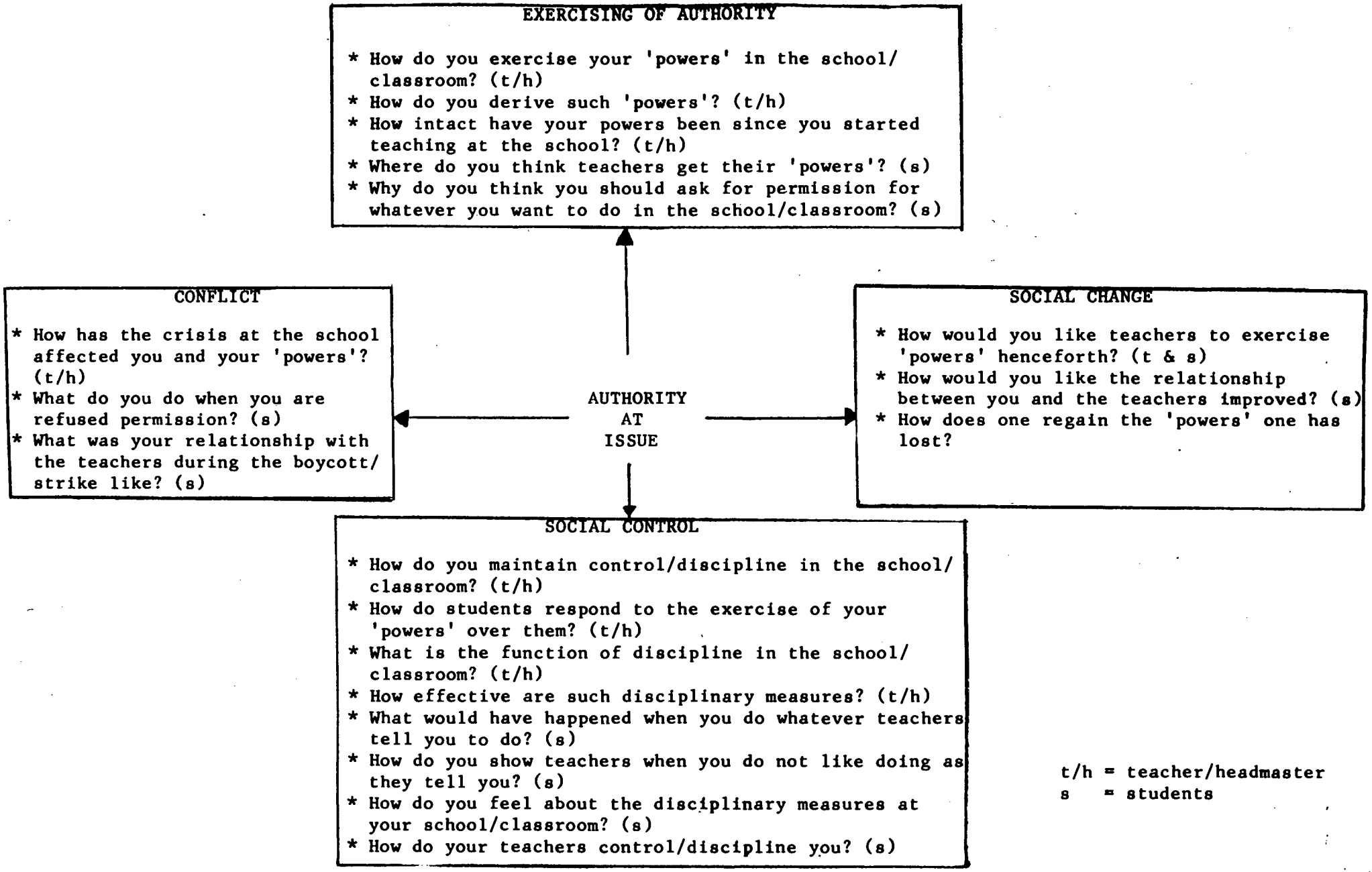


FIGURE 4: A sample of interview questions

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexander, N.	1985	Sow the Wind, Skotaville : Johannesburg
	1988	"Ten Years of Education Crisis" Education for Affirmation, Skotaville : Johannesburg
	n.d.	"Class Struggle in South Africa" The Capricorn Papers No.8 CBER : Johannesburg.
All, S.	1981	"Schooling, State and Society" in Dale, R. et al. (eds) Schooling and the National Interests, Falmer : Barcombe
Althusser, L	1984	Essays on Ideology, Verso : London
Anderson, J.G.	1966	"Bureaucratic rules : Bearers of Organizational Authority" Educational Administration Quarterly, Vol.II, No.1 (Winter, 1966)
Apple, M.W.	1982	Education and Power, Routledge and Kegan Paul : London
Aronowitz, S. and H.A. Giroux	1985	Education Under Siege, Bergin and Garvey Publ. Inc : Massachusetts
Ashley, M.J.	1986	"Syllabus for a New South Africa", ST (270786)
	n.d.	"Theory of Education" an unpublished Education Guide - EDN513W (Bachelor of Education Degree), University of Cape Town : Rondebosch
Ashley, M.J. and M.C. Mehl	1987	INSET In South Africa, Teacher Opportunity Programmes : Johannesburg
Auerbach, F.	1981	"An Historical Overview - the origin of the present situation" in Bosch, D.R. (ed) Crisis in Education - a possible solution, SAAK University of Stellenbosch : Stellenbosch
AZAPO	n.d.	"Education in South Africa", a paper

Barton, L and S. Walker	1984	Social Crisis and Educational Research, Croom Helm : London
Beard, P.N.G. and W.E. Morrow	1981	Problems of Pedagogics, Butterworth : Durban/Pretoria
Bingley, J	1984	"Welcome to the Ranks, New Teachers", Education Journal, (October/November, 1984)
Blackledge, D. and B. Hunt	1985	Sociological Interpretations of Education, Croom Helm : London
Bocock, R.	1986	Hegemony, Ellis Horwood Ltd : Chisters
Boocock, S.S.	1980	Sociology of Education, an introduction (2nd ed). Houghton Mifflin Co : Boston
Bot, M.	1985	School Boycotts 1984 : The crisis in African Education, Indicator Project South Africa, Centre for Applied Sciences (April, 1985), University of Natal : Durban
Bowles, S. and H. Gintis	1976	Schooling in Capitalist America, Basic Books, Inc. Pub.: New York
Bowles, S.	1983	"Unequal Education and the Reproduction of Social Division of Labour" in Cosin, B. and M. Miles (eds) Education Policy and Society, Routledge & Kegan Paul : London
Bozzoli, L.	1987	"Class, Community and Ideology in the Evolution of South African Society" in Bozzoli, L. (ed). Class Community and Conflict, Ravan Press : Johannesburg
Buckland, F.P.	1982	"Curriculum and reality in South African Schools", South African Journal of Education , Vol.2, No.4, (May 1982)
Burbules, N.C.	1986	"A Theory of Power in Education" Educational Theory,Vol.36, No.2

Chikane, F.	1986	"Children in Turmoil : The Effects of the Unrest on Township Children" in Burman, S (ed.) Growing Up in a Divided Society Ravan Press : Johannesburg
Christie, P.	1985	The Right to Learn Ravan Press : Johannesburg
City Press	1988	"'No School' is DET Rule" by Dhlamini, CP (010588)
Cloete, N. and S.Pillay	1988	"The Shifting Allegiance of Neutral Counsellors", a paper presented at the First International Conference of Counselling Psychology, University of Porto, Portugal (July 1988)
Collins, C.B.	1980	"Black schooling in South Africa". Notes towards a reinterpretation of the schooling of the indigenous people in South Africa", Africa Perspective, No.17 (Spring, 1980)
COSATU	1986	"June 16 and the Working Class" Lacom News, No.2 (November 1986)
CRIC	1986	The Crisis in Education, Papers presented at a Mamelodi Youth Congress/CRIC Seminar on the Education Crisis in South Africa, CRIC (15 March, 1986)
Degenaar, J.	1983	Ideologies : Ways of Looking at South Africa, Centre for Extra-Mural Studies, University of Cape Town : Rondebosch
Densmore, K.	1987	"Professionalism, Proletarian-ization and Teacher Work" in Popkewitz, T.S. (ed) Critical Studies in Teacher Education, The Falmer Press : London
De Wet, H.F.	1986	"Pupil-teacher relationship" Educamus , Vol.XXXII, No.3 (March 1986)
Downey, M.E. and A.V. Kelly	1975	Theory and Practice of Education : an introduction, Harper & Row Publ.: London

Engelbrecht, S.W.B. and A.N.P. Lubbe	n.d.	General Method and School Organization , Via Africa Limited : Goodwood
Enslin, P.	1984	"The Role of Fundamental Pedagogics in the Formulation of Educational policy in South Africa" in Kallaway, P. (ed.) Apartheid and Education, Ravan Press : Johannesburg
Finnegan, W.	1987	Crossing the Line, Hamish Hamilton : London
Freire, P.	1971	Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Herder and Herder : New York
Freire, P. and D. Macedo	1987	Literacy : Reading the Word and the World, Bergin and Garvey : Massachusetts
Frontline	1986	"The gathering tragedy" by Nomavenda Mathiane, Frontline, vol.6, No.5 (September/November, 1986)
Gaforth, F.W.	1979	John Stuart Mills Theory of Education, Martin Robertson : Oxford
Giddens, A.	1980	The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies (2nd ed), Hutchinson : London/Johannesburg
Giroux, H.A. and P. McLaren	1986	"Teacher Education and the Politics of Engagement : the case for Democratic Schooling" Harvard Educational Review, Vol.56, No.3 (August, 1986)
Gorton, R.A.	1983	School Administration and Supervision (2nd ed.), WM.C. Brown Company Publishers : Dubuque, IA
Gluckman, H	1981	"The Extent to which Calvinism and Christian National Education have influenced Pedagogical Findings in South Africa" in Beard, P.N.G. and W.E. Morrow (eds) Problems of Pedagogics, Butterworth : Durban/Pretoria
Gouldner, A.W.	1979	The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class, Oxford University Press : New York

	1980	**The Two Marxisms** , The MacMillan Press Ltd : London
Grace, G.	1978	**Teachers, Ideology and Control**, Routledge & Kegan Paul : London
Gramsci, A.	1971	**Selections from Prison Notebooks**, Hoare, Q. and G.N. Smith (eds), Lawrence and Wishart : London
Gunter, C.F.G.	1974	**Aspects of Educational Theory**, University Publishers and Booksellers (Pty) Ltd : Stellenbosch/Grahamstown
Hagopian, M.	1985	**Ideals and Ideologies of Modern Politics**, Longman : New York/London
Hansard	1988	(29 June 1988) Ques.
Haralambos, M and R.M. Heald	1985	**Sociology : Themes and Perspectives** (2nd ed.), Bell and Hyman Limited : London
Harris, K.	1982	**Teachers and Class : A Marxist Analysis**, Routledge and Kegan Paul : London
Hartshorne, K.	1985/86	"Educating the People" **Human Resources - A Leadership Publication**
	1986a	"Post-Apartheid Education : A concept in progress" McGraw-Hill seminar paper, Indaba Hotel, Johannesburg (18 September, 1986)
	1986b	"Back to Basics", **Leadership**, Vol.5, No.5
	1988	"Conflicting perceptions of the education of black South Africans with particular reference to 'alternative education'", **Africa Insight**, vol 18, No. 1
Hirst, P.H. and R.S. Peters	1970	**The Logic of Education** Routledge and Kegan Paul : London

Hogan, D	1979	"Capitalism, Liberalism and Schooling - a discussion of Bowles and Gintis' : Schooling in Capitalist America", Theory and Society, Vol.8 (June/September, 1979)
Hyslop, J	1987	"Food, Authority and Politics : Student Riots in South Africa 1945-1976", Africa Perspective, New Series Vol.1 Nos. 3 & 4 (June, 1987)
	n.d.a	"Teachers and the Class Structure : 'Professionalism'and class struggle in African Teachers Organisation 1940 - 1980", a paper
	n.d.b	"The Contradictory Class Location of African Teachers", a paper.
Jessop, B.	1985	**Nicos Poulantzas : Marxist Theory and Political Strategy,** MacMillan : London
Kallaway, P.	1984	**Apartheid and Education,** Ravan Press : Johannesburg
	1987	"'Inducing ... Support'? The Zwartkops Government Industrial Native School in Natal : 1886-1892 : An Experiment in Colonial Education", a Paper presented at Kenton on The Rocks Education Conference, Salt Rock (October/November, 1987)
Kane-Berman,J.	1978	**Soweto : Black Revolt, White Reaction,** Ravan Press : Johannesburg
King, R.	1983	**The Sociology of School Organisation,** Methuen Co. Ltd : London
Leatt, J.et al	1986	**Contending Ideologies in South Africa,** David Philip : Cape Town/Johannesburg
Levin, R.	1980	"Black Education, Class Struggle and the Dynamics of change in South Africa since 1946", **Africa Perspective,** No. 17 (Spring, 1980)

Licata, J.W. and D.J. Willower	1975	"Student Brinkmanship and the school as a social system" Educational Administration Quarterly , vol.II, No.2 (Spring, 1975)
Lodge, T.	1983	Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945, Ravan Press : Johannesburg
Mathonsi, E.N.	1988	Black Matriculation Results : a Mechanism of Social Control, Skotaville : Johannesburg
Mboya, M	1987	"Community Control of Afrikan [sic] Schools", in Young, D and R. Burns (eds) Education at the Crossroads, School of Education, University of Cape Town : Rondebosch
Mluleki, G. and E. Molobi	1986	"People's Education : Learning and Teaching under a State of Emergency", the twentieth Richard Feetham Memorial Lecture delivered in the Great Hall, University of Witwatersrand (22 October, 1986)
Molteno, D.F.	1983a	The Schooling of Black South Africans and the 1980 Cape Town Students' Boycott : A Sociological Interpretation, a Master of Social Science thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Cape Town : Rondebosch
	1983b	"Reflections on Resistance - Aspects of the 1980 Students' Boycott" in Lawrence, W. (ed) Kenton-At-the-Stadt Conference Proceedings, School of Education, University of Bophuthatswana : Mmabatho
	1987	"Students take control : the 1980 Boycott of Coloured Education in the Cape Peninsula" British Journal of Sociology of Education , vol.8 No.1
Moore, T. and D. Lawton	1978	"Authority and Participation" in Lawton, D. et al. Theory and Practice of Curriculum Studies, Routledge & Kegan Paul : London

Mphahlele, E.	1981	"The black teacher today : Old and New Challenges", Mentor, (November, 1981)
	1984	"The Crisis in Black Education", an Address to SAIRR Southern Transvaal Annual General Meeting (28 March, 1984)
	1987	"The Voice of Authority and the Voiceless Subject : Traditional Patterns of the Schooling Process" in Mphahlele, and L.J. Sebidi (eds). The Triangle of Conflict, the Capricorn Papers No.9 (October, 1987), CBER : Johannesburg
Msomi, J.E.B.	1986	"School discipline - the classroom situation", Educamus, vol. XXXII, No.4 (April 1986)
Muller, J.	1987	"People's Education and the National Education Crisis Committee" in Moss, G. and I. Obery (eds) South African Review 4 , Ravan Press : Johannesburg
Murray, M.	1987	South Africa : Time of Agony, Time of Destiny, Verso : London
Nasson, B.	1986	"Perspectives on Education in South Africa" in Burman, S. (ed). Growing up in a Divided Society, Ravan Press : Johannesburg
NEUSA	n.d.	De Lange ... Marching to the Same Order, Neusa : Johannesburg
New Nation	1986	"No Classes", NN , Vol.7, No.4 (270286)
	1988	"Schools continue to simmer", NN, vol-3, No. 32 (11-0888)
	1988	"No school for ex-detainee", NN, vol-3, No. 38 (22-280988)
Nkomo, M.O.	1981	"The Contradictions of Bantu Education", Harvard Educational Review, Vol.51, No.1

Nkondo, C.	1986	"Education for Liberation", The Crisis in Education , Papers presented at a Mamelodi Youth Congress/CRIC Seminar on the Education Crisis in South Africa, CRIC (15 March, 1986)
O'Meara,D.	1983	Volkskapitalisme, Ravan Press : Johannesburg
Peteni, R.L.	1981	"Presidential Address to the 59th Annual Conference", TUATA, (January/June, 1981)
Peters, R.S.	1959	Authority, Responsibility and Education , George Allen & Unwin Ltd : London
	1981	Essays on Educators, George Allen & Unwin Ltd : London
Popkewitz, T.S.	1987	"Ideology and Social Formation in Teacher Education" in Popkewitz, T.S. (ed) Critical Studies in Teacher Education, The Falmer Press : London
Rose, B. and R. Tunmer	1975	Documents in South African Education, AD Donker Publisher : Johannesburg
SA Barometer	1987	"Black Education : Some basic facts", SA Barometer , Vol.1 No.3 (100487), KSB Publications : Johannesburg
	1988	"Matric Results 1987", SA Barometer , Vol.2, No.1 (290188), KSB Publications : Johannesburg.
SALB	1978	"Bantu Education in Crisis", SALB, Vol.4, Nos. 1 & 2 (January/February, 1978)
SAPS	1986	State of Emergency : Months 2 & 3 Part 2, by Barry Streek, Saps : Cape Town
	1987	State of Emergency : The First Year , by Barry Streek, Saps : Cape Town
Sarup, M.	1983	Marxism/Structuralism /Education : Theoretical Developments in the Sociology of Education, The Falmer Press : London/New York

SASPU National	1984	"Bantu Education Crumbling", SASPU , Vol.5, No.5 (September, 1984)
Saul, J	1986	"South Africa : the Question of Strategy", New Left Review, No.160 (November/December, 1986)
Schonfeld, W.R.	1976	Obedience and Revolt, Sage Publications : Beverley Hills/London
Sebidi, L.J.	1987	"The Sources of Conflict : Where the Roles Went Wrong" in Mphahlele, E. and L.J. Sebidi (eds) The Triangle of Conflict, The Capricorn Papers No.9 (October, 1987), CBER : Johannesburg
Shalem, Y.	1987	"'Social Being and Social Consciousness' Wright, Classes and Teachers", a paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Association for Sociology in Southern Africa at the University of the Western Cape (July, 1987)
Shipman, M.D.	1968	The Sociology of the School, Longmans : London
Shor, I. and P. Freire	1987	A Pedagogy for Liberation, Bergin and Garvey Publ.Inc : Massachusetts
Sisulu, Z.	1986	"People's Education for People's Power", Keynote Address to Second National Consultative Conference of NECC (29 March 1986), Durban
Smith, E.B.	1975	"Chester Barnard's Concept of Authority", Education Administration Quarterly, Vol.XI, No.1 (Winter, 1975)
Sonn, F.	1984	"Sharing Responsibility" Leadership SA , Vol.3, No.4 (Fourth Quarter)
South	1987	"DET appoints white teachers at closed schools" South, (2910-141187)
	1988	"CTPA, Wectu for talks", South, (04-100288)

Sowetan	1987	"Give pupils their voice back" by Nkopane Makobane,, Sowetan, (271087)
Speak	1986	"People's Education for People's Power", Speak , (April, 1986)
Star	1986	"DET losing authority in many townships - educationist" by Susan Plemming, The Star, (291286)
	1987	"A system to mould for a shared future", The Star, (030887)
	1987	"Union's education schemes are for sufferers of democratic malnutrition" by Sam Mabe, The Star, (090987)
	1988	"Key elements of 'People's Education' to be used - Govt [sic]", The Star , (130288)
	1988	"Freed Aubrey Faces Closed door at School", The Star, (290488)
	1988	"Education dept. [sic] 'lacks credibility'". The Star, (050588)
Stenhouse, L.	1983	Authority, Education and Emancipation, Heinemann Educational Books : London
Sunday Star	1986	"Schools of Scandal" by Andrew Beattie, SS, (310886)
Swift, D.W.	1972	"Changing Patterns of Pupil Control", The Educational Forum, Vol.XXXVI, No.2 (January 1972)
Tsele, M.	1986	"SPCC-building national unity", Speak (April, 1986)
Turner, R.	1980	The Eye of the Needle, Ravan Press : Johannesburg
Upbeat	1988	"Shock Matric Results" Upbeat, No.2 (1988)
Van der Merwe, H.W. et al	1978	African Perspectives on South Africa, David Philip : Cape Town

Weekly Mail	1986	"Court hear of police beatings in the classrooms" and "I let police punish pupils, says Principal", WM , vol.2, No.34 (2908-040986)
	1986	"Fed up : Portrait of an angry teacher" by Sefako Nyaka, WM, Vol.2, No.41 (17-231086)
	1986	"Detained : the teacher who took the police to court" by Jo-Ann Bekker, WM , Vol.2, No.45 (14-201186)
	1986	"Has the school boycott been a tragic waste?" by Sefako Nyaka, WM, Vol.2, No.46 (2811-041286)
	1987	"Teachers aim for national organisation by Gaye Davis, WM, Vol. 3, No. 23 (12-180687)
	1988	"Class boycotts wavers, but tensions stay" by Thami Mkhwanazi, WM , Vol.4, No.5 (12-180288)
	1988	"Apartheid Barometer", WM, Vol.4, No.24 (24-300688)
	1988	"Teachers" charter vote could herald new unity" by Gaye Davis, WM, Vol. 4, No. 25 (01-070788)
	1988	"On the Move to Nowhere" by Anton Harber, WM, Vol. 4, No. 46 (231288-120189)
White, J. and P.White	1986	"Teachers as Political Activists : Three Perspectives" in Hartnett, A. and M. Naish (eds). Education and Society Today, The Falmer Press : London
Work in Progress	1988	"State clamps on School structures" by Jo-Anne Collinge, WIP, 54 (June/July, 1988)
Wright, E.O.	1978	"Intellectuals and the Class Structure of Capitalist Society" in Walker, P. (ed.) Between Capital and Labour, Black Rose : Montreal
Youngman, F.	1986	Adult Education and Socialist Pedagogy, Croom Helm : London
Zille, H.	1987	"People's Education : The Irony and the Tragedy", Sash, Vol.29, No.4 (February, 1987)