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THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURE ON CURRICULUM PRACTICE IN BLACK SCHOOLS

UNIVERSITY OF JOHANNESBURG

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THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURE ON CURRICULUM PRACTICE IN BLACK SCHOOLS

by

KHITSANE ISHMAEL KUTOANE

SHORT DISSERTATION

submitted as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

MAGISTER IN EDUCATION

in

CURRICULUM STUDIES

in the faculty of education

at the

RAND AFRIKAANS UNIVERSITY

Supervisor: Prof. R.A. Krüger

NOVEMBER 1986
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this is my own unaided work and that I have given recognition to all sources I have used.

The figures appearing in the text have been duly checked and are accurate.

KHITSANE ISHMAEL KUTOANE
Education must aim at leading all its children across the rich diversity of human life and experience, on and on to the frontier where man stands 'tendentem ad uteriorem ripam'. It must be lavish in its gifts, generous in its spirit. No educational system which deliberately and permanently excludes from any race or group any discovery, any feeling, any experience of human beings, can justify itself. We may put no bounds to the aim and ideal of education – even of Native education.

- EDGAR BROOKES

Dedicated to the memory of my parents:
Thulo and Lieketseng.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

On the completion of this short dissertation, I wish to express my thanks to

GOD ALMIGHTY, for the strength to have come so far on this "journey", and my appreciation and gratitude to the following:

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Who could fail with such support?
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SAMENVATTING

Tradisioneel word die kurrikulum beskou as 'n lys vakke wat 'n skool, universiteit of ander onderwysinrigting aanbied of 'n stel vakke wat 'n leerling of student kies ten einde te voldoen aan die vereistes van 'n bepaalde kursus of studierigting. Na die einde van die Tweede Wêreldoorlog (1939-1945) as gevolg van die "kennisontploffing" op verskeie vlakke van die samelewing het die onderwerp, kurrikulum, erkenning begin geniet as verantwoorde dissipline of studierigting. (Hill, 1983: 178): Kurrikulumnavorsing en die onderwyser se aandeel daaraan.

As gevolg van hierdie veranderde sienswyse oor die belangrikheid van KURRIKULERING, veral ook na aanleiding van gebeure in die buiteland, is kurrikulumafdelings of -institute gestig. In die Republiek van Suid-Afrika is die voortou deur die provinsiale onderwysdepartement geneem. Die Raad vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing het hom ook in hierdie nuwe studierigting bewaar. Hill deel verder mee dat die besef van hierdie behoefte aan onderwysverbetering en -vernuwing die Transvaalse Onderwysdepartement genoodsaak het om sy amptenare na die buiteland te stuur om hulle op hoogte van sake te bring en "... om ondersoek in te stel na die wyses waarop navorsingsondersteunde kurrikulering doeltreffend onderneem en georganiseer kan word." (Hill, 1982: 2).

Verder beklemtoon (Hill, 1983: 182) die belangrikheid van die onderwyser se betrokkenheid in die navorsing van nuwe inhoudé om hulle "... te oriënteer en in te lig aangaande die doel, interpretasie en doeltreffende aanbiedingswyses van die sillabusinhoud."

Die feite hierbo genoem word verstrek met die doel om die belangrikheid van die stigting deur die Departement van Onderwys en Opleiding van 'n sentrum vir kurrikulumontwerp en -navorsing te beklemtoon, asook die identifisering van projekskskole waar die nuwe sillabusse en kurrikulumvernuwings uitgetoets sal word. Sodoende sal die Departement hom in staat stel om tred te hou met die jongste verwikkelinge in hierdie opsig, nie slegs met ander departemente in die Republiek nie, maar wêreldwyd.
Een van die essensiële faktore wat Hill in die genoemde artikel, "Kurrikulumnavorsing en die onderwyser se aandeel daaraan", aanvaar, is dat 'n gekose onderwyser betrokke raak in al die fases van navorsing, aange- sien kurrikulering deur navorsing ondersteun word en "...dus beskou moet word as 'n geïntegreerde deel van kurrikulumontwerp, -ontwikkeling of -evaluering." Verder moet die onderwyser goed opgelei wees sodat hy betekenisvol aan daardie navorsing kan deelneem en dat onderwysers wat nie by die navorsing betrokke was op die hoogte van sake gebring moet word deur middel van indiensopleiding ten einde "doeltreffende dissemisasie van vernuwing" te verseker.

Dit is duidelik gestel dat enige betekenisvolle kurrikulum kultuurge- bonde moet wees, naamlik die kultuur van die mense vir wie so 'n kurri- kulum bedoel is. Krüger (1980, 16) stel dit onomwonde soos volg:

Die kurrikulum is sterk kultuurgebonde en kultuurge- determineerd. Daar moet gevolglik in alle kurrikulumontwerp en -implementering voorsiening gemaak word vir die verschillende bevolkingsgroep. Dit sou neerkom op sowel politieke as didaktiese ongevoeligheid, indien kurrik- kula eenvoudig op kultuur- of etniesegroep "afgedwing" word, eerder as om uit hulle eie singewinge te 'groei'.

Die Departement van Onderwyse en Opleiding kan nie verder tal wat die stigting van 'n kurrikulum-sentrum wat die navorsing van die kurrikulu- lum van Swart onderwys met die inheemse kultuur as vertrekpunt, ten doel het. Die Departement erken self die belangrikheid van kultuur, gepaard met die moedertaal, as 'n basiese beginsel in die opvoeding. Die volgende aanhaling uit die departementele "Handleiding vir Principale van Skole", bladsy 28, ondersteun hierdie stelling:

Daar is, jammer genoeg, diegene wat die kultuur van 'n so- genaamde "onderontwikkelde" volk as "primitiewe" kultuur afmaak en die taal van so 'n volk as "primitief" verwerp.

So 'n opvatting gaan ook dikwels gepaard met 'n aanvaarding van 'n vreemde taal en kultuur in die plek van die moe- dertaal en die eie kultuur. ... Die tragedie hiervan
is dat daar nie so iets soos 'n volmaakte kultuur is nie, 
en ook nie 'n kultuur wat net uit slegte elemente bestaan nie.

Hierdie studie is daarop gemik om op 'n beskeie wyse 'n aanduiding te 
gee van die invloed wat kultuur op kurrikuleringspraktyk in Swart skole 
het. Die skrywer kom tot die gevolgtrekking dat die tradisionele 
kultuur van die Swartman in 'n groot mate misken is in die aangebode 
kurrikulum. Hy is van mening navorsing en ontwikkeling kan hydra 
tot meer kultuurgeoriënteerde kurrikula wat die relevantheid daarvan 
vir die belanghebbende leerkers aansienlik sal verhoog.
INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE PROBLEM

The problem arises from the definition of curriculum as a selection from a people's culture of the values, norms, needs, beliefs and attitudes which they regard as essential for their survival or in the words of Luthuli (1981: 31), "... the curriculum should always be the reflection of a philosophy of life of the people concerned, ...". As these norms, needs and so forth, are sanctioned by society as embodying what they want taught to their children, the question that has to be asked and answered, is: To what extent is the curriculum practised in the schools of the Department of Education and Training a selection from the culture of the people for whom it is intended? This question applies with equal relevance to the predecessors of the Department, namely, the Department of Bantu Education and former Native Education Sections of the provincial Departments.

The complexity of this problem is compounded by the fact that schooling was not part of the upbringing of the children in traditional black communities prior to the missionary advent. The missionaries, who introduced schooling in the communities amongst which they worked, were concerned mainly with converting their flocks to Christianity. The fact that they considered the indigenous way of life as heathen was not going to induce the missionaries to make a selection from a culture they regarded as evil and heathen a culture from which they wanted to save their converts and win them to Christianity and the superior western culture.

Needless to say, the missionary advent, with its attendant benefits, splits the communities into those that accepted the new way of life and those who remained faithful to the traditional. The split was widened by the haughty attitude of the converts towards the traditionalists whom they came to regard as inferior. The divisions worsened when separate missionaries came to work in the same communities. The
missionaries, each representing a separate European nation, regarded their own national cultures as superior. This missionary rivalry led to rivalry amongst the members of the communities even to the extent of members of the same family being in opposing denominations. When the missionaries started schools, members of their denominations received preference and those of the other denominations who were admitted to these schools were often proselytized (Rose & Tunmer (1975: 229). The curriculum followed in those schools was not a selection from the indigenous culture.

1.2 THE PURPOSE OF THIS PROJECT

The purpose of this study is to determine to what extent the curriculum practised in the schools of the Department of Education and Training is a selection from the culture of the Black people of the Republic of South Africa or, to put it differently, to what extent the curriculum is an expression of the culture of the people for whom it is intended. This will also include the extent to which the people are involved in the decision-making process at the three levels of decision making, that is, the macro, meso and micro levels.

1.3 METHOD

The method that will be used to solve the problem stated above and to realise the aims of this project will be that of research using the available literature on culture generally and the culture of some of the indigenous peoples of this country; studying the available literature on curriculum to define what it is and how it is planned, as well as how it is practised in the schools under the Department of Education and Training; consulting the records of the Department; interviews with officials and other people involved in primary, secondary and tertiary institutions, in the Department of Education and Training, and other institutions and persons and, time permitting, visits to the National Curriculum Centre of the Swaziland Ministry of Education for comparisons with the Department of Education and Training.

1.4 TERMINOLOGY

The terminology used in this study will be the standard terminology
used in the study of culture: Anthropology and the standard terminology of the discipline, curriculum, save for the word "tradition/traditional" which will be used to refer to the era prior to the missionary advent and the consequent schooling. The latter period will be referred to as "modern times/modern."

2. CULTURE

2.1 WHAT IS CULTURE

R.A. Krüger, in "Beginsels en Kriterium vir kurrikulumontwerp" (1980, p. 16), makes this categorical statement about Culture:

"Die kurrikulum is 'n kultuuruiting en is in sy samestelling eksemplaries van die hele kultuur van die mense vir wie hy bedoel is."

If we accept, and accept we must, according to the definition quoted, that the curriculum is not only an expression of a people's culture but that it is also in its composition, a model of the culture of the people for whom it is intended, then it becomes imperative for us to consider the question: What is culture?, so that there is no doubt what we mean by culture.

2.2 DEFINITIONS

Charles Winnick, in "Dictionary of Anthropology", (1956, p. 144), defines culture in these terms:

All that which is nonbiological and socially transmitted in a society, including artistic, social, ideological and religious patterns of behaviour and the techniques of mastering the environment ...

In the above definition the word "transmitted" has been deliberately underlined for reasons which will be dealt with later.
namely, language. It is through language that man has been able to rise above all other life forms and through the spoken, as well as written language, that he has been able to preserve and transmit the norms, values, attitudes and belief systems which the group cherishes as standards that must be preserved for its survival, norms from which no one is permitted to deviate.

2.4 CULTURE CHANGE

The views expressed by Winnick and Klemm on the "transmission" of culture are reinforced by Bronislaw Malinowski in "The Dynamics of Culture Change", (1945, p. 1) in these words:

Culture Change is the process by which the existing order of society, that is, its social spiritual and material civilisation, is transformed from one type to another. . . .

Malinowski's use of the word "transform" not only coheres with the notion of "transmission" made by Winnick and Gustav Klemm, but also introduces us to another phase of culture and that is "change is fundamental to culture." Were it not for this quality of culture to adapt to changed circumstances, man would have been in the same situation as the dinosaur, that is extinct.

2.5 FACTORS

Several factors affect cultural change. One of these is the discovery of tools. Tools, whether invented or borrowed from other social groups, have altered a group's culture by facilitating mastery of the environment and thus contributing to the quality of life of the social group. In the case of South African Black People, contact with Western civilization has had such an impact that, it could be said, traditional culture as it existed before the advent of this contact, is in the throes of extinction.

In support of the above contention and as proof of the extent to which Western Culture has made inroads into the traditional culture of the
Gustav Klemm, "Dictionary of Anthropology", (1956, p. 144-145) defines culture in these words:

"... it is manifest in the transmission of the past to the new generation."

The word "transmission" has also been underlined in the above definition as it expresses the extent to which both authors are in agreement regarding the acquisition of culture by human groups or societies. Clarity on this issue is crucial to understanding culture. According to Jansen van Rensburg, et al. "Anthropology", (Unisa, 1972, Lecture Guide I p. 11), culture is a many-sided field of study depending entirely on the perspective from which it is being approached. To the Anthropologist, for instance, culture is associated with human beings or social groups as a result of which human groups develop a characteristic, perhaps unique, way of life that distinguishes them from all other forms of life as well as from other human groups. To the anthropologist it is the group's way of life, that is, its political, economical, ethical, educational, military and other systems, that are of interest as this is, to him, what comprises culture.

To the sociologist, on the other hand, the interest would lie in the group's social relations and the institutions that are instrumental to their development. These would be, for instance, the family, the peer groups, the youth groups and, in a westernized environment, the school.

2.3 ENCULTURATION

In the earlier quotations by Winnick and Klemm it is made manifestly clear that culture is unique to human beings or social groups and the notion of its transmission subsumes that culture is taught and has therefore, to be learnt by even the social group for whom it is intended. This process of the transmission or learning of culture, is termed: enculturation. This process, according to Van Rensburg (1972), encompasses education in its broadest sense, that is, both formal and informal education. The learning of culture would not have been possible if man did not posses what Winnick (1956: 145) terms:

"... the most important means of social transmission,"

"In terms of the contrast between "Western" and "traditional" we may say that the culture of the urban Xhosa of East London is predominantly oriented to Western cultural patterns. In the economic and technological field patterns are almost Western ...".

Pauw goes on to mention such things as wage labour in industry and investment in property. This latter point is very significant in that in traditional culture land cannot be bought, since it belongs, through the chief, to the tribe and whoever is allowed to live on it or till it, does so by the will of the "people". Other items such as housing, transport, employment and schooling, are definitely Western. Whilst the above observations are made with specific reference to the Xhosa people of East London, they are equally true of all the native people of South Africa and the neighbouring countries who have come into contact with Western culture. Further, that whilst this was true, at the time, of Black urban dwellers, the impact of Western culture has made itself felt even in those areas which were formerly regarded as the bastions of traditional culture. This has been made possible by the twin phenomena of schooling and industrialisation.

To round off this chapter on culture, the following observations are noted:

i. Culture is found only amongst human beings.

ii. Cultural change is, in the words of Van Rensburg (1972: 38), fundamental to culture.

iii. Culture is learnt (acquired) by every individual so that he can, in the words of Van Rensburg (1972: 24)...

"... learn to live in the society to which he belongs ..."

This could be by birth or adoption.

From the foregoing, culture is defined as follows:

Culture is a social process or system practised by human groups or societies as a means of ensuring their survival.
3. CURRICULUM

3.1 DEFINITIONS

Having answered the question! What is Culture?, it is essential to address ourselves to the other question:

"What is Curriculum?",
so that there can be no uncertainty as to what it is, and then we can determine the interaction of culture and curriculum.

There are several definitions of curriculum, in fact, almost as many as there are scholars in this field. Hugh Sackett (1976: 88) expresses this variety of definitions as follows:

Seek not for any definition of curriculum.
There is no such elixir. There are simply widely varying perspectives on single or several actual or proposed teaching and learning transactions or episodes.

This view is echoed by Beauchamp (1982: 24) in the following words:

...until one realizes the lack of substantive agreement among curriculum scholars about meanings to be associated with curriculum. The fact is that the curriculum field suffers severely from definitional problems associated with the identification of and meanings to be associated with basic constructs and concepts in the field.

The foregoing notwithstanding, we will, look at a few definitions so that we may have as wide as possible a concept of this field of study and be able to come to an acceptable view of the subject, at least, for the purposes of this project. George A Beauchamp (1982: 25) in the first of what he terms definitional propositions, defines curriculum in these terms:

"A curriculum is a written plan depicting the scope and arrangement of the projected educational program
for a school."

From this definition we deduce that a curriculum is a written document which outlines what is to be taught to the children of a society or social group.

This programme is to be implemented in a social institution, namely, the school.

In the first of what he terms the "normative or descriptive propositions", he defines curriculum in these words:

A curriculum is the basic environmental structure from which teachers are to develop teaching strategies for specific classroom groups.

The above definition names the agents whose task it is to put into practice the programme that has been designed.

Gail McGutcheon (1982: 19) defines the curriculum in these terms:

By curriculum I mean what students have an opportunity to learn in school, through both the hidden and overt curriculum, and what they do not have an opportunity to learn because certain matters were not included in the curriculum.

Wheeler (1976: 11) puts it in a nutshell in these words:

By curriculum, we mean the planned experiences offered to the learner under the guidance of the school.

Robert Bell (1971: 9) defines the curriculum as follows:

A curriculum is the offering of socially valued knowledge, skills and attitudes made available to students through a variety of arrangements.
during the time they are at school, college or university.

R.A. Krüger (1980: 19) defines the curriculum in these words:

"n Kurrikulum is geselekteerde en geordende onderrig-inhoudie wat 'n program vir die onderrig darstel waarin daar 'n funksionele samehang tussen situasie-analise, doelstelling, beplande evaluering, aktualiserings-geloëntede en evaluering aan te wys."

Freely translated, Krüger defines the curriculum as consisting of selected and systematically arranged teaching content which provides a programme for instruction.

Beauchamp in what he terms the "normative or descriptive propositions", mentions both teachers and the classroom, that is both the agents and milieu of curriculum practice. Gail McGutcheon mentions the recipients of curriculum practice and the scene or locale of curriculum practice, namely, students and the school. Wheeler, on the other hand, mentions both the learner and the school.

Bell mentions pupils and learning centres. Krüger, in his definition, mentions "teaching content" which is "selected and structured or systematically arranged" which makes teaching possible. This instruction or programme of instruction can only take place in a classroom, in a school and is offered to pupils, learners or students, depending on which term one prefers, by teachers.

Lawrence Stenhouse (1975: 2) makes the observation, which also refers to the multiplicity of curriculum definitions in the field that there appears to be two differing views of curriculum. On the one hand, it is seen as an intention, a plan or prescription or an idea of what one would like to happen in the schools whilst, on the other hand, it is seen as the existing state of affairs in schools, that is, what does, in fact, happen, which is, perhaps, more in keeping with the McGutcheon definitions. Stenhouse gives the following definition of
A curriculum is an attempt to communicate the essential principles and features of an educational proposal in such a form that it is open to critical scrutiny and capable of effective translation into practice.

Mention of "critical scrutiny" recalls the statement made by McGutcheon (1982: 19) with reference to curriculum theory, though equally relevant to this discussion:

"... In other words, researchers must be able to refute or support the theory through their studies; ..." (Stenhouse).

Perhaps, cognizance should also be taken of the last sentence in the above quotation, namely:

"... capable of effective translation into practice," which is the aim of all curriculum for, if it cannot be implemented, if it cannot be translated into learning content and offered to learners in a didactic situation, as a learning experience then it is, to use an Afrikaans expression: "van nul en gener waarde" - i.e. null and void.

The above quotations emphasise the importance of the school which is an institution created by society for teaching the young those values it has selected, for a curriculum is nothing but a selection from a society's culture. Krüger (1980: 16), makes the submission that the curriculum is not only an expression of culture but that it is both prescribed and determined by culture. As a result the community does not entrust this task of imparting its values and belief systems to any one but rather trains a corps of people whose responsibility this undertaking will be. Reference is here made to teachers who must undergo several years training before they are considered competent to perform this task.
Society has, therefore, not only created schools for the young but also teacher training colleges and universities where the teachers are trained.

Having established that curriculum focuses on the children of a society, its youth, for whose development and training it is intended and as a result of which teachers are trained at training colleges and universities, so that they have the knowledge and skills required to implement the curriculum, schools are built to provide an arena for the interaction of teacher and pupil: One would like to venture a definition of curriculum for the purpose of this project in the light of what has been said above about both culture and curriculum:

The curriculum is a structured programme of values, beliefs, attitudes and norms selected from a people's culture for transmission to their young or learners through the medium of the school so that the youth can become fully integrated members of that society and, in that way, ensure the survival of the cultural group.

From the foregoing it can be safely said there are three groups interested or affected by the curriculum. First the pupils who have to learn the content (disciplines) prescribed in the curriculum; the teachers who have to select the learning experiences from the prescribed content and the community (parents) who do not only sanction the curriculum but also monitor the effectiveness of its implementation, that is whether the aims and objectives they have set are being realised.

3.2 DESIGNING THE CURRICULUM

The theme of this project is: The Influence of Culture on Curriculum Practice in Black Schools in the Republic of South Africa. In order to establish the extent to which this is the case, we will have to pose and answer certain questions which will put the central question into greater and clearer perspective. The logical question to ask at this stage is: Who decides on the curriculum?
Hugh Hawes (1979: 2) makes the following submission in answer to the above question:

Those of us who are involved in trying to effect this selection for schools and in the even more difficult task of attempting to transform intention into reality are a very numerous band.

For curricula decisions are made, often unwittingly, at various levels and by all manner of people: the politician and the party who pronounce policy, the planner and the administrator who apportion money to build and equip schools, the syllabus makers who issue the curriculum plan and divide it into different sized subject packages, the writers, the teacher trainers, the inspectors and, above all, the headmasters and the teachers themselves in the schools.

Krüger (1980: 37) propounds the same view when he says the curriculum designer will have to, and must, (my emphasis) exploit the contributions and conclusions of people such as church leaders, sociologists, economists, politicians and scientists. The church leaders probably because they are the custodians of the morals of a society; the sociologists who are concerned with the fact that man is a social being and look after his social welfare; the economist who looks after the economic growth and provides the finance required for this development; the scientist who undertakes research which has resulted in the technological advance that man has made in the curriculum relevant data (Krüger, 1983, Aannames en Tendense) and the politician who, in the words of Hawes above, "pronounces policy." Krüger (1983:2, Aannames en Tendense) says politics and policy are of the utmost importance for the curriculist in that they have a considerable influence in determining his choice of content and style.

Hugh Hawes (1979: 1) puts it pithily when he says:

No society can escape the responsibility for trying to plan the education of the children who grow up in it, ...
The above quotation brings us back to the initial submission made that it is society, the cultural group, that determines the curriculum.

Wheeler's thesis (1967: 15) supports the above view in the following words:

To a large extent, then, the curriculum will be shaped by the culture of the society in which it operates. It will be affected by social values, social needs and social problems.

As the purpose of this research is not curriculum design as such but a reference to the forces that are responsible for its existence, in order to determine the limits of this project we will pass on to the next question which is: How is a curriculum made?

3.3 DESIGN CRITERIA OR PHASES

Wheeler (1967: 30) says the curriculum consists of five cyclical phases, namely:

1. Aims and Objectives;
2. Selection of Learning Experience;
3. Selection of Content;
4. Organisation and Integration of Learning Experiences and Content.

Krüger (1980: 34) proposes the following model:

1. Situation Analysis;
2. Aims and Objectives;
3. Planned Learning Experiences;
4. Selection and Preparation of Content;
5. Proposed Learning Opportunities;

There are also other models which differ in the terminology they use though in substance there is very little difference. For instance,
M. Skilbeck (1976: Unit 7) H. Hawes (1979: 10); Nicholls and Nicholls (1974: 42) also use the term "situation analysis" for which H. Taba (1962: 15) uses the term "diagnosis of needs." For the purpose of this project, the Krüger model with the following changes, will be accepted.

1. Situation Analysis.
2. Aims and Objectives.
3. Selection of Content.
5. Integration of Content and Selected Learning Experiences.

The reason for deviating from the Krüger model in respect of criteria three and four is that, in the opinion of the writer of this project content has to be selected and known before learning experiences can be planned as this would, of necessity, involve the preparation of the lesson as well as the apparatus that will be used. Phase 5 would involve the method and application of the lesson in the classroom, what Krüger calls "... die aktuatiseringsgeleenthede", that is the implementation phase (opportunities) of the design.

3.3.1 Situation analysis

Krüger "Curriculum Development in S.A. The Face of Things to Come", (1985:1) defines situation analysis as "... all the determinants that have a bearing on the curriculum or subject curriculum" that must be analyzed and considered before one can start on the actual design. Further, Krüger (1980: 35) as comprising "... the complete overview of the field which is intended should be covered in a definite didactic sequence and the envisaged aims or intentions of tuition".

These "determinants" will comprise inter alia, the needs, values, attitudes and beliefs that the community wishes to transmit to the children, their ages; the availability of funds to provide the curriculum and teacher training institutions. If the above phase should be overlooked, the chances are that the curriculum will go the way of the Keele Project (Shipman, 1974).
3.3.2 Aims and objectives

The aims and objectives of a curriculum are a statement of the intended learning outcomes, that is, the envisaged behavioural changes. Wheeler (1967: 11) makes the statement that all societies educate their children with a view to effecting changes in their behaviour. In the footnote he defines the process, behavioural change, as follows:

i.e. 'broadly anything that an organism does, including overt physical action, internal physiological and emotional and implicit activity.

Hilda Taha (1962: 196-199), makes the following statements on aims and objectives:

1. "Aims are broad statements of purpose and intention - to transmit culture or to develop a democratic way of life."
2. "The general aims can be satisfied only if individuals acquire certain skills, techniques and attitudes ...."
3. "Finally, the objectives serve as a guide for evaluation of achievement."

Eisner (1977:351) distinguishes between instructional and expressive objectives. For the purpose of this study, instructional objectives are of concern.

Instructional objectives are objectives which specify unambiguously the particular behaviour (skills, item of knowledge, and so forth) the student is to acquire after having completed one or more learning activities.

Objectives, in the words of Sockett (1976: 40-41) must be "specific" and "measurable".

Krüger (1980: 56) submits that the selection of aims and objectives takes place according to certain criteria which Wheeler (1983: 83) defines as follows:

Aims and objectives should be
a. consistent with human rights;
b. democratically oriented;
c. socially relevant;
d. tending to the satisfaction of personal needs and
  e. balance.

John Raynor (1972: 50) adds to the democratic orientation of the
curriculum in these words:

We cannot honestly say we have a democracy unless we
offer equal opportunity to all. Schooling cannot
fully serve a democratic society unless it offers equal
educational opportunity.

3.3.3 Selection of content

The selection of curriculum content involves the selection of subject-
matter which will lead to the realization of the intended learning
outcomes, which, in turn, will be determined by the aims and objectives.

The selection of content of a curriculum is, like the selection of aims
and objectives, not a random affair, but is undertaken with such
thoroughness that it has to meet certain criteria. For instance, the
criterion of VALIDITY by which is meant whether the content promotes
the realisation of the intended learning outcomes and the criterion
of SIGNIFICANCE by which is meant whether the content is of such a
nature that it can be applied to a variety of problems (Wheeler,

Nicholls and Nicholls (1980: 53) add the criterion of LEARNABILITY
and INTEREST. By learnability is meant that the content should be
learnable and adjusted to the abilities of the learners whilst a lack
of interest in the content would be tantamount to "taking a horse to
the water and not being able to make it drink."

3.3.4 Selection and planning of learning experiences

This is the phase at which syllabus committees become involved and
determine whether the selected content is within the scope of the
pupils for whom it is intended. It is at this phase that the learning experiences are prepared and methods and apparatus are selected.

Krüger (1980: 51), refers to the Elementals and the Fundamentals which are, respectively, content which is simplified and made easily accessible for pupils in a didactic situation; learning content which is easily mastered and integrated by the learner in the next phase as knowledge (my emphasis).

Nicholls and Nicholls (1980: 61) mention pupil-teacher relationship as of crucial importance. Further, that it is essential that the teacher should be seen as someone with whom the pupils can discuss their learning problems and who encourages inquiry and questioning and, above all, by admitting that he does not know everything, is prepared to "learn alongside his pupils and from his pupils, recognising that learning is a two-way process."

3.3.5 Integration of content and selected learning experiences

This is the phase of implementation of the content in the classroom; the level of interaction between the pupil and the teacher. In the words of Bell, above, it is the phase when the pupil, the teacher and learning resources confront each other. This is the phase of curriculum design where the curriculum fails or succeeds, the level at which aims and objectives are realised or not; the level which will enable the community to say whether their needs have been met. If it is accepted that the first three phases represent the macro-level of curriculum design and the next one the meso-level, then this phase - the implementation phase - represents the micro-level. This analysis is, at least, true of the Department of Education and Training, as it shall be proved at a later stage.

3.3.6 Evaluation

This is the phase in curriculum design in which the question is asked: Have the aims and objectives of the design been achieved? If not, what went wrong? A further question or, for that matter, questions, can still be asked.
For instance: If the answer is positive, that is, if the curriculum design was relatively successful: What can be done to make it more successful? Or: Are the values or needs for which it was designed still valid, or is there a need for change?

Krüger in "Aannames en Tendense, (p.1) states (once more a free translation), that through the medium of curriculum evaluation, it should be determined to what extent the proposed programme, the curriculum document, or tuition were not effective so that measures can be implemented for the improvement of the didactic programme.

Lawrence Stenhouse (1981: 101) in emphasising the importance of this level of interaction, that is, the classroom, makes the following statement:

If we are to measure a curriculum proposal we must find some way of monitoring classrooms in order to verify that the curriculum is in operation.

This is especially the case because great emphasis is now placed on the quality of interaction between the teacher and the pupil, on the basis of the curriculum content and learning experiences, thus much will depend on the teacher's ability to create suitable situations for specific pupils in class groups or as individuals (Krüger, Aannames en Tendense 1983: 4).

Krüger defines curriculum evaluation as (Krüger, 1983: 6):

A systematic and critical investigation of the context, the intentions or aims, the logistics, the execution as well as the result of formal educational learning programmes (my translation).

Both Wheeler (1983: 267-8) and Bill Gibby (1978: 187-8), make a distinction between evaluation and assessment. Wheeler is of the opinion that evaluation is a broader term which involves the efficiency of a curriculum whereas assessment is a pre-requisite of
evaluation and is used:

"... With reference to expected outcomes ... and includes the restricted term measurement."

Gibby on the other hand, is of the opinion that

"... to evaluate anything done in a school is to state its value or worth."

But because assessment is "required to provide at least some of the evidence on which evaluative decisions could be made ... appropriate assessment would form one component of an evaluation process."

Attention is drawn to these distinctions because in everyday non-curricula language these terms are used synonymously. Gibby (1978: 159) elaborates on this in the following words:

"'Evaluation' is concerned with judgements about the value of material."

It is suggested that in everyday practice terms assessment would be defined as the rate of progress towards the realisation of the intended learning outcomes of each learning experience and that evaluation is the judgement of the cumulative effectiveness of these learning experiences.

3.4 CURRICULUM MODELS

3.4.1 Rational curriculum planning by objectives

There are several curriculum models, each with its own variations. The first model of which Ralph Tyler is the leading exponent, is known as the Rational Curriculum Planning By Objectives. Adherents of this model are, to name a few, besides Tyler: Wheeler, Taba and Nicholls and Nicholls.
The essence of this model lies in the description of an objective by Tyler:

One can define an objective with sufficient clarity if he can describe or illustrate the kind of behaviour the student is expected to acquire so that one could recognise such behaviour if he saw it.

3.4.2 Process models

Lawrence Stenhouse is a leading exponent of the alternative to the Rational Curriculum Planning by Objectives, the Process Model. This model is mainly against the pre-specification of objectives. Stenhouse (1981: 91) argues that the model encourages learning by enquiry and discovery rather than instruction and is not examination oriented like the Rational Curriculum Planning By Objectives model which encourages rote learning and cramming. Further, the process model poses pedagogical aims rather than objectives.

He quotes Hanley et al to explain pedagogical aims which are, inter alia (Stenhouse, 1975: 92):

1. To initiate and develop in youngsters a process of question-posing (the inquiry method);
2. to create a new role for the teacher, in which he becomes a resource rather than an authority.

The above quotation, (Hanley, et al.) is from an evaluation of the book by Jerome Bruner: Man: A Course of Study, Macos, for short. Bruner is also a proponent of the inquiry-discovery method, therefore, of the process model.

Sockett (1982: 107-108), refers to Macos in these words:

"Yet this project has at its core the pedagogy of inquiry and discovery-learning."
Stenhouse (1981: 96-97) presents the model in, inter alia, these words:

The process model is committed to teacher development.
... I have considered the process model of curriculum design and development, arguing that, largely on logical grounds, it is more appropriate than the objectives model in the areas of the curriculum which centre on knowledge and understanding. The objectives model appears more suitable in curricula areas which emphasize information and skills.

3.5 TYPES OF CURRICULA

Allan C. Ornstein in an article titled "Curriculum Contrasts: A Historical Overview" (Phi Delta Kappan 1982: 404) proposes two views of curricula, namely, the Subject-Centred Curriculum and the Child-Centred Curriculum.

3.5.1 The Subject-Centred Curriculum

The Subject-Centred Curriculum is seen as

"... a body of content of subject matter leading to certain achievement outcomes or products". Proponents of the subject-centred curriculum define it as "a logical way to organize and interpret learning," whilst its critics see it as a fragmented "... mass of facts and concepts learned in isolation."

There are several variations of the subject-centred curriculum which are:

The Subject-Area Curriculum which "is the oldest and most widely used form of curriculum organization. It has its roots in the seven liberal arts of Greece and Rome."

The Perennialist Curriculum. Their fundamental premise is what

"... the main purpose of education is the cultivation of the intellect ... that only certain studies have this power."
The Essentialist Curriculum. They, like the perennialist are conservative and belief that every person must be educated

"... to the limits of his or her potential."

The subject Structure Curriculum originates from the United States Federal Government's concern with the improvement of standards in science and mathematics which resulted in

"... new curricula models formulated according to the structure of each subject or discipline."

The Back-to-Basics Curriculum. This was the result of the initiative of concerned parents and educators with the declining standards in the 3 R's and is, mainly, Essentialist in outlook.

3.5.2 Child-Centred Curriculum

The Child-centred Curriculum is seen in terms of the learner and his interests and needs. In contrast to the subject-centred curriculum it emphasizes affective development rather than cognitive development. It owes its origins to the teachings of Rousseau.

The following are some of the variations of the child-centred curriculum:

The Child-Centred Curriculum, a sequel to the teachings of Rousseau, has been supported by many educationists such as Pestalozzi, Froebel, Montessori and in modern times, Dewey and A.S. Neill. This type of curriculum is suitable for individual tuition and not for class instruction. Its critics, however, claim that it neglects cognitive instruction and discipline is often weak.

The Activity-Centred Curriculum was a sequel to a book written by W. Kilpatrick in 1918, "The Project Method" (Ornstein, 1982: 406). It focussed on activities such as group games, story projects, field trips and interest centres, to name but a few. Modern adherents have "... translated ideas from this movement into community and career-
based activities” and also urged college credit for life experiences.

The Relevant Curriculum proposes that the curriculum should be relevant, that is, it should be meaningful and address current needs and problems of the learners as well as of society. The Hidden Curriculum refers to what does in fact, happen in the schools, the official curriculum notwithstanding. Ornstein mentions the existence of cliques or factions that

"... are sometimes in conflict with the formal school curriculum."

The Humanistic Curriculum like all child-centred curricula emphasizes affective rather than cognitive development. In fact, it is a reaction to such teaching. T. Horton contended that "objectives related to personal growth, values, feelings and the happy life" were "only for show."

Charles Silverman (Ornstein, 1982: 407) suggested "independent study, peer group tutoring, and community and work experiences." Further, that the values taught are adult values. Needless to say, discipline is not a strong point of this curriculum and its evaluation is predominantly subjective.

Ornstein (1982: 408) concludes this work by suggesting a third type of curriculum, a compromise between the two that he considers as extremes. As, however, the purpose of this project is not curriculum as such, but the influence of culture on curriculum, the aim in delving so deeply into curriculum is to clear the field of any misunderstanding as to what both culture and curriculum are understood to mean in the context of this project.

Before getting on to the next step of this discussion, a look at the so-called "hidden curriculum" is essential.

The hidden curriculum does, it is true, exist but not because anybody has planned or designed it. Rather, it owes its existence to the fact that adults, in seeking the ideal for their children, tend to forget that they were also, at different stages, children, pupils and
students. Adults overlook the fact that the so-called hidden curriculum existed in their times in the schools they attend. According to Professor O.C. Erasmus (1951):

"Children are potential adults and not miniature editions of adults." This would, perhaps, be a good point to remember when one is dealing with children. Be this as it may, the point at issue here is that the "hidden curriculum" is not a planned activity and is therefore, in conflict with the curriculum as defined above.

Hargreaves (1982: 2) also concedes the existence of a "hidden curriculum" and submits in support of this contention:

"... it is not intended or planned by teachers ...."

Krüger (1980: 3) refers to the "silent curriculum" or "the hidden curriculum." F.P. Buckland, in The S.A. Journal of Education Vol. 2 No. 4 (p. 168) refers to the "hidden curriculum" in these words "... which (the hidden curriculum) may include such learning as how and when to 'cheat' as well as what social, political and occupational aspirations would be tolerated."

3.6 THE TRADITIONAL CURRICULUM

Hawes (1981: 1) in an appraisal of curriculum design and development in ten post-colonial English speaking countries; makes the statement, which is equally valid in modern as well as traditional times:

"No society can escape the responsibility for trying to plan the education of the children who grow in it ....".

Hawes further identifies the agencies that are responsible for the education of the children, namely, the family, religious agencies and social institutions as well as the means of education which are informal, i.e. the home, religious and the tribal initiation. The formal is in modern times, the school and the teacher. Further, from the same source (Hawes 1981: 1):

"Thus we commonly confuse education with schooling ...".
3.6.1 The informal curriculum

Implicit in the foregoing quotations is Hawes's definition of curriculum in which he includes informal education, that is, what happens outside the school, and, rightly so, because in traditional society this informal education is planned and is selected from the society's culture. Further, because it is planned, it will meet the criteria regarded as essential for the design of a curriculum. Vilakazi (1965:124) supports Hawes when he says that the traditional system of education was informal and non-institutional.

3.7 WHOSE CULTURE

In a country as multi-ethnic and, therefore multicultural, as South Africa, the question that needs to be addressed is: From whose culture is the curriculum selection to be made? In answering the above question attention is drawn to the fact that although the Black people of the Republic of South Africa speak nine written languages, these are closely related and can be conveniently divide into two main groups, at least for the purpose of this study, that is Nguni and Sotho. These groups would be constituted as follows:

1. **Nguni**
   - Ndebele
   - Swazi
   - Xhosa
   - Zulu

2. **Sotho**
   - Northern Sotho
   - Southern Sotho
   - Western Sotho (Batswana)

This grouping excludes the Tsonga (Shangaan) and the Venda. Though these two groups are important in their own right, they can, in the opinion of the writer of this study, for historical reasons, be classified as follows:

The Tsonga as Nguni because they comprise a great number of people who broke away from the Zulus during the time of Shaka under their leader, Soshangaan, about 1820.
A quotation from Wilson and Thompson (1969: 167 and 169), respectively, would substantiate this contention:

"... though Soshangaan and his followers left their mark on the Tsonga language, they never taught the Tsonga to speak Zulu."

Needless to say, the above statement sounds contradictory unless the suggestion is that Soshangaan communicated with his underlings by learning their language.

"Soshangaan established himself as overlord of the Tsonga, and his sons succeeded him."

A look at some Tsonga names will lend further support to this view:

1. Zulu
   - Hlongwane
   - Mabaso
   - Ngubane
   - Nxumalo
   - Khoza

2. Tsonga
   - Hlungwane
   - Mabasa
   - Ngobeni
   - Nxumayo
   - Khosa

The Venda were, according to: "A Short History of Native Tribes of the Transvaal", a publication of the then Department of Native Affairs, published in 1905, ruled by Tabane (Davana in Venda), in the sixteenth century. Tabane and his followers married Bavenda women. He was succeeded by his descendants, notably, Davana II and Thoho-ya-Ndou (History of the Native Tribes of the Transvaal, 1905, p. 63).

Wilson and Thompson (1969, p. 167, 169 and 175) make the following submissions about the Ba-venda:

1. "Their speech has close affinity with Shona ... and clear connections also with Sotho".
2. "... but in vocabulary the largest number of words are akin to Sotho".
3. "In social structure the Venda are very similar to the Sotho people ..."
A look at some Venda names, taken at random, will lend further credence to this hypothesis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sotho</th>
<th>Venda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ilolaudi Ilolaudzi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moletsane Muledani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mokwena Munyai</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mokwena Munyai</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mokwena Munyai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilolili/Molaudzi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyetsane Ramashia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramashia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That cultural differences do exist is a fact, but they are not of such nature that they would give rise to cultural shock. Schapera (1962: 34) mentions the fact that members of a tribe "... sometimes also differ in customs and language ...". What Schapera does not mention is that these might be what are called in Setswana, bafaladi, that is outsiders who have lived amongst the tribe for so long that they have come to be regarded as members of the tribe. If this is true of a tribe it is more so in the case of a society. For instance, the Tswana people speak several dialects which is also true of the Zulu, Xhosa and Basotho.

Soga (1931: 7-8) refers to essentials of culture, the universals of culture, as follows:

There are two forces which bind all tribes of the Bantu into a racial unit. The first is spiritual as exemplified in their religion, and in the spirit-world wherein dwell the spirits of their ancestral chiefs, and of each family's departed relatives. These spirits are active, concerning themselves with the things which pertain to their unseen world, and at the same time, keeping in touch with the living, and requiring the living to keep in touch with them through ritual acts and ceremonial rites.

What is not certain here is Soga's use of the term Bantu, for when the traditional Xhosa uses the term umuntu/abantu he refers strictly to
the Xhosa people and anybody who is not Xhosa is something else, certainly not a Mxhosa. The statement is, however, true of all the black people of the Republic and even outside the borders of the Republic.

The main cultural difference between the Nguni-speaking people is that of language which Soga refers to in the following words:

> It would appear as if ere long, the so-called Zulu language (which I believe to be really the original Aba-Mbo dialect) will be obliged to justify its existence or, as it is with the Aba-Mbo and Ama-Lala dialects south of the Natal border, give place to the isi-Xhosa ... but time will tell (Soga, 1931:VI).

Another difference, strictly observed by the Xhosa is that of circumcision. It should be added that this custom is also rigidly observed by the Ndebele. In fact, cases have been reported in the press where grown Ndebele men have been forcibly taken to a circumcision school. The Zulu do not circumcise, the custom was, according to Mr. M.B. Kumalo, a lecturer at the Soweto Campus-Vista University, abolished by King Shaka who regarded it as a waste of time when the young men could be receiving military training. The foregoing is also true of the Swazi (Marwick, 1966: 156).

Both the Zulu and Xhosa observe a period of seclusion for their young girls, the intonjane in the case of the Xhosa (Soga, 1931: 261) and amongst the Zulu the seclusion is similar to "... a boy's Thomba," (Kringe, 1965:100), "thfomba" in the case of the Swazi (Marwick, 1966: 156). These ceremonies are held after the girls have reached the age of puberty when they become marriagable.

The phenomenon, which Vilakazi (1965: 118) refers to as INKULISO prepared a young woman for marriage. It is interesting that when a young woman became marriagable, she knew all that was necessary for that phase of her life: mothercraft; the preparation of food and plastering with cowdung and other materials in use; the use and preparation of medicinal cures from plants and herbs; the customs and rites
pertaining to her state as a woman; the season and availability of edible roots, plants and fruit. Discipline was strict and enforced by the entire community.

The same was true of the young man who was brought up to be a fully cultured member of the group. He was brought up to be a defender of the tribe or community, fully versed in its customs, rites traditions and laws. After initiation he would be drafted into a regiment comprising his age group. When he reached this stage he would be well versed in field lore as well as the plants and herbs found in the neighbourhood, he would know them by name as well as their medicinal and other uses. He knew the best grazing grounds for his flocks; he was familiar with animal diseases and their cures; he knew the arts and crafts practised by the community; he knew the animals, birds and reptiles prevalent in the neighbourhood, their characteristics and habitat. An informant, Mr. S. Shamase, Assistant Director of Education, Johannesburg, mentions the fact that the feared mamba holds no fear for a Zulu herd boy who only needs the stick he is carrying to kill it; he knew the stars and could find his direction home from whatever point; when he left the initiation school or was taken into a regiment he was skilled in the art of stick fighting which prepared him for the use of the assegai, the spear, and other weapons of war.

The authors of "Bantu Education, Oppression or Opportunity?", a publication issued by The South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (1955: 7), although arguing a different case, make this admission:

> Previously the different Bantu tribes of the Union all made provision for the training of their youth. This included education on attitudes, values, behaviour, religion and economic matters.

Needless to say, discipline was strict, in fact, stricter than in the case of the girls and the punishment for offences could be severe, depending on the nature of the offence.

Another word on this topic is from Vilakazi (1965: 118) who speaks of "Inkuliso" or "Imfundiso", that is, education, as the "... nurturing
from childhood to adulthood when the individual can be considered to have learned "the values, and the requisite knowledge and skills of the culture:" i.e. the person was "fully socialised", in other words the person has "grown in cultural wisdom".

Lastly a quote from the same source:

The traditional Zulu regarded the education of the children of the society as the responsibility of the parents in the first instance and of the whole community in general.

A Zulu would feel obliged, therefore, to stop and punish any child, known or unknown to him, who did anything untoward anywhere.

Although reference is made to the Zulus in the above quotations, the above trait is common to all the Black peoples of Southern Africa.

4. THE MISSIONARY EDUCATION

Loram (1917: 46) makes the statement:

The history of Native Education in South Africa is the history of South African missions, for it is due entirely to the efforts of the missionaries that the Natives of South Africa have received any education at all, and to this day all but three of the several thousand Native schools are conducted by missionary agencies.

The aim of this project is to determine the influence of culture on curriculum practice in Black education and in order to come to a satisfactory conclusion in this regard, this period is of the utmost importance. When the missionaries first came to this part of the country it was with the sole purpose of converting the Natives to Christianity.

Loram does not, however, mention the motives of this undertaking by the missionaries. Suffice it to state that the success of the venture
of converting the natives depended very much on schooling.

The purpose of this study is, however, not the history of the mission schools per se but, rather, the history and development of curriculum practice in those schools. The missionary venture gave rise to a debate on the advisability of educating the native and the need to do so.

Loram (1917: 17-25) divides the debate into three schools of thought, namely:

THE REPRESSIONISTS who argued that:

God made the black man to be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water for the white man" and, therefore, "... the only education he needs is to be taught to work (Loram 1917:17-18).

The Equalists maintained that "... physical, mental, and moral qualities of the Natives are potentially equal to those of the Europeans, and, given the same educational opportunities, the Natives will rapidly prove themselves equal to the Whites." Loram argues this point further, on human Christian grounds (Loram, 1917: 31):

"God made the Native a man.

We cannot and we dare not make him less."

The Segregationists, whose point of view, even in that period in time, Loram said, was rapidly gaining ground, stood between the other two and would seek "... the advice of anthropologists, ethnologists, and psychologists ... it would endeavour to give the Bantu race every
assistance to develop on the lines of its racial genius."

This debate is best summed up in the report of Sir Langham Dale, Superintendent of Education in the Cape Colony in 1889, to the Cape House of Assembly (Loram, 1971: 51-52):

The only way to enable the groups (i.e. Europeans and Natives) to do their parts respectively in the social world is to provide instruction adapted to the needs of each: for the Native races ordinary school instruction and training in the workshop and domestic industries. ... if the European race is to hold its supremacy, the school instruction of its children must not only be the best and most advanced, ... a good commercial education will enable them to take their places as superintendents, foremen, and ultimately as masters in trade, agriculture, manufactures, and the constructive branches of the arts.

The majority of the natives may be, at the best, qualified to do the rough work of artisans; but even this work must be under the direction of the guiding eye and hand of the skilled European, and it is the paramount duty to see that the colonist is as well fitted for the exercise of this directive intelligence. ...

It is not the purpose of this study to enquire into the history of "native education" as such, rather the history of the extent to which cultural considerations were the basis of decisions on what was to be taught in these schools. Before turning to the subjects which were taught, one more quotation from Loram (1917: 95) is provided as proof that the culture of the native was not a consideration in the education which was planned for him.

We have seen that the system of Native education originated in the religious zeal of the missionaries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ... To them the original make-up of the Bantu was wrong.
Not only would the missionary not make use of any of the Native's original instincts and interests, but he would do his best to stifle these as instigators to depravity. ... The Native's life after death was his chief concern. ...

4.1 THE SYLLABUSES

In the Cape the report of a Commission appointed in 1981 formed the basis of the system of Native education during the time of missionary education (Loram, 1917: 49-50). The subjects of instruction were reading, writing, and arithmetic "for the Mission schools" and 'suitable elementary education in English or the native language, or both' and 'suitable industrial training for the Aborigines Schools'. This industrial training comprised wagon-making, blacksmithing, tailoring, shoemaking and printing for the boys and for the girls "household work."

In standard four "the pupils were required to be able to read any ordinary narrative fluently and correctly, to write freely to dictation, and to do sums in practice, proportion, and vulgar fractions." The syllabus laid down for schools in Natal in 1887, consisted of:

i. Reading and writing in the English language.
ii. Reading and writing in the Zulu language.
iii. Arithmetic, up to and including the rule "of three".
iv. The elements of industrial training.
v. Sewing and plain needlework in girls' schools.
vi. Instructions in the principles of morality in a manner adapted to their capabilities.

A pupil in standard VI was required to read from a reading book prescribed for that class and to recite fifty lines of poetry and explain words and allusions in addition to manufacture and commerce, to name but a few of the subjects.

The dismal conditions under which Black children had to learn in the Transvaal up to 1915, when most of the schools were "... in a state
of deplorable inefficiency. They are generally held in church buildings ill adapted for educational purposes", were improved in 1916 when the Council of Education not only revised the regulations governing Native Education, but also drew up new syllabuses.

These reforms were summarised as follows:

To achieve these aims, a liberal measure of assistance must be forthcoming from the Government and, what is equally if not more necessary, a liberal readjustment of views on the part of teachers and superintendents responsible for Native Education, so that the relation between training and instruction as conceived in the revised curricula may be a living reality in the schools.

Loram (1917: 64), comments that the attitude of the report towards Natives was liberal and sound in educational theory, further, that if the recommendations were put into practice, much would be done towards putting Native education on "the right lines."

The reason why this report was considered liberal will be readily understood when compared with the Transvaal Education Department Report for the school year January-December, 1903, (Rose and Turner 1975: 219).

The view mentioned above of 'Teach the native to work', contains, however, the true, principle by which the education of the native is to be regulated and controlled, and no proposal for a plan of native education would be likely to commend itself to the great majority of the people of this country that did not contemplate the ultimate social place of the native as that of an efficient worker, and that line of development as the best which seemed to tend towards that end ...

To conclude this period of Missionary education, quotations from Luthuli and Vilakazi, respectively, serve to explain the influence
missionary teaching was to exert on Black culture:

The effect of the coming together of the two cultures, the one African and the other of European origin, was that the 'normal' dynamics of Black life became 'abnormal' dynamics in the sense that traditional ways were sometimes forcibly uprooted and replaced by new, alien ways and life patterns. (Luthuli, 1981: 10).

Their aim was nothing else, but to change the behaviour patterns, beliefs and convictions of Black people and consequently their aim in education. (Luthuli, 1981: 50).

"Christian Churches became new forms of tribalism ..." (Vilakazi, 1965: 94).

It may be added, in conclusion, that denominationalism not only enhanced this division into what may, rightly, be termed "religious ethnicity", of Catholic from Protestant but also Protestant from Protestant.

4.2 NATIVE EDUCATION

The purpose of this study, the Influence of Culture on Curriculum Practice in Black Schools, is to determine to what extent the curriculum practised in Black education is a selection from the culture of the people for whom it is designed. Implicit in the preceding chapter is, a fact that is obvious to anyone familiar with Black education in the Republic, that the answer to this question is, not at all.

To add to the array of facts cited above and to understand why this is so, it is necessary to look at the arguments that were prevalent during the period 1922 to 1952 as it is during this period that the Government assumed responsibility for the taxation of the Natives.

When the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910, education "other than higher" remained under the control of the provinces (Rose and
Turner 1975, 225). When, however, the burden became too costly for the provinces, the Government passed Act No. 5 of 1922, which forbade the taxation of the Native by the provinces. This Act was consolidated by Act No. 41 of 1925 which established the "Native Development Fund."

According to paragraph 13 (i)(a) of the Act, any revenue accruing from this fund could be utilised:

"For the maintenance, extension and improvement of educational facilities amongst natives".

The Government take-over involved the drawing-up of syllabuses and examinations. It should, however, be noted, that the missionaries retained control of their schools for which the Government paid rent. The missionaries were responsible for maintenance of the building and the implementation of the syllabuses.

4.2.1 Why educate the native

This period is important for several reasons the first of which is the debate that was raging in educational circles, during the time, on the need to educate the Natives and their educability or improvability. One of the answers given to the question: Why educate the Native? was (Loram, 1971: 17):

God meant the black man to be a hewer of wood and drawer of water for the white man. If you attempt to raise him from that position you interfere with God's plan and will bring trouble on yourself and him."

Secondly, it was during this period that psychological tests were being used to prove that the Native was intellectually inferior to the white man and, therefore, ineducable or unimprovable.
4.2.2 Psychological tests

The first psychological tests on the educability of the Native were conducted by Dr. C.T. Loram during 1915-1916. Loram concludes that though the Native was at that stage inferior to the White in mental tests and school achievement, there, was no evidence to suggest that inferiority will be permanent as this was a handicap that improved environment and better teaching would improve. Further that the so-called mental retardation of the Native at puberty was not a racial characteristic as it was also found amongst the Whites (Loram, 1917: 224-225).

Dr. M.L. Fick, a psychologist of the National Bureau for Educational and Social Research, in his work: The Educability of the South African Native, published in 1939, refers to Loram's work as "monumental" and a "pioneer effort". Fick, however, dismisses Loram's contention that the "inferiority is not permanent" as well as his evidence on "mental retardation" (Fick 1939: 54). In arguing the veracity of his tests Fick submits that they are not based on "scholastic tests and manipulation of symbols". Further that the tests were considered suitable by people who were acquainted with the Native.

One of Fick's conclusions on this matter reads as follows: (Fick, 1939: 54).

"Around the ages of 13 and 14 Native children are from 4 to 5 years inferior to European children in educability as gauged by the results of intelligence tests."

This view is shared by Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen, at the time the Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Transvaal, who states in the foreword to Fick's book (Fick, 1939):

"It is usual, of course, to account for the retardation of Native pupils by stating that the teaching is poor, that the schools are badly equipped and the attendance is irregular. The same factors as well as the unsatisfactory home environment are cited to disprove the
validity of the findings based on intelligence tests which have been conducted from time to time and which indicate a marked inferiority of the Bantu children in comparison with European children.

The views expressed by Dr. Eiselen are important not only because of the position he held in Native Education but also because he is regarded as the architect of Bantu Education, a phase in the development of Black education that will be dealt with at the end of this period. It is also interesting to note that Fick's work was a reaction to the findings of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education of 1935-1936 (also known as the Welsh Commission).

4.2.3 The Welsh Commission

The Committee's Report on the efficacy of intelligence tests as a measure of the Native's intelligence makes interesting reading. The Commission's response to Fick's evidence is that Native pupils are taught by teachers who are poorly qualified in crowded classrooms with deficient equipment. The pupils are often malnourished and come from homes where the environment is not conducive to schooling "and other handicaps which the Committee observed."

The Committee opines that it is to the credit of the Native pupils that they achieve as much as they do despite those handicaps. Further, that where Native students were exposed to institutions where the facilities were comparable with those of the Europeans: "they generally do well at the public examinations even in comparison with white pupils." It is only when these external handicaps are removed that one can fairly compare the intellectual capacity of the Natives with that of Europeans. It is, therefore, unscientific to conclude at this stage that his intellectual backwardness is attributable to lack of innate mental ability." (The Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education, 1936: 105). By some remarkable coincidence, if such phenomena is permissible in a research project, the Committee, also referred to as the Welsh Commission - W.T. Welsh was its chairman - had as one of its members the Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Transvaal, Dr. Eiselen. Dr. Brookes, like Dr. Fick also gave evidence to the Commission.
Dr. Brookes also refers to the tests carried out by Loram as the "most thorough tests hitherto carried out in South Africa". Dr. Brookes agrees with the findings of Dr. Loram on the improbability or educability, of the Native. Another argument made by the proponents of a separate education for the Native was that there existed social, economical and political barriers which should not be overlooked when determining education for the Black people. This argument is stated in greater detail by the Broome Commission, 1937, (Province of Natal Education Commission Report - Chairman Justice F.N. Broome - Province of Natal Education Commission, Report, 1937, p. 101).

The interests of the Native demand the formulation of a sound educational policy which will define the aim and scope of Native education. What the aim and scope are to be depends upon the position the Native occupies or is to occupy in the commonwealth, and that in turn depends upon national Native Policy. It is this consideration which differentiates the Native educational problem from the European. The position of the European in the commonwealth is fixed. He is a member of a dominant society. His horizon is boundless. There is no position in the State to which he may not aspire. There are no laws which circumscribe him qua European. The Native on the other hand, is a member of a subordinate society. His whole life is spent in a restricted field. His horizon is limited. At every turn he finds himself circumscribed by laws which apply to him because he is a Native. ... He is placed there by Acts of Parliament which are bound frequently to cut across economic principle. The Commission offers no criticism, or indeed comment, upon this state of affairs. It merely recognises it as a fact.

Another document which refers to the position of the Native is the Christian National Education Policy of the "Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuur Verenigings" (Rose and Turner, 1975: 127-128) which pronounces the Native a ward of, especially, "... the Boer nation as the senior
white trustee of the native, "]. The document espouses the principles of segregation between the races and no equality. Further:

We believe that the mother-tongue must be the basis of native education and teaching but that the two official languages must be taught as subjects because they are official languages, and to the native, the keys to the cultural loans that are necessary to his own cultural progress. On the grounds of the cultural infancy (my emphasis) of the native, we believe that it is the right and task of the state, in collaboration with the Christian Protestant Churches, to give and control native education and the training of native teaching forces must be undertaken as soon as as possible by the native himself, but under the control and guidance of the state. ...

The above quotations and comments are made in answer to the question that was asked above, namely, whether the curriculum practised in Black schools was a selection from the culture of the people themselves, the people for whom it was designed, and to substantiate the submission that the answer to that question could only be that it was not.

The Christian National Policy was published in 1948, the same year in which the Nationalist Party came into power. These statements on Native Education were a rejection of the recommendations made by the Welsh Commission (1936: 90-108) that the Native should decide for himself which elements should be preserved from his culture and that the aim of Native Education should:

... enable the Native to interpret and to control his environment. ... it should also enrich his environment by compensating him against the deficiencies of that environment. (My emphasis).

Mention of a similar ruling class opposition to the education of the working masses during the nineteenth century in England, left
those opposed to the education of the natives unrelenting. This view is expressed by the Welsh Commission (1936: 86-87) as follows:

Just as elementary education for the masses in England was strenuously opposed by the ruling classes even as late as the nineteenth century because of the economic and social inconvenience it might cause, so we find in this history of South Africa a similar attitude on the part of the White man towards the education of Natives.

Instead we find sentiments that may be described as:

"Give the Native an education that will keep him in his place" (Welsh, 1935-36: 86).

The foregoing sentiments are very important in that they reflect the thinking behind the curricula decisions, for they are nothing but curricula decisions or views as they reflect what was intended to happen in the schools.

4.3 BANTU EDUCATION

4.3.1 The Eiselen Commission

A lot has been said and written on Bantu Education as enacted by the Bantu Education Act, Act No. 47 of 1953. In fact the education of the Blacks in South Africa is still referred to as "Bantu Education" though this Act has since been repealed and substituted by the Education and Training Act of 1979. Act No. 90 of 1979.

As Bantu Education is still a subject of current debate by many who are its products, and are its most vociferous detractors, an in-depth and critical consideration of its political and economic implications will be avoided as it is its curriculum relevance which is at issue in this study.

When the Nationalist Party came into power in 1948, one of the first things the Party did was to appoint a commission under chairmanship
of Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen, also known as the Eiselen Commission, to enquire into "education for Natives as an independant race" 'and taking into account':

Their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude, and their needs under ever changing social conditions.

The political and economic intentions of the Bantu Education Act notwithstanding, the Act was to usher an education explosion amongst Black South Africans as it brought education within the reach of every Black child of schoolgoing age, and, above all culture, the Black man's culture, became for the first time in his education, a consideration.

The commission (Eiselen, 1951: 103-4) refers to what it terms "the breakdown of tribal culture", in these words:

These phenomena have given rise to two schools of thought: firstly, those who believe that the Bantu culture is inferior and must gradually disappear; and, secondly, those who believe that while old traditional Bantu cultures cannot cope with modern conditions, nevertheless they contain in themselves the seeds from which can develop a modern Bantu culture fully able to satisfy the aspirations of the Bantu and to deal with the conditions of the modern world.

The schools have reflected the current uncertainty as to the future and value of Bantu culture. Indeed they could not do otherwise - No schools can be expected to play their part in the development of a culture if the community itself has no confidence in that culture. ... Nevertheless, references to the syllabi of the primary schools shows that the development of Bantu culture as a whole is not held up as an ideal.

Further:

Your Commission feels that while this vagueness and lack
of clarity as to the merits and future of Bantu culture remains there is little hope of the schools playing an effective role in the development of Bantu culture and it should be borne in mind that the term "culture" is here used to embrace all aspects of the life of Bantu society.

The above quotations though underpinning the principles of segregation and no equality enunciated in Christian National Education Policy and Dr. Eiselein's known views on the mental inferiority of the Native, cited above, as well as the principle of mother-tongue instruction, a sound education principle, are made in support of the claim made earlier that for the first time the culture of the indigenous people became the basis of the curriculum. The following quotations will be used to support the other claim that is made, namely, that because of this development there was to be an educational explosion amongst the Black people in the form of increased enrolments in the schools as is reflected in the following statistics for the period 1955 to 1974, Department of Education and Training, Annual Report 1982, pages 166-167 and 323:

4.3.2 Statistics

FIGURE 1: ENROLMENT: PRIMARY AND SECONDARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>PRIMARY</th>
<th>SECONDARY</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
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<tr>
<td>1955/1959</td>
<td>5 890 891</td>
<td>194 484</td>
<td>6 085 375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960/1964</td>
<td>8 131 319</td>
<td>259 041</td>
<td>8 390 360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965/1969</td>
<td>10 783 934</td>
<td>435 127</td>
<td>11 219 061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970/1974</td>
<td>14 697 566</td>
<td>808 670</td>
<td>15 506 236</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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FIGURE 2: ENROLMENT: UNIVERSITY

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<td>U. Graduate</td>
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<td>340</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>934</td>
<td>2469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Graduate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>255</td>
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<table>
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<th>DEGREES</th>
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<td>Master's</td>
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<td>Doctor's</td>
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5. CURRICULUM IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

5.1 THE CORE CURRICULUM

The Department of Education and Training does not have a Directorate of Curriculum Research but makes use of the Core Curriculum of the Joint Matriculation Board which is binding or common to all institutions preparing candidates for university entrance. The Core Curriculum, in the opinion of the writer of this project, comprises core syllabuses which lay down the essential content to be taught at the different levels of a discipline or subject.

5.1.1 The Syllabus

The syllabus is defined in the following terms by the Human Science Research Council:

A syllabus is a short summary of compulsory and optional topics and themes pertaining to a given subject or course which is to be taught on a specific level and during a stipulated period of time.

The curriculum cannot be taught in one lesson but, as Krüger states, it must be broken into smaller, simplified and accessible content which is to be mastered/attained/realised or experienced as content in a learning situation (Krüger, 1980: 53).

Krüger, as quoted by Fern (1985: 26), states:

A syllabus is usually no more than a fixed statement of contents which are normally 'prescribed' and which must be taught in the course of a certain period (usually a year).

5.1.2 The Subject Curriculum

The subject curriculum comprises the different syllabuses taught at the different school levels or standards. Implicit in this statement is the fact that the levels of difficulty increase with the child's movement from one class to another in keeping with its age.

5.2 THE SYLLABUS COMMITTEES

The Department of Education and Training has established syllabus Committees which are appointed by the Director-General. The main function of the syllabus committees is to draft new syllabuses or revise existing ones and may:

...recommend relevant additions to or extensions to the existing core syllabus in order to adapt it to the requirements of the Black child and his historical background.

This is with the proviso that these syllabuses "must by no means be inferior to or of a lower standard than that used by any other Department of Education."

The core syllabi of the Joint Matriculation Board are in use from standards 5 to 10. This is especially true of the Black Languages or African Languages as they are now termed. The work of the
subject committees also includes the drafting of work programmes divided into 32 weeks as well as the screening of school books. (Department of Education and Training: Instructions to Subject Committees, p. 1-5).

The subject committees, can therefore, be said to be responsible for subject curricula as they are responsible for the syllabuses of their particular subjects from the sub-standards to standard 10.

5.3 PARTICIPATION IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

Teachers in the Department of Education and Training have virtually no say in curricular innovations in that these are drawn up by people appointed by the Director General and Subject policies are drafted according to guidelines set out in the "Handbook for Principals". The draft syllabuses are submitted to the Chief Director, Planning. The final decision on the curricula is taken at the macro-level at which neither teachers nor members of the subject committees are represented.

The importance of teacher participation in curricula decisions is outlined by Hill (1983: 9) when he mentions that experience has taught that teachers are inclined to oppose participation in projects in which they have not been involved and yet become enthusiastic when their suggestions and comments are entertained. Crucial to the successful implementation of the curriculum or innovation is the question of who is involved in the classroom situation? This involvement determines the success or failure of the curriculum.

Fern, in an assignment submitted in 1984, reading towards the Masters' Degree, defines participation as follows:

Participation in curriculum innovation means the measure of say (expression) which a teacher has in the decision-making procedures:
5.4 LEVELS OF DECISION MAKING AND PARTICIPATION

Du Plooy (1984: 9) submits that decision-making and participation do not occur in a random fashion but occur in an hierarchical structure as indicated in the figure below:

Even a cursory look at the above structure reveals that teachers have virtually no say in the decisions that affect their calling although they are the ones that have to impart the curriculum content to their pupils.

This lack of consultation or participation by the Black teacher, especially, in curriculum decisions is almost as old as the institution of "Native Education". This matter was mentioned by the Cape of Good Hope, Third and Final Report of a Commission appointed to enquire
into and report upon certain matters connected with the educational system of the Colony, 1892: (Rose and Runmer, 1975: 216):

We perceive, first, that in matters pertaining to their education, the aborigines are not supposed to have any opinions that are worthy of notice;.....

Hill, in the article mentioned above, in arguing for the participation of teachers in curriculum research mentions that literature from highly developed Western countries, demand, without exception, the participation of teachers in curriculum research. This is equally true of participation in decision-making.

Whilst the establishment of its own curriculum research centre by the Department of Education and Training is long overdue, Krüger's remarks (1980: 12) in this regard, are pertinent:

Dit sou n kwade dag wees as kurrikuleringsfunksies aan persone en instansies toegeken word vanweë hulle administratiewe of uitvoerende status, eerder as van-weë hulle vertrouwheid met kurrikulumaangeleenthede.

The implications of the above quotation are that the time is not only overdue for the creation of such a centre but it should be staffed by people who have studied the discipline CURRICULUM in all its ramifications.

CURRICULUM PRACTICE: MINISTRY OF EDUCATION: KINGDOM OF SWAZILAND

The terms of reference of this project include a visit to the National Curriculum Centre in Swaziland. The visit was an eye-opener from the point of view of experiencing at first hand, such a centre in operation as well as from the point of view of the marked contrast in the approach to curriculum development between the Department of Education and Training and the Swaziland Ministry of Education.
The National Curriculum Centre is headed by a Director who has a staff of curriculum personnel responsible for the research and design of syllabuses. All the Centre personnel hold senior degrees in the curriculum field conferred by universities in the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Australia. The syllabuses are initiated by the Subject Panel which is constituted as follows:

1. A Senior Inspector who is chairman
2. Subject Specialists
3. Representatives of:
   - The University of Swaziland
   - College of Education
   - Subject Associations
   - National Association of Teachers
   - Commerce and Industry
4. The Curriculum Evaluator
5. The Subject/Syllabus Designer and
6. A Teacher Independent (chosen at random from the teaching fraternity).

When the Subject Panel has completed the draft it then submits it to the Curriculum Co-ordinating Committee for its approval. The draft is then referred to the designer who draws up the lessons which are in turn submitted to the Subject Review Committees.

The Subject Review Committees comprise the following:

1. The Designer (chairman)
2. An Inspector of Education
3. 2 teachers from each of the four Districts into which the country is divided.

Teachers who are responsible for the particular subjects are then drawn from the seventeen pilot schools. Five of these schools are in the Manzini District, which is the most populous and four from each of the other three. These teachers are then initiated into the new syllabus at what are termed Orientation Workshops. At these pilot schools the new syllabus is tried out. The Evaluator is in
constant touch with the schools by means of visits, meetings, questionnaires and interviews.

From the pilot schools the syllabus is referred to the Subject Review Committee which once again submits it to the Curriculum Co-ordinating Committee for its final sanction from whence it is sent to the Subject Panel and then to the commercial distributors.

After the materials are published in book form, the Curriculum Centre conducts what they term Infusion Workshops.

At these workshops the syllabus designers meet the teachers who are responsible for their particular subjects and discuss the approach and methods they propound.

These workshops are held at various centres to which teachers from schools in an area are invited.

The Curriculum Evaluator monitors these sessions and if he is satisfied that the teachers are still uncertain of what is envisaged, he arranges for a follow-up workshop.

The writer of this project was fortunate to be able to attend two of these workshops. The first one was at Tabankulu and the second at a school in Big Bend. The curriculum practice mentioned in the foregoing pages is the primary school curriculum. As the author could only spend three days in Swaziland, it was not possible for him to investigate the secondary school curriculum.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study: The Influence of Culture on Curriculum Practice in Black Education, is to answer the question: To what extent is the curriculum practised in Black schools selected from the culture of the Black people of this country? The fact that the African's culture was never a consideration in designing his education has been debated at length in the preceding pages. Further that it is an education which was not intended to raise him to the same level
as other educated men in the commonwealth, rather, it was an education intended to "keep him in his place." Welsh (1935: 86). He elaborates further on this "place" in the following words:

This Native state will in course of time become like a reserve with its primitive culture kept intact - an attraction for overseas tourists and a happy hunting ground for ethnologists and anthropologists. ... it is certainly not the function of education to keep Natives in reserves or to segregate into reserves those who are not there.

The rejection of Bantu Education because it overlooked the change caused by the impact of Christianity and Western Civilization, industrialization and the attendant detribalization; and the failure to realise that the detribalized youth, especially those who have grown up in the urban areas were being influenced by forces opposed to the traditional culture, forces tending more towards the western way of life. The removal of the missionary influence in education, has also led to the cultural disorientation of the Black man.

The norms, values and beliefs inherent in the traditional culture are no longer a force that would cause the rejection by society of any waywardness.

The question that needs to be addressed is: In the event of the Department of Education and Training deciding that the curriculum should be selected from the African's culture: Which Culture is it to be selected from?

The rejection of the traditional culture which was enshrined in the Bantu Education Act, raises this question.

If, perhaps, the recommendations of the Welsh Commission (Welsh, 1935: 86-87) had been acted upon, this dilemma would not have developed at all:

The social and economic needs of these Natives outside
reserves, particularly the urbanised Natives, ... constitute an integral part of the European economic system. In formulating, therefore, an educational policy for the country one will have to take into account the needs of these large detribalised and semi-detribalised groups as well as of those who live in the reserves. Even with the latter it will be found that a gradual process of acculturation is taking place and that powerful forces other than education are moulding their institutions and ways of living more and more upon the European pattern.

This was fifty years ago.

The traditional African Culture was based on the respect of one's elders. This norm was enforced with the liberal use of the whip and was built into the traditional curriculum. When, however, it became a criminal offence to punish children with a view to guiding them to manhood, a state they could only acquire with exposure to the traditional curriculum of which punishment was an important component, African culture was dealt a severe blow. L. Ron Hubbard (Bernard Rose, 1980, acknowledgement):

"When children become unimportant to society, that society has forfeited its future."

Black children became "unimportant" in their society when they were taught to look down upon their culture as "heathen" and inferior.

To redeem this situation, the Department of Education and Training will have to institute a Curriculum Research Centre whose role will be to research the best possible means of salvaging the remaining vestiges of African Culture with a view to establishing a solid cultural base for curriculum design. This would involve a greater and more democratic participation in the curriculum process by the community, teachers and other interest groups. This also implies the employment of people who have been trained in the curriculum field especially
from amongst the people for whom the curriculum is intended.

An essential component of the curriculum research centre would be the creation of pilot schools where the innovations could be tested before they are implemented on a national level. This would ensure that the materials have been thoroughly researched and the teachers who are to implement them have been trained or have had a say in their design. The involvement and enthusiasm which Hill (1983) mentions above would thus be assured.
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