

## CHAPTER 3

### TERTIARY EDUCATION AND THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the development of government control of tertiary education and the division of authority between the central government and the provincial governments as far as white education is concerned. Considerable attention is devoted to the creation of a separate black tertiary education system. The administrative structure is analysed, with particular attention to the system of statutory advisory authorities. Finally, the evolution of the government's subsidy mechanism is described.

#### 3.2 DIVISION OF AUTHORITY IN EDUCATION

##### 3.2.1 CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Although the relationship between the political system and the education system is one of reciprocal dependence, the former is the independent variable which largely shapes the latter. The Work Committee on Education Management of the De Lange Commission's investigation of the country's education system came to the same conclusion when it observed that the "education systems of most countries reflect the interests of the dominant group(s) and/or political structure(s)" (1981:11.)

The responsibility for white education is divided between the central government and the provincial governments. As indicated in Chapter 2, this will change when the central government will take over the colleges of education and the primary and secondary schools. Tertiary education comes under the authority of the central government, except for the colleges of education for the whites. The South Africa Act, 1909, Section 85 (iii) assigned pre-tertiary education to provincial governments: "Education, other than higher, for a period of five years and thereafter until Parliament otherwise provides." This was a compromise. A ma-

majority of the delegates at the national convention wanted central government control of all education, but Natal opposed it (Malherbe, 1925:7). It was not, however, until 1922 that legislation was enacted defining higher education. The Financial Relations Fourth Extension Act, No. 5 of 1922, Section 11 gave this definition:

- (a) education provided by universities and university colleges incorporated by law;
- (b) education provided by the South African Native College;
- (c) Education provided by such technical institutions (including schools of art, music, commerce, technology, agriculture, mining, and domestic science) as the Minister of Education may declare to be places of higher education;
- (d) such part of the education provided by other technical institutions as the minister of education may, after consultation with the provincial administration concerned, declare to be higher education.

In 1924 a conference was held in Durban between the finance and education ministers of the central government and the provincial administrations in which it was agreed to transfer all technical and vocational education to the central government as of 1925 by declaring them institutions of higher education. According to the Schumann Commission, this was done for financial reasons: "financial and not educational considerations played a rôle in the definition and widening of the concept 'higher education' and the resultant division of education between the Central and Provincial Governments" (1964:37.)

The next year the Provincial Subsidies and Taxation Powers Amendment Act, No. 46 of 1925, Section 14 was amended to make this possible: "(e) any other education which with the consent of the provincial administration concerned the Minister of Education may declare to be higher

education." One critic called this an attempt to "divide the invisible ...." (Malherbe, 1925:433) and went on to maintain that "no education system that is divided into arbitrary sections will answer to the needs of South Africa...." (435). This remained the case until the Schumann Commission recommended the transfer of all technical, commercial, and domestic schools to the provinces (1964:49). The Educational Services Act, No. 41 of 1967, Section 6 (1) implemented this recommendation.

### 3.2.2 PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS AND THE COLLEGES OF EDUCATION

The colleges of education have remained under provincial government control, although there have been a number of recommendations and attempts since the end of World War II to take them over by the central government. The De Villiers Commission in 1948 recommended that the colleges of education, university faculties of education, and teacher departments of the technical colleges "be converted into training institutions which will be constituent colleges of the universities" (1948:195.) Nothing came of this proposal due to the opposition from the provincial governments and most of the colleges of education.

The Schumann Commission had recommended that the universities have the right to train teachers for both primary and secondary schools in order to provide some diversity and ensure that at least some teachers have university experience (1964:53.) In 1969 legislation was tabled in Parliament to provide teacher training at an institute or faculty of education at a university. It met with considerable opposition; it was sent to a select committee and later led to the creation of the Gericke Commission. It was probably unaware of the Schumann Commission findings since its report was not released until 1971 (Malherbe, 1977:340-342).

In 1969 the Gericke Commission cited as one of the problems of teacher education the "lack of co-ordination of training and certification...." (1969:17.) Yet, it recommended against the transfer of teacher training to the universities, for the "control of the training of teachers should have a democratic basis. The voters, including parents, must be able to call their representatives on the Provincial Council to account when necessary" (28.) Moreover, the supply and demand and the recruitment

and selection of teachers can best be regulated by provincial education departments (29.) There is also some doubt about the universities being "sufficiently experienced and equipped to take over teacher training as a whole...." (33.)

Transfer had been opposed by the provincial administrations and their education departments, the colleges of advanced technical education, the majority of the colleges of education and the teachers's associations, and some of the universities (28.) The minority report, however, recommended transfer, arguing that it would improve the quality of the teachers and the teaching profession (93.) It concluded that the commission "has subordinated educational principles to acceptability and practicability, and has made acceptability and practicability subservient to provincial interests" (116.)

Out of this report came the National Education Policy Amendment Act, No. 73 of 1969. It provided that teachers for secondary schools be trained at universities only, but that the Minister of National Education after consultation with a university or a college of advanced technical education may also permit it to be offered at a tertiary education institution other than a university, Sections 1A and 2. Primary and pre-primary school teachers were to be trained at a university, or a college of advanced technical education, but in close co-operation with each other, Section 3. In 1974 the Van Wyk de Vries Commission recommended the "college idea" whereby the colleges of education would be associated with universities in various ways, but left it rather vague (1974:215.)

### 3.2.3 TECHNICAL COLLEGES AND THE CATEs

Vocational education under the Vocational Education Act, No. 70 of 1955 became a part of the higher education definition, Section 34. This enabled the central government to take over the technical colleges. The Advanced Technical Education Act, No. 40 of 1967 created the colleges of advanced technical education.

### 3.2.4 UNIVERSITIES

The universities are semi-autonomous institutions. They derive their authority from individual acts of Parliament, as well as from general acts from time to time dealing with university matters. The most controversial act since World War II has been the Extension of University Education Act, No. 45 of 1959. It prohibited the non-whites from attending white universities without the permission of the Minister of Bantu Education, Section 31 (1), although exemptions may be granted by the minister in individual cases, Section 13 (5). The act also provided for the creation of non-white universities for each of the non-white groups. This act had been strenuously opposed by the English-medium universities as an invasion of university autonomy and academic freedom. In Parliament the leader of the opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaf, on 26 February, 1959, denounced the legislation as a "limitation of academic freedom" (Hansard, 1959, col. 1536).

The development of coloured and Indian education has been dealt with earlier in Chapter 2 in the context of the government's separate development policy. Certain developments in black education have also been noted, but unlike for the coloureds and the Indians the National Party and the government have set forth in a comprehensive manner their goals for black education. It is thus necessary to analyse them in some detail.

## 3.3 BLACK EDUCATION

### 3.3.1 SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT

Although elements of apartheid date back to almost 1652, it was not fully developed until the middle 1950s. The government did, however, since 1948 "set out systematically to assume greater control of education and so to harness the school system to its overall project of 'separate development'" (Hunter, 1963:vi). In its 1952 programme the National Party opposed the social mixing of the whites and non-whites, for "it desires to give the non-European races the opportunity to develop themselves, each race in its own field, in both the material and spiritual spheres in

keeping with their natural gifts and abilities"(National Party's 1952 Programme, 1960:97-98).

The Eiselen Commission in 1951 reflected government thinking by recommending that the Union government take over black education from the provinces in order to "secure efficient and thorough co-ordination of planning, budgeting and administration designed to develop sound social institutions and adequate schools...." (1951:131.) Furthermore, "education must be co-ordinated with a definite and carefully planned policy for the development of Bantu societies" (131.) As for university education, it "must largely depend on the Development Plan and the employment possibilities which evolve from it" (151.) The government reacted to this by enacting the Bantu Education Act, No. 47 of 1953. The 1961 constitution included black education as a central government responsibility, Section 84 (1) (c).

It remained, however, for Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, to fully develop the doctrine of black education under the policy of separate development. He noted that under the pre-1953 system there was no co-ordination of the interests of school and community or broad national policy (1954:5). It thus created a

class of educated and semi-educated persons without the corresponding socio-economic development which should accompany it. This is the class which has learnt to believe that it is above its own people and feels that its spiritual, economic and political home is among the civilized community of South Africa, i.e. the Europeans, and feels frustrated because its wishes have not been realised (17).

Under the new system, Dr. Verwoerd, in a frequently quoted statement, declared that

education should stand with both feet in the reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society. There Bantu education must be able to give itself complete expression and there it

will be called upon to perform its real service. The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects (23).

In an equally candid and often quoted statement he went on to declare that there is

no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his own community, however, all doors are open. For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has its aim absorption in the European community, where he cannot be absorbed (24).

More specifically, the black man should obtain the "knowledge, skills and attitudes in the school which will be useful and advantageous to him and at the same time beneficial to his community" (14). White teachers will be done away entirely in the primary schools (20). Many are still required in the secondary schools and the teacher colleges, but their numbers will not be increased.

The black teacher

must be integrated as an active agent in the process of the development of the Bantu community. He must learn not to feel above his community, with a consequent desire to become integrated into the life of the European community. He becomes frustrated and rebellious when this does not take place, and he tries to make his community dissatisfied because of such misdirected ambitions which are alien to his people (15).

Since women are by nature better fitted to deal with young children, there should be more of them in the teaching profession than men (20). This has happened. Universities should be established to an increasing extent away from urban areas and "as far as possible in the Native re-

serves" (23). This also remained the policy until 1981. Great emphasis has been placed upon this speech because of its policy importance. It provided the ideological context within which much of the education policy was made.

Dr. Verwoerd's emphasis on the group's needs rather than those of the individual is a general belief of the National Party. It was well expressed on 17 September, 1953, by W.A. Maree who subsequently became Minister of Bantu Education:

The National Party's viewpoint is that the primary object of education is not in the first place that the individual should be developed as an individual, but that the object of education should be to develop the individual as a member of society, so that he can take his rightful place within the society to which he belongs (Hansard, 1953:col.3612).

Variations on this theme appear in many commission reports and education acts.

### 3.3.2 UNIVERSITIES

In 1959 the University Colleges of Zululand and North were created and the University College of Fort Hare also came under the control of the central government in 1960. This transfer of the latter institution was opposed by it. Fort Hare argued that by limiting enrolment to Xhosa students the local character would be accentuated. Prior to 1953 it had students from other parts of the country, Africa, and even a few white students. Having a senate and a council and an advisory senate and advisory council would be unworkable in practice (University College of Fort Hare, 1961:38-39). In Parliament the leader of the opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaf, charged on 26 February, 1959, that what is envisaged "is not a university but a Government-controlled school for some type of higher education...." (Hansard, 1959, col.1554). The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, M.D.C. de W. Nel, responded

that the transfer and the creation of separate institutions is part of the government's policy of "placing each non-white University in the service of its own particular Bantu national group" (Hansard, 1959, cols. 1564). He maintained that one of the most immediate needs is that a "start should be made with the establishment of these universities which will be able to produce real leaders, leaders who will serve their own people" (1559). Finally, he noted that the blacks felt that these universities will be "of great assistance to them, and that these universities will really render service not only in the cultural sphere but also for the general development of that community" (1548).

Since 1959, all of the non-white universities, but especially the black ones, have experienced student unrest and closings for extended periods of time. The black consciousness movement gained ground in the 1960s, coinciding with the emergence of many black graduates. These institutions "set up to maintain separate development seem to provide opportunities for African students to launch opposition against the overall apartheid structure" (Nkomo, 1981:128). The result has been that the education system "has produced, instead, at least for a good portion of the student body, a distinct culture whose thrust and direction are contrary to the expectations of the system" (137).

In the case of Fort Hare, there was serious student unrest in 1972. The Commission of Enquiry dismissed many of the student complaints, but found a few of them justified -- the need for more blacks on the senate, the creation of a post of dean of students, and a committee to carry out the functions normally carried out by a student representative council (1973?:3.) A survey of all first-year students in the years 1976-1978 revealed that they saw Fort Hare as an instrument of political control (Penny, 1981:165). They also perceived themselves as participants in a shared South Africa (173).

### 3.3.3 STUDENT ATTITUDES

Attitudes such as these did not develop suddenly at Fort Hare or any other black university, but have their roots in the black socio-economic situation. Although there are not as many opinion surveys as one would

like, the available ones indicate considerable student dissatisfaction with the existing political system. A study of the autobiographies of last year secondary school students in 1950, 1956, and 1962, constituting between 3% and 7% of the total number of black matriculation candidates, revealed that in 1956 opposition to government policies was expressed by 83%, with the rest either expressing partial support or no opinion. No fewer than 46% foresaw the violent overthrow of the political system. These percentages remained constant from 1956 to 1962 (Danziger, 1975:116,118). This study also found that social reality is being "defined essentially in political terms" (126). Socio-political aspirations received more attention than personal ones (119).

At about the same time a survey of white, Indian, and black university students in introductory psychology and sociology courses asked this question: "What two things would you like to have that you don't have?" The responses were the following (Danziger, 1958:342-343):

GOALS	WHITES	NON-WHITES
Political goals		62,9%
Educational opportunities	3,8%	15,5%
Familial goals	31,1%	5,2%
Personal qualities and achievements	65,1%	16,5%

Although this was before the Extension of University Education Act, No. 45 of 1959, probably in 1957, it revealed that almost as many non-whites opted for political goals as whites opted for personal qualities and achievements. It is also significant that no one amongst the whites expressed any political goals. Four times as many non-whites desired educational opportunities as did the whites, indicating some dissatisfaction with the existing ones. In sociological terms, the author of the study has explained the results by stating that members of national or class groups whose aspirations are limited "tend to internalize the social aspirations of the group so as to turn them into individual aspirations for each member" (343).

### 3.3.4 POLICY CHANGES

As a result of these developments, the Black Universities Amendment Act, No. 57 of 1977 abolished the advisory senate at Fort Hare and replaced it by a more broadly based convocation, Section 1. The advisory councils and senates at Zululand and North were also abolished by the same act, Sections 12 and 24, respectively. No advisory senates were, however, actually created. According to M.C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Education, on 6 March, 1969, there was a shortage of an adequate number of senior black lecturers (Hansard, 1969, col. 4458), but according to the Department of Education and Training (1985) such bodies were regarded as redundant since all of the departmental heads were already represented on the senates. The argument for the creation of an advisory senate was, according to W.A. Maree, Minister of Bantu Education, on 24 April, 1959, "to train the non-whites eventually to take the control of the senate" (Hansard, 1959, col. 4647).

An enlarged senate was, however, created at Fort Hare, consisting of the regular senate plus one or more professors appointed from another university by the council after consultation with the minister and the other university. It was abolished in 1977 because in the opinion of the senate and the council the university had reached sufficient maturity which made such additional members unnecessary. The advisory council was abolished in 1981 because it was felt that by then black representation on the council was adequate (University of Fort Hare, 1985).

The Universities for Blacks Amendment Act, No. 52 of 1979 provided for the admission of any black to any black university, Sections 1, 6, and 11, respectively. With the minister's approval non-blacks could also be admitted, Sections 5, 10, and 15, respectively. Dr. A.P. Treurnicht, Deputy Minister of Education and Training, on 7 March, 1979, in proposing this amendment argued that this did not

mean that the reality of ethnic variety is being lost sight of or being disregarded. This variety and the resistance to domination of one nation by another is fundamental to the desire for self-determination. This is associated with the desire of various

Black States to obtain their own institutions for university training (Hansard, 1979, col. 2016).

It is rather an act of necessity, because the "fact remains that this ideal cannot soon be realized for every one of them. Therefore the same universities for Blacks will have to continue serving the students of various ethnic groups." The Verwoerdian ideal was becoming less ideological. The newly appointed rector of Fort Hare in 1981 observed that Fort Hare will soon become an "open university" (Lamprecht, 1981:4). As such it will be "potentially contributing to a better understanding amongst the races...." (4). Only a decade earlier an official publication of Fort Hare had justified the 1959 transfer in order to "provide more adequate and more effective university training for the Bantu by separate university colleges for the different ethnic groups, and to remove the limitations and anomalies arising from a system of so-called 'open' universities" (University of Fort Hare, 1970:10).

It is thus evident that the government policy of separate universities for the four main population groups contributed to their politicisation. This was certainly not the intention of the government. It was a classic case of producing unintended consequences. The government has attempted to depoliticise the situation by gradually opening the non-white universities to population groups other than the ones for which they were originally intended and thus moving towards the pre-1959 situation.

### 3.3.5 VISTA UNIVERSITY

Finally, a new concept in black tertiary education was developed in 1981 with the creation of Vista University under the Vista University Act, No. 106 of 1981. It is the first institution for blacks in white areas, a non-residential one for all blacks as well as the non-blacks with the Education and Training Minister's approval.

Certain aspects about the creation of Vista University remain controversial and unknown. The Retief Commission's report on its creation has not yet been released to the public. According to Dr. F. Hartzenberg,

Minister of Education and Training, on 13 August, 1981, the black witnesses before the commission were overwhelmingly in favour of a black university and the Retief Commission's recommendations took this into account (Hansard, 1981, cols. 907-909). Dr. A.L. Borraine, a PFP member, charged that a new segregated institution would be created and asked why black students could not be admitted to the existing institutions (Hansard, 1981, col. 842). Hartzenberg's response provided a significant clue to the government's thinking when he said that the Opposition was propagating its ideology and the government was doing the same (Hansard, 1981, col. 905). He argued that forcing blacks to attend white universities would deprive them of the "free association to go to a Black university, and where are the White going to have the right of free association to attend a White university?" (912). Hartzenberg went on to note that the National Party "believes in separate educational channels for the various people because this is the foundation of stability" (913). Moreover, on 5 October, 1981, J.C. Heunis, Minister of Internal Affairs, reiterated the government's general education policy by noting that it is "based on the fundamental and inalienable principle that every population group in the country should undergo training in its own schools" (Hansard, 1981, col. 5671). It would thus appear that the government's traditional education policy played a significant part in the creation of Vista University.

There were also other reasons of a non-political nature. Contrary to the Verwoerdian idea of creating black universities as far away as possible from the urban areas, according to Hartzenberg, one of the aims was to provide "more generous opportunities and more adequate facilities for the urban Blacks to receive tertiary training within their own residential areas..." (Hansard, 1981, col. 835). The government also viewed it as a "positive step in the implementation of the Government's policy of stimulating manpower development and creating a better trained labour force" (835). Another consideration was the potentially large number of part-time students, especially teachers who need to upgrade their qualifications (908-909). In 1984 out of 6 188 students, 4 740 (76,6%) studied for the secondary education certificate (Department of Education and Training, 1985:257,261). Moreover, the lower fees, on account of it being a non-residential institution, would provide greater study opportunities.

Finally, according to Dr. E.R. Jenkins, Director of Vista University's Mamelodi campus, the blacks see its establishment "as a major step in the recognition by the government of the permanence, and 'respectability', of the Black people as urban residents" (1985). Vista University is referred to by them as our university.

### 3.4 ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES

The administrative structures for tertiary education are complex ones. At the highest level there is decentralisation since there is one education ministry for each major population group, plus one dealing with general education matters, a total of five ministries. There is more centralisation at the sub-system level, but this varies according to the population group, with the whites having a more decentralised system than the others. The Department of Education and Culture Administration, House of Assembly is the supreme policy determining and executive authority for white education. The Provincial Council is the highest legislative body in a province. It may not pass any education legislation without the approval of the Minister of Education and Culture Administration, House of Assembly. The administrator is the executive head of a province and chairman of the executive committee, which handles education (Vos & Barnard, 1984:79-82). The provincial education departments operate within various education acts and thus have delegated authority. They co-operate with one another and the Department of Education and Culture Administration, House of Assembly in order to achieve uniformity of education standards, principles, and procedures (Stimie, 1970:11).

#### 3.4.1 ADVISORY AUTHORITIES FOR THE NON-BLACK INSTITUTIONS

The interaction between the government and tertiary education institutions is governed by a complicated system of statutory advisory boards, committees, and councils. Little is known about their daily operation, but the broad outlines are fairly clear in terms of the authority of the various advisory bodies.

The National Advisory Education Council, Act, No. 86 of 1962 created this advisory body to advise the Minister of Education, Arts and Science

or any administrator through the minister "in regard to the policy to be applied in connection with education....", Section 7 (1). In consultation it shall determine

the broad fundamental principles of sound education for the country as a whole, to promote co-operation generally in the field of education, and generally to co-ordinate education policy with a view to adapting the education system to the needs of the country, but with due regard to the advisability of maintaining such diversity as circumstances may demand, Section 7 (2).

Its authority extended to schools and the colleges of education. On the basis of its recommendations three important pieces of legislation came about -- the National Education Policy Act, No. 39 of 1967, the Advanced Technical Education Act, No. 40 of 1967, and the Education Services Act, No. 41 of 1967.

In 1967 the National Advisory Education Council was abolished by the first of these three acts and replaced by the National Education Council. Its authority was somewhat narrower, to advise the minister in regard "to the general policy that should be pursued in connection with education in schools and teacher training....", Section 4 (3) (a). The Committee of the Heads of Education was to do the same, except that it may also bring to the notice of the minister or administrator any education matter, Section 6 (3). The name of the National Education Council was changed by the National Policy for General Education Affairs Act, No. 76 of 1984, Section 3 to the South African Council for Education, but its functions remained the same, except that it can now advise any state education minister on any aspect regarding co-operation amongst the various state education departments. This act also expanded the membership of the Committee of the Heads of Education to include the minister responsible for general education matters, the heads of the other state education departments, and the provincial education departments, Section 5.

In technical education, the Advanced Technical Education Act, No. 40 of 1967, Section 28 (a) authorised the Association of Colleges for Ad-

vanced Technical Education to advise the minister on the colleges of advanced technical education on such matters as the minister may refer to it. In 1983 the Advanced Technical Education Amendment Act, No. 84 of 1983, Section 10 (b) granted the successor Committee of Technikon Principals the authority to make recommendations to the minister on any matter of common interest to the technikons. It consists of white, coloured, and Indian technikon heads. This parallels the points in the 1983 constitution about parliamentary representation for these groups, as well as in the President's Council. Two years earlier the Technical College Act, No. 104 of 1981 granted the same authority to the Association of Technical Colleges.

The universities have the Universities Advisory Council since 1955, as well as the Committee of University Principals. The former has the authority to advise the Minister of Education and Culture Administration, House of Assembly in regard to the granting of subsidies to universities, the creation of a faculty or department, the establishment and development of universities, and on such matters relating to universities as the minister may decide, Universities Act, No. 61 of 1955, Section 2. It can also make enquiries of its own and submit a report to the minister. The latter has just as sweeping authority, for it may consider and make recommendations to the minister regarding any matter referred to it or which it considers to be of common interest to the universities, Section 7 (b). In 1983 under the Universities Amendment Act, No. 83 of 1983, Section 1 (a) the rectors of the University of the Western Cape and the University of Durban-Westville became members of the Committee of University Principals. On 26 September, 1985, F.W. de Klerk, Minister of Home Affairs and National Education, announced that legislation will be introduced to extend to the black university rectors membership on the Committee of University Principals (Anon., 1985e:5). The Universities and Technikons Advisory Council Act, No. 99 of 1983, Section 8 abolished the Universities Advisory Council. This is the first time that an advisory council has authority over more than one type of tertiary education institution. Its authority remained the same, except that it was extended to coloured and Indian universities and technikons, as well as to black ones as far as the following matters are concerned: the establishment and development of universities and technikons, the academic fields in

which they should be active, the degree, diploma, and certificate courses offered by these institutions, and any other matter which the minister may refer to it or it may desire to refer to the minister, Section 3. The definition of minister is all inclusive; that is, it includes all four education ministers. It thus deals with all tertiary education, except teacher training.

As indicated earlier, the coloured and Indian technikon principals are now members of the Committee of Technikon Principals. Legislation will also be introduced to extend membership to the principals of the black technikons. They and the university rectors have the opportunity of becoming members of the Universities and Technikons Advisory Council as well. According to B.J. du Plessis, Minister of Education and Training, on 20 June 1984, from 1972 until 1983 the coloured and Indian university rectors were members of the Committee of University Rectors, which also included black university rectors. It was then a non-statutory body (Hansard, 1984, col. 9402). Since the coloureds and Indians have only one university and technikon each, these institutions are in a somewhat different position than their white or black counterparts as far as any external and multiple institution advisory bodies are concerned. The university colleges in 1959 got internal advisory councils and senates. The University of Durban-Westville Amendment Act, No. 60 of 1973, Section 1 abolished the advisory council and advisory senate. The University of the Western Cape Act, No. 78 of 1983 omitted any advisory council or senate.

### 3.4.2 ADVISORY AUTHORITIES FOR THE BLACK INSTITUTIONS

Like the white institutions, the black ones have a number of advisory bodies. In 1945 the Union Advisory Board on Native Education was established to advise the Union and provincial governments on matters relating to black education at school and teacher training levels, Native Education Finance Act, No. 29 of 1945, Section 3 (1). In 1963 it was replaced by the Advisory Board for Bantu Education with broader authority. It could advise the minister on any matter concerning the education of the blacks which the minister requests or offer advice on its own. It in turn was replaced in 1979 by the Council for Education and

Training, which can advise the minister when so requested, but not on its own, Education and Training Act, No. 90 of 1979, Section 4(2). In 1981 the Co-ordinating Council for Technical Education was created to advise the minister on advanced technical education, Technikons (Education and Training) Act, No. 27 of 1981, Section 2 (2). In 1984 the Committee of University Rectors got statutory status, having been reconstituted in 1983 for black rectors only (Hansard, 1984, col. 9402). Finally, the Council for University and Technikon Affairs was created by the Tertiary Education (Education and Training) Act, No. 92 of 1984, Section 5 (1) (b) with essentially the same functions as the Universities and Technikons Advisory Council.

There can be no question that the central and provincial education departments receive advice from diverse sources. There is as yet, however, no body offering advice on tertiary education as a whole, be it for the whites, another population group, or for all of the population groups. This absence is one of the basic reasons for the large number of commissions appointed from time to time to deal with various aspects of education. Some of them have already been noted and others are discussed in the section on government funding and in Chapter 4.

### 3.4.3 PROPOSED CHANGES

The division of authority in tertiary education for the whites and the separate education departments for the four main population groups are at the basis of the lack of a comprehensive advisory body. In 1981 the De Lange Commission recommended that a "single ministry of education be created to effectively meet the need for a national education policy aimed at 'equal opportunity' and 'equal quality and standards'...." (1981:195). The government responded by appointing an Interim Working Party to advise the three education ministers. It also came to the same conclusion (White Paper, 1983:6). The government in its October, 1981, interim memorandum, however, laid down the following principle: "The Government reaffirms that, in terms of its policy that each population group should have its own schools, it is essential that each population group should also have its own education authority/department" (4). Here again, like the earlier rejection of central government take over of

the white colleges of education, the rejection of a key recommendation of the De Lange Commission was politically motivated. In the White Paper it also drew attention to the fact that the 1983 constitution makes a distinction between own affairs of each population group and general affairs. This means that education of each population group is an own affair (5). The administration of general affairs with regard to education will be delegated to another minister. The general education matters are the following, Schedule 1 (2) of the 1983 constitution:

- (a) norms and standards for the financing of running and capital costs of education;
- (b) salaries and conditions of employment of staff and professional registration of teachers; and
- (c) norms and standards for syllabuses and examinations and for certification of qualifications.

### 3.5 GOVERNMENT FUNDING

#### 3.5.1 CAPITAL EXPENDITURES

Tertiary education funding may be divided into capital and current expenditures. The former requires ministerial approval since it involves an additional subsidy. The same applies to the creation of new departments or faculties. Capital expenditures are to be seen in the context of the system for budgeting. In 1976 budgeting by objectives was introduced, taking into consideration inputs and outputs. Its main characteristics are the following: 1) the identification of the organisational unit financially responsible for each service, 2) its standard expenditure, 3) its source of finance, and 4) the object to be achieved with the expenditure as the crux of the system (Thornhill, 1983:86). The Department of Finance devised a priority rating for requests for money by various government departments: 1) absolute priority, 2) necessary extensions of new programmes that cannot be omitted or postponed, 3) desirable extensions or new programmes that should receive preference, 4) useful programmes that, although ex-

pendable, would still be useful, and 5) non-essential programmes (Anon., 1984c:3-4).

In 1977 the Priority Committee for Capital Expenditure was created under the chairmanship of the Director-General of the Department of Finance to advise the Minister of Finance. This did not become widely known until 1984, but according to the Office of the Director-General no significance should be attached to this fact (Department of Finance, 1985). The Priority Committee mainly relied on the economic development plan as a guideline in determining priorities. Its success was hampered because priorities were not indicated in advance by the cabinet, the budget did not indicate clearly the main goals of the government, and it was only concerned with capital expenditures (Thornhill, 1983:87).

A new system came in 1984 with the creation of the State President's Committee on National Priorities by the State President's Committee on National Priorities Act, No. 119 of 1984, Section 5 (1). Its objectives are to advise the cabinet in respect of the rendering of services, the provisions of goods, and the granting of assistance by or to the government, the utilisation of money for these purposes, and any other matter connected with these functions. The committee is chaired by the State President and includes the Finance and Constitutional Development and Planning Ministers, the chairman of the Minister's Council, and such other ministers as the State President may determine from time to time. Too little is known about the operation of this committee or its predecessor to say anything definite. Moreover, the concentration in this work is upon current expenditures. This is the standard procedure.

### 3.5.2 UNIVERSITY CURRENT EXPENDITURES

Since there is no standing university or tertiary education grants committee or anything similar, the funding mechanism has been determined on the basis of various ad hoc commissions and their reports. In 1953 the Holloway Commission did, however, recommend the creation of a university grants commission, but it was not accepted by the government (1953:67.) According to Dr. J.B.Z. Louw, Deputy Director-General, Department of National Education, there is the question of whether such

a body would have executive or merely advisory authority. Politicians like to be in charge of spending (1985).

Different formulae were applied from time to time, but by 1948 most universities were in debt and approached the government for additional money (Holloway Commission (1953:13.)) This led to the appointment of the Holloway Commission in 1951. It ushered in "perhaps the most lasting phase of State-aid to our developing university system." (Cilliers Commission (1963:137.)) It developed the following formula consisting of 1) the basic subsidy, 2) standard provision, 3) cost of living allowances, 4) free income, and 5) capital expenditures (Holloway Commission (1953:16-17.)) The basic subsidy provided for the basic teaching needs regardless of student numbers (29.) It was calculated by multiplying the maximum standard salary of professors by the number of approved academic departments (Horwood,1964:170). The standard provision partly provided for the teaching, library, administrative, laboratory, and other recurrent needs up to the master's degree. In 1959 it was extended to include doctoral students. There was also some free income to spend as universities saw fit and government bursaries and loans to students; the latter started in 1956. The total subsidy, except for the living allowance, equaled the basic subsidy plus the standard provision minus the standard fee income. The formula applied to residential universities only; UNISA got an annual subsidy on the basis of the previous year's receipts from student fees (Holloway Commission (1953:128.)) In 1964 it was also brought under the same formula, becoming fully operational in 1966 (Cilliers Commission (1967:1.))

The Holloway formula remained basically in effect from 1953 until it was replaced by a new formula as of 1985, although it underwent periodic revisions. In 1967 the Cilliers Commission added a research component of two parts -- a general provision equal to 5% of the standard provision for teaching and a particular provision for central computer services and facilities, taking into consideration student numbers (226.) Another component that was added was student and staff counselling service and student and staff amenities (234.) The standard provision for this component was to be 5% of the teaching component and a particular component of R10 000 for each university (239.) In 1968 and 1969 the government

made considerable adjustments outside the normal scope. This was because in the years 1964-1968 there was underfunding of R9 204 000; that is, the total expenditure contrasted to the total subsidy provision (Van Wyk de Vries Commission (1974:304.)

The same funding mechanism has been in operation for the white, coloured, and the Indian universities, but not always for the black universities. The Native Education Finance Act, No. 29 of 1945, Section 2 (1) provided that each province get from the Consolidated Revenue Fund money voted for black education by Parliament. It covered all education, except university. This act was repealed by the Bantu Education Act, No. 47 of 1953. Henceforth, funding would come from money appropriated or set aside by Parliament for black education, Section 7 (1). A Bantu Education Account was created in the Consolidated Revenue Fund into which would be paid the proceeds of the general tax on blacks after deducting one-fifth for the Native Trust Fund. The account would annually receive a fixed subsidy of £6 500 000 from general revenue. Any amount above it would have to come from the blacks themselves (Hurwitz, 1964:55).

The 1953 act was based on the belief that the blacks must bear a portion of the responsibility for their own education. Dr. Verwoerd as Minister of Native Affairs took full responsibility for it and supported it on 3 June, 1954,

because I think that it is in the best interests of Bantu education and its control. I support this not only because I think it is the wise thing to do in the interests of the country and its finances, but also because Bantu education can only be guided along sound lines when we build on this principle, that while the European is prepared to make heavy contributions to Native education, the Native community will have to shoulder their share of the responsibility for this development in future (Hansard, 1954, col. 6211).

The Minister of Finance maintained on 16 September, 1958, that the blacks must bear a portion of the responsibility. If this were not done, their

self-development would suffer: "If the State is simply continually to give money it will undoubtedly undermine the sound development of the Bantu community, and the White guardian community would be failing in its duty" (Hansard, 1958, col. 3878). The funds in the Bantu Education Account proved to be inadequate and the blacks were unable to raise enough revenue. This account was abolished by the Black Education Account Abolition Act, No. 20 of 1972, and since then black education is once again funded from the Consolidated Revenue Fund.

The new funding formula was arrived at very differently than in the past. There was no external commission. A number of strict guidelines were given by the Universities Advisory Council. The Committee of University Principals had made a number of suggestions for revisions. In its study of the failure rates of first-year students it came to the conclusion that the present subsidy formula "tends to encourage maximum growth" (Erens & Louw, 1978:57). There appears to be "a strong case for an overall policy of controlled growth for the South African university system" (57). The Minister of National Education then indicated to the Universities Advisory Council that certain characteristics of the subsidy formula be investigated (Department of National Education, 1982:iii). His department also sent one of its officials, Dr. R.H. Venter, to the United States to look at different subsidy formulae. He decided upon the subsidy formula used by the National Center for Higher Education Management System of the Western Interstate Commissioner for Higher Education. From there it went to the Committee of University Principals (Coetzee, 1984). The Universities Advisory Council in June, 1982, decided to undertake an investigation of government financing of universities, with Dr. Venter as the project leader. A number of guidelines were given, the most significant being the following (Department of National Education, 1982a :iv):

The relative weighting of students according to course level should be such as to encourage work at the higher levels.

The formula should be constructed so as to reward the stricter selection of students by the universities and diligence on the part of students.

The formula should include a component that is independent of student numbers so as to reward universities substantially for meritorious academic achievements.

The report went into considerable discussion of university funding and the price of university education, which should be "correct" in order to create an optimal demand for it. Subsidies should cover the costs of the public benefits and students should be liable for the costs caused by private gains (46). It conceded that no procedure has yet been devised for this (47). Under the rate of return approach to education planning, if the demand exceeds the supply, additional facilities are then needed; an excess supply indicates that too many resources are being deployed in education (12). It concluded that instruction in principle should be subsidised on the basis of its outputs, "because of its inherent efficiency enhancing effects" (29). This has some problems, especially in view of the fact that it is often impossible to measure outputs or inputs directly (30). Coupling subsidies to inputs has disadvantages as well, such as discouraging thrift and efficiency (33). The solution is to subsidise universities on the basis of both outputs and inputs. "Gross outputs would appear in the guise of successful students, whereas additional inputs would be represented by unsuccessful ones" (33). Thus, "universities will be encouraged to select and advise their students more carefully and that students will be encouraged to be both diligent and realistic about their academic capabilities" (37). This is a significant departure from earlier approaches which concentrated on inputs. Research is also to be judged by output; that is, the publications of the staff (42). There is an unmistakable attempt throughout the report to quantify matters. A research support scheme was developed in 1985 by the Department of Education and Culture Administration, House of Assembly.

The formula itself provides that half of the funds for students be made available as of the second Tuesday in June and the other half at the end of the examinations in December. Students are to be grouped into natural sciences and human sciences, with the former group receiving somewhat more because of laboratory and equipment expenses. All are to be assigned weights from 1 to 4, from lower undergraduate to higher post-graduate ones (65-69). According to Dr. G. van N. Viljoen, Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education, on 3 June, 1985, subsidies to all universities are the same, but the black universities' own contribution will rise in six years to only two-thirds of that of the other population groups. Their tuition and boarding fees are lower, between 60% and 66% and 54%, respectively, than of the other universities (Hansard, 1985, col. 6708).

### 3.5.3 COLLEGES OF EDUCATION

As far as the subsidies to the other tertiary education institutions are concerned, far less has been written about their funding, which in itself is indicative of how they are perceived by the government and the society at large. The provinces fund the white colleges of education, but since 1957 the provinces receive about 80% of their revenue from the central government (Behr, 1980:84). Nearly all students get provincial education department bursaries, if they are unmarried and willing to sign contracts stipulating that they will work for their respective education departments the same number of years as the duration of their education. Their bursaries include funds for books and supplies and incidental living expenses. The education departments then reimburse the colleges of education for student fees and hostel charges (Du Toit, 1985). More or less the same principle applies to the colleges of education for the other population groups (Barnard, 1985).

#### 3.5.4 TECHNIKONS

Technikons, when they were still technical colleges and CATEs, used to be funded on the basis of the fees collected from the students. It is only since 1978 that the subsidy formula is on the basis of the number of students. The Advanced Technical Education Amendment Act, No. 84 of 1983, Section 25 (1) (3) provides that the subsidy may take into consideration different conditions for different technikons, population groups, and courses. According to the Committee of Technikon Principals (1985), this was done in order to provide for a quota system in regard to the admission of the non-whites to the white technikons. The Universities and Technikons Advisory Council is now in the process of adapting the new university subsidy formula to the technikons as of 1987.

#### 3.5.5 TECHNICAL COLLEGES

The technical colleges under the old formula were subsidised on the basis of the difference between the income received from the student fees and the approved current expenditures. Under the new formula, in operation as of 1984, the subsidy is based on the full-time equivalent students (Department of Education and Culture Administration, House of Assembly, 1985:18,17).

#### 3.6 CONCLUSION

The long drawn out controversy about the rôle of the central and provincial governments in white education will soon end when the central government will take over the colleges of education and the primary and secondary schools as well. The creation of a separate tertiary education system for the blacks had the unintended effect of contributing to its politicisation and led to government attempts to depoliticise the situation. An elaborate statutory advisory system was created for the tertiary education institutions for each population group. The university subsidy formulae have moved in the direction of putting greater emphasis upon outputs and the natural sciences.