Manifesto On Values, Education and Democracy

Foreword

Democratic South Africa was born of a leadership with a vision for a people struggling to lift themselves out of the quagmire of apartheid, a people pitted against one another brought into the unifying streams of democracy and nation building.

Here was born an idea, a South African idea, of moulding a people from diverse origins, cultural practices, languages, into one, within a framework democratic in character, that can absorb, accommodate and mediate conflicts and adversarial interests without oppression and injustice.

This document is an effort to flesh out the South African idea in the educational arena. It is to distil the good things of our past and give them definition, for the education of future generations of South Africans.

South Africans are busy making a new life for themselves.

The new life has its own challenges, different from those of the past.

These include crime, HIV/AIDS, unemployment, globalisation and the maintenance of national unity. We passionately believe that education is an essential part of meeting these challenges.

The idea of a document on values, education and democracy started, as these things can happen, as passage conversation. The Ministry of Education was working on a document dealing with religion in education and had no broader frame of reference to locate this important discussion. I needed a document on values, broad in scope, and I asked Wilmot James to assemble a small group of diverse thinkers and produce something for me to consider.1

That group, consisting of Frans Auerbach, Zubeida Desai, Hermann Giliomee, Pallo Jordan, Antjie Krog, Tembile Kulati, Khetso Lehoko, Brenda Leibowitz and Pansy Tlakula, produced a short monograph by the title of Values, Education & Democracy in mid-2000. This document was a first discussion of the issues, put forward for public discussion. And discussed it was, we are happy to report, in newspapers, academic journals, letters and submissions to the Ministry.

The issues raised by public debate were taken to a momentous national conference on values in education, a saamtrek (Afrikaans for drawing or pulling together in the same direction, an assembly of common purpose) where the country's specialists in all sectors of education came together to focus our minds on the normative direction of educational policy and strategy at our schools.

This document draws on the public submissions and debate as well the proceedings of the Saamtrek conference, and recasts the original Values, Education & Democracy document into a second discussion of the issues. It is in many ways a completely new document. It is titled a Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy, against which we wish to secure the commitment of all individuals involved in the education sector and specifically schools.

Because it is a document that operates in the realm of values, ideas and philosophy, the debate will never really be closed or end, and indeed ought to remain alive at this time and in the future.

I am grateful to David Chambers, Mark Gevisser, Wilmot James, Brenda Leibowitz and Michael Morris for their contribution to this publication.

I would like to acknowledge Wim Hoppers of the Royal Netherlands Embassy and Gerhard Pfister of the Swiss Agency for Development and Co-operation (SDC) for their intellectual foresight and willingness to lend financial support to the Values in Education Initiative, of which this is one product. The SDC financed the publication of this document.

The Values in Education Steering Group - Wilmot James, Tembile Kulati, Khetso Lehoko and Brenda Leibowitz - gave the initiative its direction.

Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy is, as the title suggests, a call to all to embrace the spirit of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa.
Executive Summary

The Report of the Working Group on Values in Education, Values, Education and Democracy, highlighted six qualities the education system should actively promote: Equity, Tolerance, Multilingualism, Openness, Accountability and Social Honour.

This document takes these further and explores the ideals and concepts of Democracy, Social Justice, Equality, Non-racism and Non-sexism, Ubuntu (Human Dignity), An Open Society, Accountability (Responsibility), The Rule of Law, Respect, and Reconciliation in a way that suggests how the Constitution can be taught, as part of the curriculum, and brought to life in the classroom, as well as applied practically in programmes and policy making by educators, administrators, governing bodies and officials.

The Manifesto outlines sixteen strategies for instilling democratic values in young South Africans in the learning environment. Each strategy is accompanied by a series of remarks and observations (in boxes accompanying the text), that could be used by every institution in the country to frame a Values Statement and a Values Action-Plan, and be encouraged to develop a shared commitment to them.

There is no intention to impose values, but to generate discussion and debate, and to acknowledge that discussion and debate are values in themselves.

The Manifesto recognises that values, which transcend language and culture, are the common currency that make life meaningful, and the normative principles that ensure ease of life lived in common. Inculcating a sense of values at school is intended to help young people achieve higher levels of moral judgement. We also believe that education does not exist simply to serve the market, but to serve society, and that means instilling in pupils and students a broad sense of values that can emerge only from a balanced exposure to the humanities as well as the sciences. Enriching the individual in this way is, by extension, enriching the society, too.

The approach of the Manifesto is founded on the idea that the Constitution expresses South Africans' shared aspirations, and the moral and ethical direction they have set for the future. As a vision of a society based on equity, justice and freedom for all it is less a description of South Africa as it exists than a document that compels transformation.

DEMOCRACY is the first of the ten fundamental values highlighted in the Manifesto as having relevance in education. More than merely adult enfranchisement, or an expression of popular sentiment, democracy is a society's means to engage critically with itself. Education is indispensable in equipping citizens with the abilities and skills to engage critically, and act responsibly.

SOCIAL JUSTICE AND EQUITY are highlighted because, while the Constitution grants inalienable rights to freedom of expression and choice, true emancipation means freedom from the material straits of poverty. Access to education is probably the single most important resource in addressing poverty.

EQUALITY in education means that not only must all South Africans have access to schooling, but the access must be equal. None may be unfairly discriminated against. Beyond that, the value of equality and the practice of non-discrimination means not only understanding one's rights, as an educator or a learner, but that others have them as well. There is a difference between treating everyone as equals, and their being equal.

So, under NON-RACISM AND NON-SEXISM, the document asserts that for these values to have any meaning, black students and female students have to be afforded the same opportunities to free their potential as white students and male students.

OF UBUNTU (HUMAN DIGNITY), the Manifesto argues that while equality requires us to put up with people who are different, and non-sexism and non-racism require us to rectify the inequities of the past, ubuntu embodies the concept of mutual understanding and the active appreciation of the value of human difference.

Sustaining AN OPEN SOCIETY, the document argues, is critical to democracy. The virtue of debate, discussion and critical thought rests on the understanding that a society that knows how to talk and how to listen does not need to resort to violence.
ACCOUNTABILITY (RESPONSIBILITY) is the essential democratic responsibility of holding the powerful to account. It is part and parcel of granting power in the first place, and a reminder that there can be no rights without responsibilities.

So it is with the RULE OF LAW. Without commonly accepted codes, the notion of accountability would lose meaning, and the light of the open society would begin to dim: the rule of law is as fundamental to the constitutional state as adherence to the Constitution itself.

The manifesto highlights RESPECT as a constitutional value, though it is not explicitly defined in the Constitution. But respect is an essential precondition for communication, for teamwork, for productivity, in schools as much as anywhere else.

Finally, the Manifesto cites RECONCILIATION as a key value, asserting that healing, and reconciling past differences, remains a difficult challenge in South Africa. More than merely being a question of saying sorry, it requires redress in other, even material, ways, too.

EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES

The Educational Strategies are predicated on the notion that values cannot be legislated. Instead, the Manifesto offers ways to promote the values of the Constitution through the educational system. They are applicable to all within education, from departmental officials, politicians and parents to educators, community members, private sector business-people and learners.

Building consensus and understanding difference through dialogue is at the heart of NURTURING A CULTURE OF COMMUNICATION AND PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOLS. It calls not only for dialogue, but the space for safe expression. Nurturing a culture of communication and participation in schools means opening up channels of dialogue between parents, educators, learners and officials: such a culture will produce confident, inquiring and empowered citizens.

Teachers and administrators must recognise their responsibility in setting an example. ROLE-MODELLING: PROMOTING COMMITMENT AS WELL AS COMPETENCE AMONG EDUCATORS emphasises that competence is meaningless if there is no commitment, and that it is vital for teachers to demonstrate the values they are meant to uphold.

ENSURING THAT EVERY SOUTH AFRICAN IS ABLE TO READ, WRITE, COUNT AND THINK is the nub of education. There are critical deficiencies at many South African schools. The challenge is that without the ability to read, write, count and think, it is impossible to participate effectively in democracy and in society, and it is therefore impossible to internalise and to live out the values of the Constitution.

ENSURING EQUAL ACCESS TO EDUCATION is a pressing challenge in a country burdened by the deliberate inequities of the past. Freeing the poor from the trap of poverty depends on it. Celebrated, but also much misunderstood, is the concept of human rights. INFUSING THE CLASSROOM WITH A CULTURE OF HUMAN RIGHTS is an imperative. Ironically, a survey has shown that no less than 78,4% of educators believe "the government puts too much emphasis on human rights, which leads to problems in our classroom". The challenge is to show that the path towards good citizenship, and effective education, is precisely founded in human rights, not any form of totalitarianism masquerading as moral regeneration.

MAKING ARTS AND CULTURE PART OF THE CURRICULUM is an empowering initiative to give young people the means to express themselves creatively, through music, drama, dance and visual art, when language alone proves itself incapable: in an environment where children are often learning in second or even third languages, the expressive force of art and performance transcends the limitations. Performance, as intellectual and writer Edward Said tellingly described it, offers "a non-coercive and voluntary model for submitting oneself to the ensemble". Such a model provides a way for the values of equality, non-racism, non-sexism, ubuntu, openness, reconciliation and respect to be instilled in young people.

PUTTING HISTORY BACK INTO THE CURRICULUM is a means of nurturing critical inquiry and forming an historical consciousness. A critical knowledge of history, it argues, is essential in building the dignity of human values within an informed awareness of the past, preventing amnesia, checking triumphalism, opposing a manipulative or instrumental use of the past, and providing a buffer against the "dumbing down" of the citizenry.
INTRODUCING RELIGION EDUCATION INTO SCHOOLS provides the scope for learners to explore the diversity of religions that impel and inspire society, and the morality and values that underpin them. In this way, religion education can reaffirm the values of diversity, tolerance, respect, justice, compassion and commitment in young South Africans.

Listening and hearing one another, truly, can only happen by MAKING MULTILINGUALISM HAPPEN. The imperatives for entrenching multilingualism in South African society are pedagogical as well as constitutional: research has shown, overwhelmingly, that students acquire knowledge far more efficiently when they study in their mother tongue - especially in the early years. This strategy seeks to offer practical ways to make it work in a world it recognises as being dominated by English.

USING SPORT TO SHAPE SOCIAL BONDS AND NURTURE NATION BUILDING AT SCHOOLS is founded on the potential of sport to transcend language and culture and achieve cohesion, promote tolerance and trust and affirm respect between individuals and communities arbitrarily kept apart in the past.

Many schools have desegregated since 1994, but there remains much to be done in PROMOTING ANTI-RACISM IN SCHOOLS. The vast majority of black South African children still go to schools that remain wholly segregated and under-resourced: they are being discriminated against primarily on the basis of their race. In other senses, racism in schools can be as brutal as a physical attack, or as subtle (though no less damaging) as a zealous attempt to "civilise" black children into "white" ways of being, turning them against their own culture by devaluing it.

Countering patterns of social behaviour and opportunity that favour boys and men depends on FREEING THE POTENTIAL OF GIRLS AS WELL AS BOYS. Sexual harassment is a pernicious inhibitor in this regard.

As the age at which young people are experiencing their first intimate relations falls steadily, DEALING WITH HIV/AIDS AND NURTURING A CULTURE OF SEXUAL AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY requires very serious attention indeed. In March 2001, the government reported that an estimated 4.7 million South Africans were infected with HIV. And it is estimated that three quarters of all new HIV infections occur among those between 15 and 25 years old.

Schools could influence children's ideas about sex and relationships even before the onset of intimate encounters, and play a unique role in changing the course of the epidemic - and in imparting the fundamental values of our Constitution.

Being safe and secure at school is essential to learning and teaching. For too many learners and educators, MAKING SCHOOLS SAFE in which TO LEARN AND TEACH, AND ENSURING THE RULE OF LAW IN SCHOOLS, is a desperate challenge.

The truth is, no matter how high the fences are or how sophisticated the security system, a school and its community are indivisible, and unless a school sees itself as part of its community and engages in the broader fight against crime it will not be safe itself. Equally, reinstituting authoritarian structures does not restore the rule of law: this is achieved by building a system owned by all, where lines of accountability and authority are clear, where discipline is fair, just and proportionate, and where there is a sense of common purpose.

Ethics and the ENVIRONMENT is about valuing our natural resources, assets and heritage in a manner that sustains lives and makes it possible for us to live decently now and in the future.

Finally, NURTURING THE NEW PATRIOTISM, OR AFFIRMING OUR COMMON CITIZENSHIP is about making the distinction between the arrogance of jingoism and the pride of patriotism. Through a shared sense of pride in commonly held values - and in the symbols of those commonly held values - a common identity is forged, and a loyalty to this common identity is established.

This New Patriotism is forged through an allegiance to the constitutional values of democracy, equality, social justice, non-sexism, non-racism, accountability, openness, ubuntu, respect, reconciliation and the rule of law; through cherishing the values on which our society is built - the values of openness, discussion, debate, dialogue, and the acknowledgement of difference.

Professor Wilmot James
(Formerly) Chairman of the Working Group on Values in Education
Introduction

THE VALUES IN EDUCATION INITIATIVE

In classrooms and lecture halls throughout the country, young South Africans are embarked on forging their destinies, aspirant individuals, for the most part, full of expectation, and impelled by hopes and dreams. In this, they are also forging the citizenship of tomorrow, the common destiny of the South Africa to be.

It's a formative experience whose importance cannot be underscored too deeply; the ways of doing things and the values on which they rest are established, reinforced, refined and confirmed in the priceless hours of school and student life.

It was in a climate of anxiety about the need for moral regeneration, and the re-norming of society, that the Working Group on Values in Education presented its document "as a starting point in what ought to become a national debate on the appropriate values for South Africa to embrace in its primary and secondary educational institutions".2 And it set out six qualities our schooling system should actively promote.3 These were Equity, Tolerance, Multilingualism, Openness, Accountability and Social Honour.

As a framing quality, the one that would provide the context for all the others, "Equity" required an understanding that equality of opportunity for all South Africans, regardless of their race, gender, class or geographical location, must be at the core of the value system in education. Sustaining equity would require "Tolerance", a value to be achieved "by deepening our understanding of the origins, evolution and achievements of humanity on the one hand, and through the exploration of that which is common and diverse in our cultural heritage on the other."4

Concrete proposals to emerge from this intention were that the creative arts, the boundless language of all humanity, be encouraged and supported as "potentially powerful instruments of promoting tolerance through exposure to, and a sharing of, diverse cultural traditions and experience,"5 and that, "because the teaching of history is central to the promotion of all human values, including that of tolerance"6 , a panel of historians be appointed to place history-teaching, and the interrogation of the truths of memory, at the core of the curriculum. From this arose the appointment of a Panel on History and Archaeology under Professor Njabulo Ndebele, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town, whose report, published in late 20007, is the foundation for reaffirming history in the school curriculum.

The fact of South Africa's confounding multiplicity of languages has been and will continue to be the subject of debate, controversy, even contest. "Multilingualism", whether implemented or not, is official government policy, and the Working Group reasserted it as a desirable norm in education. It emphasised two elements: the importance of studying through" mother tongue education; and the "fostering of multilingualism"8. Each province, it proposed, should teach at least three official languages, and English and Afrikaans-speakers specifically should learn an African language.

Beyond self-expression and the virtue of equipping South Africans to understand one another in the languages that are truly their own, the Working Group conceived of "Openness" as a complementary value in the sphere of dialogue and engagement with the world. Openness was "about the asking of penetrating questions and the willingness to debate ideas in order to arrive at quality conclusions"9. Achieving this would depend on promoting a stronger culture of reading and debate, as well as encouraging the use of libraries and interaction with information technology, the internet, and the global stream of ideas and stimuli. Intending to signal a shift from the rigid patterns of the past, the value of "Accountability" was suggested as a way of recasting the nature of schools from places of authoritarian discipline to institutions of orderly child-centred learning. This value offered the opportunity of highlighting the importance of teachers as role models, and school governing bodies as "legitimate and working institution(s)" of civil society.10 Schools could and should, for instance, create and use codes of conduct as a demonstrable commitment to practising accountability.

Finally, the value of "Social Honour" was proposed as a key element of citizenship-in-the-making, not a jingoistic patriotism, nor a slavish subservience, but "a sense of honour and identity as South Africans" where individuals are comfortable with both a local or cultural identity and a national South African one"11. Inculcating such a sense of nationhood, the Working Group suggested, could be achieved by the singing of the national anthem, displaying the national flag, and saying out loud an oath of allegiance. A draft text was offered as a basis for debate on the kind of oath of allegiance young South Africans should be encouraged to "own".12
These, then, are the six qualities in outline.

The Working Group's report was published and distributed widely for the purposes of public comment. Broadly, the response comprised published critiques and commentary in the media and in academic and educational journals; direct responses to the Ministry by individuals and organisations; extensive school-based research conducted on behalf of the Department of Education; and, finally, contributions to the national conference, Saamtrek: Values, Education and Democracy in the 21st Century, held in Cape Town in February 2001.

Drawing on this considerable body of opinion and insight, and the informed exchanges in a year-long national debate, the Ministry of Education drafted this Manifesto.

WHAT IS THE MANIFESTO ON EDUCATION AND VALUES, AND WHO IS IT FOR?

At heart, this Manifesto is for young South Africans, the succession of citizens who are the country's future. But its reach is more extensive in that it is for all those engaged in any way in education: educators, administrators, community leaders, parents, officials, and, of course, learners themselves.

What it seeks to do is to draw this large and disparate community into the values project, suggesting an approach for every part of the education sector, from the smallest school up to the National Department of Education; from civil society through to government; from teachers and communities through to officials and politicians.

In this way, it provides a practical framework for instilling and reinforcing the culture of communication and participation that the Values in Education Initiative identified as a critical step in nurturing a sense of the democratic values of the Constitution in young South Africans.

Fittingly, for a document that is about the quest for meaning, the Manifesto begins by asking two pertinent questions: "Why Values? Why Now?"

This examination of the context of our present and our past is followed by a discussion of the ten fundamental values of the Constitution, and their relevance to education. The ideals and concepts of Democracy, Social Justice, Equality, Non-racism and Non-sexism, Ubuntu (Human Dignity), An Open Society, Accountability (Responsibility), The Rule of Law, Respect, and Reconciliation are explored in a way that suggests how the Constitution can be taught, as part of the curriculum, and brought to life in the classroom, as well as applied practically in programmes and policy making by educators, administrators, governing bodies and officials.

The Manifesto outlines sixteen strategies for instilling democratic values in young South Africans in the learning environment.

The first two strategies deal with making schools work better: nurturing a culture of communication and participation; promoting commitment as well as competence among educators.

The next set of strategies focuses on the curriculum, the primary means of instilling knowledge, skills and values in young people: infusing the classroom with the culture of human rights; making arts and culture part of the curriculum; putting history back in the curriculum; teaching religion education; and making multilingualism happen.

Using sport to shape social bonds and nation building at schools is the next strategy.

A sense of equity, social justice and equality in schools is the thematic thread linking the next set of strategies: ensuring equal access to education, promoting anti-racism, and freeing the potential of girls as well as boys. Rights, as is so often noted, do not exist without responsibility. This is the thrust of the last cluster of strategies: dealing with HIV/AIDS and nurturing a culture of sexual and social responsibility, making schools safe to learn and teach in and bringing back the rule of law to schools; and, finally, nurturing the new patriotism.
Each strategy is accompanied by various remarks about education sector initiatives. They are not necessarily comprehensive. Although the ultimate goal is for values to be diffused throughout the education sector, these strategies concentrate primarily on schools.

They should also, as with Tirisano, serve as guidelines for developing priorities through precisely the process of discussion and communication that is at the core of the "Values in Education" approach. But this is just the beginning: each school, district, educational institution and community should devise its own particular action plan for each of the sixteen strategies, using our remarks (in boxes) as guidelines and adapting them to their particular circumstances, once more through participation, debate and discussion among all those involved.

The objective - though it is really the start of a new journey - is that every single institution in the country will have a Values Statement and a Values Action-Plan, and a shared commitment to them. This, then, is for the millions who will make the future.

WHY VALUES? WHY NOW?

Apartheid had one good thing. It kept us together. We had a common enemy to fight. We helped each other. When the common enemy went we were suddenly left alone and [now we] can't find the same powerful thing to hold us together. Each one for himself. And this has ruined a sense of community.

Teacher, Mamelodi
Yizo-Yizo focus group17

For the past seven years, South Africans have been engaged in a new struggle, not a contest of political opposites so much as a striving for a unity of purpose, creating bonds where before there were fractures, and easing the tension of past conflicts. These goals are encapsulated in the values enshrined in the Constitution and in the Bill of Rights, as inspiring a beacon as any divided people could wish for. Yet, in many ways, this new struggle has been no less daunting than the old, bitter contest of the past.

Nowhere has the challenge been more pronounced than in education, the schools and colleges and other institutions that, collectively, are the nursery of values. Indeed, the devastating assessment by the teacher in Mamelodi shows that we have a long way to go, that with apartheid gone, and the fight against that common enemy over, the community has lost its sense of common purpose.

Nelson Mandela reminded South Africans in his opening address at the Saamtrek conference in Cape Town in February 2001 that we could not take the values enshrined in the Constitution for granted: "We cannot assume that because we conducted our struggle on the foundations of those values, continued adherence to them is automatic in the changed circumstances. Adults have to be reminded of their importance and children must acquire them in our homes, schools and churches. Simply, it is about our younger generation making values a part of themselves, in their innermost being."18

Let us be frank. Whether we are teachers, parents, officials or students, we have not succeeded in making the values enshrined in the Constitution a part of ourselves:

I How can we talk of everyone having the right to basic education in our schools when so many teachers don't show up to teach and so many learners don't show up to learn?
I How can we speak of the right to personal security in an environment where learners and educators abuse each other verbally, physically and even sexually?

I How can we speak of a right to dignity when so many educators find themselves criticised and reviled by the communities in which they work, and held responsible for impossible conditions which are entirely beyond their control?

I How can we speak of a right to freedom and security of the person when going to school often means running the gauntlet of guns, drugs and criminality?

I How can we speak of a right to freedom of expression when dialogue and discussion are not only discouraged but often censured in schools?
I What does it mean to say, "everyone has the right to choose their profession freely" when the
dysfunctionality of much of our education system often precludes such choice?

I How can we speak about the right to use the language of one's choice when children are still compelled to
learn in a language that they - and often their teachers, too - do not understand?

Perhaps we have lost touch with the fundamental values that not only underpin but actually drive our new
and still-fragile democracy. Perhaps we have allowed ourselves to become buried in an avalanche of policies,
programmes, priorities, and personal agendas, and have forgotten what the core goal of education is: to
"free the potential", as the Constitution puts it so beautifully, of all young South Africans by imparting to
them the knowledge, skills and values that will make them effective, productive and responsible citizens.

It is worth recalling that values - formulating them and propagating them - have been at the very centre of
the transformation of education since the passage to democracy in 1994. The National Education Policy Act
of 1996, which set the stage for transformation in the sector, committed the state to "enabling the education
system to contribute to the full personal development of each student, and to the moral, social, cultural,
political and economic development of the nation at large, including the advancement of democracy, human
rights and the peaceful resolution of rights."19

The South African Schools Act of the same year committed this country to an educational system that would
not only "redress past injustices in educational provision" and "contribute to the eradication of poverty and
the economic well-being of society", but would also "advance the democratic transformation of society,
combat racism and sexism and all other forms of unfair discrimination and intolerance, [and] protect and
advance our diverse cultures and languages."20

The new outcomes-based curriculum commits us to instilling in learners "knowledge, skills and values", and
the Curriculum 2005 Review Committee emphasised that at the very heart of the curriculum lie "the values
of a society striving towards social justice, equity and development through the development of creative,
critical and problem-solving individuals."21. The critical outcomes of the National Qualifications Framework
(NQF) require students to "show responsibility toward the environment and the health of others",
"demonstrate an understanding of the world as a set of related systems", and show awareness of the
importance of, among other things, "responsible citizenship" and "cultural sensitivity".22 The "Code of
Conduct" of the South African Council of Educators - a statutory body - defines an educator as one who
"strives to enable learners to develop a set of values consistent with those upheld in the Constitution of South Africa."23

All this is very well, but how do we teach values? How do we translate good legislative intentions into a
genuine, shared sense of meaning?

Values, as Asmal told the Saamtrek conference, "cannot simply be asserted". "They must be put on the
table," he argued, "be debated, be negotiated, be synthesised, be modified, be earned. And this process,
this dialogue is in and of itself a value - perhaps a South African value - to be cherished."
What better way, he asked, "to teach this value than to teach the history of our negotiated settlement? And
to teach that out of this negotiated settlement come the documents that form the foundation of our new,
democratic value system - our Constitution and our Bill of Rights. Our values derive from these documents,
and they are values we moulded, together, from our different heritages, our different positions in society.
We cannot treat them as an afterthought - they should govern our lives and our relationships. They
encapsulate what South Africans have desired for generations - a non-racial, non-sexist society based on
equality, freedom and democracy."24

"If," Asmal concluded, "we are to live our Constitution and our Bill of Rights in our everyday life rather than
just hear it interpreted for us, we have to distil out of it a set of values that are as comprehensible and
meaningful to Grade Ones and Grade Twos as they are to the elders of the
Constitutional Court."25

It is clear, then, that if values are to be "taught" in such a manner that they are absorbed, lived, by young
South Africans, it will not be by imposition. The purpose of this process is not to drum a series of "values"
into children's heads in the style of the Christian Nationalist schooling of the apartheid years. We have
learned, from the past, the dangers of legislating a value system and turning it into an ideology. This
process is, rather, to generate discussion and debate, and to acknowledge that discussion and debate are
values in themselves, "defining values", as Asmal expressed it, that are at the core of our South African identity.


His is an iconic status we should not take lightly. We should also remember, and cherish, the observation of the writer and intellectual Edward Said, who reminded the Saamtrek conference that, to outsiders, South Africa "really is a light unto the nations" for "having come through the liberation struggle into a new society". 26 We are the global benchmark for dialogue, for crafting a condition of freedom and equality from a conflict that seemed fatally irreconcilable, for talking ourselves out of the dead end of despair.

As Nelson Mandela himself has said: "Our capacity to rise above our differences, discuss and settle conflicts of interest, and peacefully establish a democratic system on the fragile reed of the well-known and extraordinary inequality between our people, captured the imagination of the world. We were admired for having social qualities that took us out of and beyond apartheid. This approach to nation building was not only reflected in the conduct of individuals and national leadership but also in the institutions which we created." 27

If we take pride in the values that led us to this, we will come, naturally, to what President Thabo Mbeki calls "The New Patriotism", to what Asmal has described as "the glue that will hold us together". This is a compound, an agent so powerful that it will not only revive the sense of unity that that teacher from Mamelodi felt had vanished, but will weld her community of Mamelodi into the larger, national fraternity of South Africans - not in battle against a common enemy, but in the quest for a common destiny.

VALUES AND MORALITY

The one thing that transcends language, or the outward expressions of culture, our physical appearance, our age or sex or belief, is the values that we cherish and live by, values that give meaning to our individual and social relationships, even our solitary spiritual journeys and our intellectual and imaginative excursions.

They are, as Barney Pityana, chair of the South African Human Rights Commission, told the Saamtrek conference, the "common currency that help make life more meaningful than it might otherwise have been". 28

Values, he said, were "more than desirable characteristics. They are essential for life, the normative principles that ensure ease of life lived in common."

In this, values intertwine with morality, a relationship explored at the Saamtrek conference by Albert Nolan, who drew on writer Lawrence Kohlberg's definition of the levels and stages of moral development in the typical person:

1 The first level of morality is about obeying laws to avoid punishment and gain reward.

1 The second level of morality is about doing one's duty out of a sense of conscience and group identity.

1 The third and final level of morality is about "a conscious choice of values based upon one's consciousness of who one is and what life is about. Values have been internalised and a sense of duty has been replaced by a sense of personal responsibility." Nolan observed that while "a government must of course make laws and impose them in order to protect the rest of society from those with asocial and criminal tendencies, this is not how you educate people in the spontaneous adoption of moral values. This requires a change of consciousness - something which education can do. What education strives to do, then, or what the educational institution should be trying to do, is to take learners forward to higher levels of moral judgement." 29

VALUES AND THE MARKET

The real difficulty is that people have no idea of what education truly is. We assess the value of education in the same manner as we assess the value of land or of shares in the stock-exchange market. We want to
provide only such education as would enable the student to earn more. We hardly give any thought to the improvement of character of the educated " As long as such ideas persist there is no hope of our ever knowing the true value of education. Mahatma Gandhi30

The true value of education underlies the argument presented by Asmal and James who write that while "a reformed curriculum must place a greater stress on mathematics, science and technology" we must guard against a mechanistic and narrow form of education, geared only towards market requirements. We would argue that students ought to receive a well-rounded education in the humanities as well as in the sciences. The effective citizen is someone who knows his or her country's history, arts, literature, and not just mathematics and science. It is a question of finding the right balance."31

These are sentiments reaffirmed in the Working Group's report, Values, Education and Democracy. It states plainly that "an education system does not exist to simply serve a market, important as that may be for economic growth and material prosperity. Its primary purpose must be to enrich the individual, and by extension then, the broader society."32

The Department of Education has recommended that the General Education and Training Certificate, to be issued after nine years of compulsory education, will have as its core purpose the equipping of "learners with knowledge, skills and values that will enable meaningful participation in society as well as continuing learning in further education and training and providing a firm foundation for the assumption of a productive and responsible role in the workplace".33

It must be noted that being educated for "meaningful participation in society" means being educated for the marketplace as much as for good citizenship and that, indeed, productivity and responsibility are interdependent. Accepting that the education sector has a role to play in the generation of values and therefore the exercise of moral judgement means accepting that we educate young people not only for the market but for good citizenship, too.
SECTION ONE
CONSTITUTIONAL VALUES
ROOTING OUR VALUES IN THE CONSTITUTION
In his famous 1995 judgement reaffirming the abolition of the death penalty, the late Chief Justice Ismail Mahomed - a member of the Constitutional Court - wrote: "All Constitutions seek to articulate, with differing degrees of intensity and detail, the shared aspirations of a nation; the values which bind its people and which discipline its government and its national institutions; the basic premises upon which judicial, legislative and executive power is to be wielded; the constitutional limits and the conditions upon which that power is to be exercised; the national ethos which defines and regulates that exercise; and the moral and ethical direction which the nation has identified for its future." 34

In an elaboration on this learned exposition, Constitutional Court Justice Kate O'Regan sketched for delegates at the Saamtrek conference her own conception of the Constitution as "a bright and shining vision of a different society based on equity, justice and freedom for all". But, rather than being a "description of our society as it exists", it was a document "that compels transformation". The Constitution, she said, "recognises that for its vision to be attained the deep patterns of inequality which scar our society and which are the legacy of apartheid and colonialism need urgently to be addressed."

"Nowhere," she added, "are these scars more marked or more painful than in the educational sector."

It was clear, then, that the Constitution "is a call to action to all South Africans to seek to build a just and free democratic society in which the potential of each person is freed. The importance of meeting this call is therefore of particular importance to educators." 35

It is precisely the idea of the Constitution as a "call to action" that motivates this Manifesto.

What, then, are the values, entrenched in our Constitution, the values that "compel transformation"?

We have identified ten: Democracy, Social Justice and Equity, Equality, Non-racism and Non-sexism, Ubuntu (Human Dignity), An Open Society, Accountability, The Rule of Law, Respect, and Reconciliation.

THE TEN FUNDAMENTAL VALUES OF OUR CONSTITUTION AND THEIR RELEVANCE IN EDUCATION
1. Democracy

More than merely adult enfranchisement, or an expression of popular sentiment, democracy is at heart a society's means to engage critically with itself. But critical engagement is not an automatic consequence of democratic institutions.

The Constitution commits us to the establishment of a society based on "democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights", and defines South Africa as a "sovereign, democratic state" founded upon the value of "universal adult suffrage, a national common voters roll, regular elections and a multi-party system of government." 36 In this, it means that government is based on "the will of the people"; that we are responsible for our own destinies since, through the electoral process, we run our country and our public institutions. This is an inalienable right, but a demanding one that carries immense responsibility. On their own, the Constitution and the country's democratic institutions offer no guarantee that we will match this responsibility. Education is the key because it empowers us to exercise our democratic rights, and shape our destiny, by giving us the tools to participate in public life, to think critically, and to act responsibly.

2. Social Justice and Equity

Emancipation of the mind and spirit is a noble achievement, but without freedom from the material straits of poverty, liberty is essentially unfulfilled. And without the implementation of social justice to correct the injustices of the past, reconciliation will be impossible to achieve.

So, while the Constitution grants inalienable rights to freedom of expression and choice, it also establishes as a right the access to adequate housing, health-care services, sufficient food and water, social security, and, of course, a basic education. Children, specifically, enjoy the inalienable right "to basic nutrition, shelter, basic health-care services and social services", and "to be protected from maltreatment, neglect, abuse or degradation". 37 These rights apply to everyone under the age of eighteen - and that means the
majority of learners in our schools. The social justice clauses in the Constitution have profound implications for education because they commit the state to ensuring that all South Africans have equal access to schooling - and that they have access to such schooling in their mother tongue if they so desire.

3. Equality

One of the greatest challenges in making fair law is ensuring that it is fairly applied. The goal of providing all South Africans with access to schooling goes hand in hand with making sure such access is equal.

The Constitution is unequivocal on equality, stating that "everyone is equal before the law" and may not be unfairly discriminated against on the basis of "race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth."38 The implications of what is known as the "Equality Clause" on schooling have been spelt out in the South African Schools Act of 1998: all children must obtain equal education, and the state must strive towards giving all students - whether they are in suburban schools, township schools or farm schools - the same access to resources and to personnel, and the same opportunities to realise their fullest potential. No child may be denied access to education because of an inability to pay.

But the "Equality Clause" does not govern only the state's relationship with its citizens; it governs our relationships with each other, too. Just as the state may not discriminate against any of us, so we may not discriminate against each other. Understanding the value of equality and the practice of non-discrimination means not only understanding that you have these rights, as an educator or as a learner, but that others have them as well. It is out of the Equality Clause in the Constitution that the values of tolerance and respect for others stem. It is also because of the Equality Clause that we value linguistic diversity, for we may not discriminate against each other on the basis of language. This means, ideally, that we need to be able not only to provide education to all South Africans in their mother tongue, but to learn one another's languages so that we can communicate as equals.

4. Non-Racism and Non-Sexism

The history of humanity's march to liberty shows there is a significant difference between treating everyone as equals, and their being equal. This is the essence of the Constitution's emphasis on the value of "non-racialism and non-sexism".39 It outlines the challenge as being to strive towards practices that treat everybody as equal - and that work, specifically, towards redressing the imbalances of the past where people were oppressed or devalued because of their race or their gender. It is out of this value that the policies of affirmative action flow.

Practising the values of non-racialism and non-sexism in education means not only making sure that previously disadvantaged students get equal access to education, but also that black students and teachers attain equality with their white peers, and that girls at school attain equality with boys. Non-sexism also means, specifically, that female teachers and students are not victims of sexual abuse or harassment in schools, and that as female students they are not discouraged from completing their schooling because of abuse, harassment or pregnancy.

For the values of non-racialism and non-sexism to be applied effectively, all places of learning have to be safe for students and teachers, and all places of learning have to be safe for female students and teachers. And for these values to have any meaning, black students and female students have to be afforded the same opportunities to free their potential as white students and male students.

5. Ubuntu (Human Dignity)

Out of the political tumult of the early 1990s, the peacemakers and negotiators creating the framework of the free state to be extracted a vital sentiment that would become part of the defining vision of the democracy that would emerge at the conclusion of their work. That sentiment - contained in the postscript of the Interim Constitution of 1993, which framed the values to which the final Constitution had to adhere - was this:

there was a need in South Africa "for understanding but not for vengeance, a need for reparation but not for retaliation, a need for ubuntu but not for victimisation".40
In the final Constitution, the drafters applied the notion of ubuntu by asserting that the South African state was founded, before anything else, upon the value of "Human Dignity". Ubuntu has a particularly important place in our value system for it derives specifically from African mores: "I am human because you are human."

Out of the values of ubuntu and human dignity flow the practices of compassion, kindness, altruism and respect which are at the very core of making schools places where the culture of teaching and the culture of learning thrive; of making them dynamic hubs of industry and achievement rather than places of conflict and pain.

Equality might require us to put up with people who are different, non-sexism and non-racism might require us to rectify the inequities of the past, but ubuntu goes much further: it embodies the concept of mutual understanding and the active appreciation of the value of human difference. It requires you to know others if you are to know yourself, and if you are to understand your place - and others' - within a multicultural environment. Ultimately, ubuntu requires you to respect others if you are to respect yourself.

6. An Open Society

In the dark, unlit spaces of history are to be found the horrors of abuse, by governments, by tyrants, perpetrated under the conditions of secrecy and fear which have rendered societies powerless. Such abuse is inimical to an open society, where power is vested in the will of all the people, and fear has no place.

The South African Constitution, as the supreme law, lays the "foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people". In this sense, democracy and openness are interchangeable and interdependent values, and the Constitution itself is the route to an open society: we have the right to "freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief and opinion"; we have the right to "freedom of expression", to "freedom of the press", to "freedom of artistic creativity", to "academic freedom and freedom of scientific research", to "freedom of assembly", and to "freedom of association".

But as with all the values contained in the Constitution, our rights come with certain responsibilities: we may not exercise our rights to openness if they have the intention of inciting violence, propagandising war, or advocating hatred based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion. The value of openness is at the core of the South African educational curriculum, which cherishes debate, discussion and critical thought, for it is understood that a society that knows how to talk and how to listen does not need to resort to violence.

Being a democrat in an open society means being a participant rather than an observer: it means talking and listening and assessing all the time. It means being empowered to read and to think, it means being given the opportunity to create artistically. It means being given access to as wide a range of information as possible through as wide a range of media as possible - and also being given the tools to process this information critically and intelligently.

It means, most of all, encouraging a culture of dialogue and debate that is often absent or discouraged in our schools; a culture of discussion out of which values and priorities are perpetually being evaluated and reassessed.

7. Accountability (Responsibility)

If voting is the right of citizens to grant power, the need to hold the powerful to accountis the responsibility that gives that right meaning.

The provision of democratic tools in the Constitution, such as the vote, is to confirm and reinforce the values of "accountability, responsiveness and openness". More specifically, the Constitution says that public administration - which includes the public school system - must be governed by the values and principles of professionalism, efficiency, equity, transparency, representivity and accountability.

One of the reasons why education is such a hotly debated feature of social policy is that everyone in society holds a stake in it, in one way or another: places of learning will only survive - let alone prosper - if communities take responsibility for them. "Accountability" in the education system means institutionalising this responsibility according to codes of conduct and the meeting of formal expectations: children and young
adults are the responsibility, within school hours, of teachers, who are in turn accountable to school governing bodies and the educational authorities, which are accountable to the broader community and to the citizens of the democratic society.

"Accountability" means ensuring that all school governing bodies - at suburban schools, township schools and farm schools - become legitimate and working institutions of civil society, irrespective of their individual capacities and resources. But "accountability" means, more than anything else, that we are all responsible for the advancement of our nation through education and through our schools and that we are all responsible, too, to others in our society, for our individual behaviour. There can be no rights without responsibilities - whether as parents, administrators, educators or learners.

8. The Rule of Law

Without commonly accepted codes, the notion of accountability would lose meaning, and the light of the open society would begin to dim: the rule of law is as fundamental to the constitutional state as adherence to the Constitution itself.

As a state, South Africa is founded on the value of "the supremacy of the Constitution and the rule of law". This means, literally, that the law is supreme; that there is a consensus of rules and regulations we must obey - and that we understand that if we do not, we are breaking the law of the land, and that the State is thus entitled to punish us.

Within schools, the rule of law is the guarantor of accountability, for it holds us all to a common code of appropriate behaviour - not just because we know we should, but because we understand that if we don't, we will be disciplined by those to whom we are accountable.

All participants within the education system are subject to the law of the land. Administrators may not defraud school budgets for personal gain, teachers may not physically or sexually abuse their students, learners may not carry illegal weapons, possess illegal narcotics, trash school property and intimidate teachers. Non-violence might be a value that flows out of the constitutional principles of ubuntu, equality and openness, but it is also one that is upheld by the rule of law.

Places of learning also have their own internal rules of law - the codes of conduct for educators and learners that must be adhered to. The custodians of the rule of law at a place of learning are the authorities, and they are required to apply it even-handedly, fairly and proportionately - for if they do not, then they, too, are in contravention of the rule of law.

9. Respect

In the great contest of ideas that best symbolises enlightened humanity, respect in addition to intelligence or wit is probably the essential quality. As a value, "respect" is not explicitly defined in the Constitution, but it is implicit in the way the Bill of Rights governs not just the State's relationship with citizens, but citizens' relationships with each other: how can I respect you if you do not respect me?

School-based research on values and education conducted for the Department of Education shows that the two values people feel are most lacking in schools are respect and dialogue. Respect is an essential precondition for communication, for teamwork, for productivity. Schools cannot function if there is not mutual respect between educators and parents; learning cannot happen if there is not mutual respect between educators and learners. In some of the most important international declarations that South Africa has ratified - they are therefore legally binding on our country - we have committed ourselves to the values of respect and responsibility.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms".

The Convention of the Rights of the Child goes further: it calls for education to be directed to strengthening "the development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilisations different from his or her own". Education must also direct itself to "the preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance,
equality of sex, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin”.46

10. Reconciliation

Healing, and reconciling past differences, remains a difficult challenge in South Africa. More than merely being a question of saying sorry, it requires redress in other, even material, ways, too. These include social justice. But few doubt that a stable, dignified, esteemed future depends on it. This is just as the drafters of the Interim Constitution saw it when they prescribed that “the pursuit of national unity, the well-being of all South African citizens, and peace” be based on “reconciliation between the people of South Africa and the reconstruction of society”.47

The Constitution itself calls upon us to “heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights”.48 It is a conception that is bound up in South Africa’s official motto, “!ke e: /xarra //ke” - which means “Unity in Diversity”. It means accepting each other through learning about interacting with each other - and through the study of how we have interacted with each other in the past. Reconciliation values difference and diversity as the basis for unity; it means accepting that South Africa is made up of people and communities with very different cultures and traditions, and with very different experiences of what it means to be South African, experiences which have often been violent and conflictual.

Reconciliation is impossible without the acknowledgement and understanding of this complex, difficult but rich history. The conditions of peace, of well-being and of unity - adhering to a common identity, a common notion of South-Africanness - flow naturally from the value of reconciliation. But, as the postscript of the Interim Constitution makes clear, they also stem from active engagement in the “reconstruction of society”, for, as President Mbeki has often said, there can be no reconciliation without transformation.

In this way, the value of reconciliation is inextricably woven into the value of equality.
SECTION TWO EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES  Values cannot be legislated
SECTION TWO A

EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES

Values cannot be legislated. If they were imposed, they would remain rootless, and lifeless. Vital, durable values grow from dialogue and discussion and lived experience.

For this reason, it would be inappropriate and counterproductive to set out policies to be carried out by the authorities on behalf of the people of South Africa.

What we present here, instead, are sixteen key strategies or approaches for seeding the values of the Constitution in young South Africans, through the educational system, in the belief that they will germinate in time, become rooted, and flourish.

These are strategies to which we all can commit ourselves - whether we are departmental officials, politicians, parents, educators, community members, private sector business-people or learners.

They are strategies which can work only if they are conducted in partnership between government and civil society.

A Researcher Shares her Experiences, Talking to Educators about Values49

It was at the end of one of the three-hour workshops with educators. The group had started the workshop reticent, each explaining why they would have to leave early. By the end of the workshop everyone was still participating, and extending the workshop with further questions. As a facilitator I thought I would ask about their approach toward critical-thinking skills among learners. They did not understand what I meant by critical thinking - they wanted an example.

I said, "OK, let's say that you are explaining something in class, and a learner raises her hand and challenges your way of thinking about that concept. She has another way of thinking about it. How do you respond?"

There was quietness. An otherwise animated and at ease group stared at their hands. I waited. Finally, one educator hesitantly spoke. "I can't remember the last time a student asked a question in my class." I was unclear.

I said, "Do you mean you can't remember when a child asked a critical question in your class?"
"No, any question."
"You mean if you are teaching something - let's say long division - learners do not even ask questions of clarity?"
"No." The rest of the teachers nodded in agreement.
"Do all of you have the same experience?" They all shook their heads.
"How do you do it then - how do you know that learners are listening, let alone learning?"

Another teacher raised his head. "We know. We know that they are not."
Another teacher added, "There is one child who listens in my class." She mentions her name.
Other teachers shake their heads and agree that, yes, she is the one who listens.
"So you mean you have the painful task of getting up in the morning, facing the most difficult task of being a teacher, wanting to make a difference in a child's life, and knowing that no one is listening?"
Slowly others raised their heads, many of them nodding yes.
There was some silence.

One older teacher starts, "You see, we never get to talk like this. I have never admitted this before - that I don't know how to get these children to listen. The easiest thing is to blame it on the parents - then we don't have to think it is us that fail each day."

There was a sense of relief that a long-held secret was not only on the table, but shared by other colleagues. A more animated discussion about having a similar values workshop with parents may be a starting point of working better with parents to improve their ability to relate to learners.
1. NURTURING A CULTURE OF COMMUNICATION
AND PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOLS

"Values cannot simply be asserted; they must be put on the table, be debated, be negotiated, be synthesised, be modified, be earned. And this process, this dialogue, is in and of itself a value - a South African value - to be cherished"
Professor Kader Asmal, Saamtrek conference, February 2001

Dialogue is one of the values most desired - and most lacking - in South African schools. This emerges from extensive research at schools, an exercise conducted for the Department of Education to take soundings among learners, educators and parents.

"The need to be heard, to be listened to - and the rarity of that experience - was a common thread linking the voices of educators, parents and learners," the research report revealed. "For educators, this is felt most strongly in the relationship between school management and the national Department of Education. For parents, it is expressed in relation to a perceived lack of respect shown to them by teachers," according to the report on the survey.

The primary conclusion of the research is "the central importance of dialogue in promoting democratic values in schools Š. The challenge becomes not only to promote dialogue, but to create and defend spaces for safe expression. This dialogue cannot only be promoted for the sake of 'building consensus' but also for understanding difference. While there may be many things in our past and present which may make us hesitant of disagreement, we must promote healthy dialogue to be contestation as much as consensus building, the exploration of difference as much as the expectation of shared perspective."

Nurturing a culture of communication and participation in schools means opening up channels of dialogue between parents and educators in such a way that mutual respect develops between them, and that each side treats the other with respect, realising each has something to offer. It means resourcing school governing bodies so that they become dynamos of activity committed to the best interests of the school, rather than fiefdoms of personal control or sites of bitter conflict.

It means improving channels of dialogue between educators and officials, so that educators feel valued and officials feel that their directives have been adhered to rather than stonewalled.

It means giving principals the kind of management training that will enable them to mobilise their staff effectively.
It means imbuing educators with the skills to facilitate critical thought in classrooms, so that they are able to listen to their students - and be heard by them.

And it means teaching students that they have freedom of expression and freedom of speech, but that these freedoms come with certain responsibilities.

Nurturing a culture of communication and participation will have the effect of enabling young South Africans to become open, curious and empowered citizens.

Freedom of speech and expression in schools means having the skills and the resources to express oneself - to be oneself - within the accepted norm of not violating others' basic rights in the process.

The performing arts, debating societies and the Arts and Culture curriculum are invaluable in this regard.

Freedom of access to information means having the skills and the resources to find, assess and use information critically and responsibly.

The technology curriculum - and specifically access to information technology - are also invaluable in achieving this. The latest estimate shows that Africans comprise less than 1% of the 407.1 million people connected globally to the internet, and that the digital divide is widening by the day.

Communication and participation are the two mainstays of democratic process, and no democratic society or institution can function without them - and without the accountability, responsibility and respect that accompanies them.
The Ministry of Education has publicly supported the findings of research at schools that "values are not changed by prescription, but through dialogue, experience, new knowledge and critical thinking".53 The experience of schools which participated in this research shows that institutions benefit immensely by a process which requires them to identify the existing and the desired values of the school, and to generate a Mission Statement, Values Statement or Code of Conduct out of this. The Schools Act calls for institutions to generate their own Codes of Conduct, but this process has not yet happened in most schools.

The quality of School Governing Bodies, as outlined in the Schools Act, is irregular and inconsistent. Well-resourced schools in the suburbs, with the benefit of having a corps of professional parents to draw on, are often run like corporate enterprises; poor schools in the townships tend to be run by overworked educators and administrators. Research has shown that School Governing Bodies need not only technical assistance, but "democracy" or "diversity" training, too, so that they can come to understand how different people, with different capacities, can work together for the good of the school.

Materials have been developed by the DoE on priority training needs. These materials have been used for training since 1994. Governance training has been conducted since 1998.

The best way of entrenching a culture of communication and participation in this country - for now and for the future - is by teaching young South Africans about debate and dialogue, and encouraging it as a formal medium of expression. This can happen within the classroom - through group discussion rather than rote learning - but also in the establishment of debating societies, public-speaking competitions, mock parliaments, moot courts and school newsletters and magazines. Educators and schools should be helped, resourced, to set up such structures and events, and have students trained to run them.

The foundation of an open society is freedom of access to information. This means creating and valuing school libraries - perhaps with private sector partnerships - but also working towards being able to "interface" with information through the internet. Much has been made of the "digital divide" and of how, without access to computers and phone lines, African children will fall further and further behind their Western and Asian counterparts. There are already many initiatives aimed at bringing technology into the classroom. This process needs to be accelerated, but with an understanding that it is of primary importance to bring electricity and telecommunications to all schools first, and that the freedom of access to information that comes with the internet is accompanied, once more, by the need to exercise responsibility and respect.

Schools-based research on values confirms what is perhaps the most important finding of the C2005 Review Committee: that while educators subscribe to the principles of Outcomes-Based Education, there are no good models to put this into practice. The C2005 Review Committee thus recommends the urgent retraining of educators in this respect.

2. ROLE MODELLING: PROMOTING COMMITMENT AS WELL AS COMPETENCE AMONG EDUCATORS

"One of the most powerful ways of children and young adults acquiring values is to see individuals they admire and respect exemplify those values in their own being and conduct. Parents and educators or politicians or priests who say one thing and do another send mixed messages to those in their charge who then learn not to trust them. The question of leadership generally, and in the educational sphere particularly, is therefore of vital importance."

Nelson Mandela, Saamtrek conference, 200155
"It is fashionable to think of education in terms of the "development of competencies", but there are limitations to this view. Nazi leaders were not in general lacking in competence. High degrees of competence are compatible with moral degeneracy. Most teacher-education programmes focus [too] sharply on the development of competence and not enough on professional commitment."

Wally Morrow, Saamtrek conference, 2001

Patterns of behaviour and patterns of learning are not the accidental products of birth: it's a truism that children learn by example.

And, indeed, the Working Group on Values in Education urged that "teachers and administrators must be the leaders, and set the example", since "children learn by example, consciously or unconsciously".

The Group's report added: "What parents or teachers do is much more important than what they say they do. If teachers do not want learners to be absent they must not be absent. If teachers expect homework to be completed, they must complete their homework.

"As the dedicated teacher well knows, a relationship of trust and fellowship develops when educators and learners become partners in the vocation of schooling."57

More than anything else, parents want the teachers of their children to be competent and qualified, and this is, obviously, the priority. Latest research shows that 36% of all teachers and 40% of all women teachers fail to meet the basic requirement of a three-year tertiary-level qualification, and that underqualified teachers are concentrated in those regions that, given their educational performance, can least afford to have them: in Gauteng, only 13% of the teachers are underqualified, while in the largely rural provinces of KwaZulu-Natal and the North West, the figure jumps to 34% and 35% respectively.58

But competence is meaningless if there is no commitment alongside it.

The "Norms and Standards For Educators", promulgated by the government in 2000, specifies seven roles that prospective educators are expected to fulfil, and in which they have to demonstrate competence, before they can qualify to teach.

An educator must be: a learning mediator; an interpreter and designer of learning programmes; a leader, administrator and manager; a scholar, researcher and lifelong learner; an assessor; a learning area specialist.

But he or she is also expected to play "a community, citizenship and pastoral role", to practise and promote "a critical, committed and ethical attitude towards developing a sense of respect and responsibility towards others", "uphold the Constitution and promote democratic values and practice in schools and society"; "demonstrate an ability to develop a supportive and empowering environment for the learner" and "develop
supportive relations with parents and other key persons and organisations based in a critical understanding of community and environmental development issues".59

The Code of Conduct of the South African Council of Educators - a statutory body - is even more specific.

It commits teachers to "acknowledge the noble calling of their profession to educate and train the learners of their country", to "acknowledge that the attitude, dedication, self-discipline, ideals, training and conduct of the teaching profession determine the quality of education", to "acknowledge, uphold and promote basic human rights", to "commit themselves to do all within their power, in the exercising of their professional duties, to act in accordance with the ideals of their profession", and to "act in a proper and becoming way such that their behaviour does not bring the teaching profession into disrepute".60 In other words, to have internalised the ten fundamental values of the South African Constitution themselves, and to act as role models for their students.

But educators cannot be role models for their students if they are not role models within their communities. Put another way, they cannot act as role models if they do not feel like role models, if they are not valued and cherished members of their communities and do not have a sense of the nobility of their calling.

This will not happen until standards of competence and commitment are jointly held across the country.

" Pre-service educator training should focus specifically on commitment as well as competence: it should emphasise that, for teachers to be competent, they should be committed to the values embodied in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and understand what these values mean.

" Experience has proven that "commitment" training is most effective when it is on-going and schools-based. The South African Council of Educators has already begun pilot in-service training programmes on teacher ethics, in collaboration with the University of Pretoria and the University of Port Elizabeth. The South African Education Labour Relations Council, another statutory body, has allocated funding to a programme of anti-racism and anti-sexism training.

" The SACE Code of Conduct is binding on all educators in the public service and, since it was formed last year, it has heard over a hundred cases and struck one teacher off the roll. The more the Code of Conduct is popularised by teachers' associations and unions, the more it will become "owned" and adhered to by all teachers in the country.

If the dignity of educators is a precondition of their being committed role models, then self-regulation will always work better than the fear of disciplinary action. In this regard, it is essential that unions, staff associations and other bodies take the lead in popularising the need for a commitment and adherence to a Code of Conduct.

" There was a time when teachers were highly respected members of the community, not just because of their class and educational status, but also because of the nobility of their calling. Once this vocation is regained, teachers will once more become respected community leaders. This is a process that can happen not only through a strict adherence to ethics by educators, but also through better communication between
all members the community, and the re-establishment of mutual respect between educators and communities.

3. ENSURING THAT EVERY SOUTH AFRICAN IS ABLE TO READ, WRITE, COUNT AND THINK

"The main business of education is Š the activation rather than the stuffing of the mind."

Edward Said Saamtrek conference, 200161

"Knowledge and literacy mean power - but to be wise or ethical comes from experience, being in touch with the soul of one's community, kinship and solidarity."

Jacob Zuma Deputy President of South Africa Saamtrek conference, 200162

Our educational performance, as a country, is in a critical state. As Mokubung Nkomo of the Human Sciences Research Council told the Saamtrek conference, South Africa is facing a "state of emergency" because of its international ratings in key educational performance indicators.63

When the South Africa MLA Survey tested a representative sampling of Grade 4 learners nationally, it found that the average score was below 50% in literacy, numeracy and life-skills tasks. Performance in numeracy was particularly poor, the average score being 30%. Learners had a better grasp of literacy and life-skills tasks, even though the overall performance was still low, with averages of 48% and 47% respectively.64 Yet, research at schools shows that both learners and parents desire "quality and excellence in education" more than anything else.65

It's a government commitment, too. Asmal has committed his department, through the Tirisano programme, to "breaking the back of illiteracy within five years". No adult South African, he believes, "should be illiterate in the 21st century", but warns that "millions will be unless we mobilise a social movement to bring reading, writing and numeracy to those who do not have it". The reality was that "millions of South African adults and young people cannot read or write in any language, and millions more are functionally illiterate and innumerate, that is, they cannot put their reading and writing skills to any useful purpose, and cannot manipulate numerical concepts".66 Without the ability to read, write, count and think, it is impossible to participate effectively in democracy and in society, and it is therefore impossible to internalise and to live out the values of the Constitution. For this reason, South Africa has committed itself to achieving universal literacy and numeracy, and to a curriculum that imparts not only these fundamental skills, but also the capacity to think critically.

The South African Qualifications Authority, which governs what learners must know to graduate from school, has identified critical outcomes as the goals of education: learners must prove not only that they are able to communicate effectively "using visual, mathematical and/or language skills", but that they can solve problems, think critically, understand how the world works, work responsibly in groups, understand the impact of knowledge on society, and make informed and responsible decisions about their futures.69

"The streamlining of Curriculum 2005 and the promulgation of a new National Curriculum Statement puts the ability to read, write, count and think squarely at the centre of South African education. But this curriculum will be little more than a paper trail if all those involved in education do not commit themselves to implementing it.

Ensuring that our children can read, write, count and think is at the very heart of our education mission.

"The Working Group on Values in Education notes that "we are bereft of a strong reading culture".67 An emphasis on books and reading - and the nurturing of a reading culture - is primary to education.

This can be done through high-profile campaigns, such as the Department of Education's "Year of the Book", through role modelling by influential members of society, from senior political figures and icons from the sporting and entertainment worlds to parents and teachers, and through
school competitions and projects which encourage and reward reading. There also should be a strong drive to educate learners and the broader public about libraries and to ensure that libraries become user-friendly hubs of education, information and entertainment.

"There are millions of illiterate and innumerate South Africans already outside of the educational system. The government's Adult Basic Education and Training programme (ABET) aims to enable close to a million new learners to achieve the equivalent of Grade 9 by 2003, and Asmal has called for the stimulation of "the civic virtue of voluntary service, in support of our illiterate compatriots". He has called upon all organs of civil society - most of all students - to participate in the design and implementation of "a major programme of voluntary service on behalf of literacy and numeracy".68

"In general, when children read, write, count and think in their mother tongue, they do so more effectively than those who do it in a second language. If we are serious about putting these skills at the centre of our educational mission, then we must all commit ourselves to the implementation of the State's policies on language in education.

"An emphasis on literacy and numeracy should in no way devalue the orality that is at the heart of our society and which is the first way children learn to communicate. Respecting and understanding oral traditions, the role they play and the skills they impart, must find a place in the curriculum. Part of this understanding must be that all cultures, African, Western or otherwise, have their oral traditions.

4. INFUSING THE CLASSROOM WITH A CULTURE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

"The government gives children too many rights without explaining the role learners should play in respecting their teachers."

"The students can't handle the new freedom they've got and so they tend to become disrespectful."

Statements made by educators

Values, Education and Democracy: Schools based research70

As a concept, human rights is much misunderstood, and underrated.

Research at schools on values and democracy indicates that 78,4% of educators believe "the government puts too much emphasis on human rights,
which leads to problems in our classroom”. The research notes that "the values discourse among educators reveals a complicated relationship between educators and the concepts of democracy and human rights. While the concept of democracy and equity are - to a greater or lesser degree - embraced among educators, there is a backlash directed against what teachers refer to loosely as a 'human rights' or 'child rights' culture. 'Child's rights' are perceived to undermine adult authority over child rearing, leaving adults feeling 'powerless' to guide children in a world characterised by high levels of change."

Its conclusion was that "until educators experience the concept of 'child-centred' teaching as a mechanism to gain (rather than lose) respect and discipline in their classrooms, the tension between repressive and rights-centred interpretations of values is likely to continue".71

Everybody wants to be "respected" within a school environment, but the way people define "respect" is often very different: when an educator demands "respect", it might be within an authoritarian paradigm; when a student demands respect, it might be within a libertarian paradigm.

Minister Asmal has said that "unless we nurture a value system in our schools that is workable, owned by everyone, and in line with the principles not only of the Bill of Rights but of all the curriculum and school governance policy and legislation, we run the dangerous risk of turning our classrooms into a battleground between an anarchic freedom that masquerades as 'human rights' and an authoritarian backlash that masquerades as 'moral regeneration'. Let me be absolutely clear about this: anarchy is not the route to freedom; neither is authoritarianism the route to good citizenship. Our mission is to find a path towards freedom that is not anarchic; a path towards good citizenship that is not totalitarian."72
That path is no more and no less than the embrace of a culture of human rights.

There are two primary ways in which human rights culture and "child-centred education" in the classroom can establish mutual respect between teachers and students and inculcate, in students, the rights and responsibilities set out in the Constitution.

The first has to do with what is taught - the curriculum - and the second has to do with how it is taught, which is sometimes referred to as "the hidden curriculum".

The National Curriculum Statement has noted that issues of human rights and inclusivity have to be infused throughout the curriculum - and indeed across the entire environment of education - and provides guidelines on how this can be achieved.

The Chair of the Curriculum 2005 Review Committee, Linda Chisholm, has noted that "the structure of the curriculum currently allows teachers free choice in the selection of content. This means that content chosen can be equally racist and anti-racist: ultimately the decision rests with the teacher. It also does not provide a strong enough statement about which values the curriculum promotes and which it does not promote." 73

For these reasons, the approach of the Ministerial Project Committee established in November 2000 to streamline C2005 "places a strong emphasis on both clear guidelines and the infusion of these guidelines by the principles and practices of human rights, inclusivity and social justice. Clear guidelines will not solve all South Africa's curriculum problems, but could possibly place more teachers in a better condition to teach with
Confidence. A stronger emphasis on human rights, inclusivity and the values of social justice will ensure that the curriculum may deal more directly with questions of racism, sexism, disability and other forms of discrimination, whether these be direct or indirect."

Infusing schools with a culture of human rights means not only teaching learners to reject all forms of discrimination, but rejecting it in practice, too. It means making sure that children are treated with equal respect and given equal opportunity, regardless of whether they are black or white, male or female, rich or poor.

In the education sector, "disability", too, has specific import, for if the Constitution enjoins us to "free the potential" of all South Africans, then it is through the education system that learners with disability can become active, valued members of society.

"Discussion documents on the revised National Curriculum Statement for Grades 9-10 proposed that what was formerly known as "civics" (it is now "education for citizenship") be infused throughout the curriculum in such a way that young people learn basic political literacy, peace education, environmental education, democracy education and anti-discrimination education. Conflict-resolution skills should be developed and the importance of tolerance, friendship and respect will be emphasised. In language learning, for instance, texts can be chosen which tell stories of peoples’ experiences of oppression, exploitation and discrimination. In mathematics and technology, students will be encouraged to look at how girls have faced barriers or been discouraged in their career and life choices, and of what the human effects of certain technologies, such as nuclear power, have been.

In the natural sciences, students will be encouraged to understand environmental issues and allied human rights concerns that go with them. In management sciences, students will look at the impact of different economic systems on society.

"Educator training will focus attention on how to conduct human rights and inclusivity education. This will be mandatory, ongoing and cumulative rather than be limited to occasional anti-racism or anti-sexism seminars, which has been the pattern to date.

"Encouraging an understanding of human rights within the curriculum is meaningless if the context of schools denies or abnegates these rights:

such a situation can only result in cynicism, hypocrisy, mistrust and an espousal of the very opposite of what the critical outcomes call for.
“Regarding Special Needs Education, the Ministry released Consultative Paper No. 1 on Special Education: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System (August 30, 1999). The submissions and feedback of special partners and the wider public were collated and have informed the writing of Education White Paper No. 6 on Special Needs Education: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System (July 2001).

5. MAKING ARTS AND CULTURE PART OF THE CURRICULUM

"Empowerment comes through the emancipation of the imagination and acquisition of skills to refine our various forms of expression."

Vivienne Carelse, Western Cape Department of Education
Saamtrek conference, 2001

"The main thing about working with Jazzart [dance group] was the empowering experience. When I arrived I was self-conscious, but the way we trained shed all the layers I was wearing. Training focused on life skills. In the way classes were dealt with, I learnt tolerance, self confidence, respect for other people, working together, and I learned to like myself."

A high school student who took part in a school-based programme
Cited by Alfred Hinkel, Jazzart director
Saamtrek conference, 2001

Liberating the imagination, a first step in the creative process, and the expression of culture, is a skill, a goal in itself which ranks in importance with mastery of numbers and natural laws in the school setting.

Values, Education and Democracy noted that "the power of the performing and visual arts Š as an active celebration of diversity, should not be underestimated."

They are creative practices that invite great youthful enjoyment, promote the regularity of creative discipline and integrate individuals on the basis of talentŠ They are also potentially powerful instruments of promoting tolerance through exposure to, and a sharing of, diverse cultural traditions and experience."76

The National Curriculum Statement acknowledges that "in the past, a large majority of our learners were excluded from arts and culture education, and Š learning about culture was mainly limited to exposure through institutions of family and religion”.77
The Statement confirms the State's responsibility to ensure that all South Africans are educated in arts and culture: rather than just being an "add-on" for wealthy schools who can afford it, this learning area is integral to the seeding, and growing, of the ten fundamental constitutional values.

Arts and culture education empowers young people by giving them the means to express themselves creatively, through music, drama, dance and visual art, when language alone proves itself incapable: in an environment where children are often learning in second or even third languages, the expressive force of art and performance transcends the limitations.

Performance - whether music or drama - also gives students, as Edward Said noted at the Saamtrek conference, "a non-coercive and voluntary model for submitting oneself to the ensemble".78

There is thus no better way of ensuring students' acquisition of the South African Qualifications Authority's fourth "critical outcome": to "work effectively with others in team, group, organisation or community".79 But beyond these two key ways that arts and culture education can be used to liberate the potential of students and to give them a model for non-coercive teamwork, it is a vital means through which the constitutional values of equality, non-racism, non-sexism, ubuntu, openness, reconciliation and respect can be instilled in young South Africans.

One of the curriculum's primary tasks, as the National Curriculum Statement puts it, is to redress South Africa's "legacy of cultural intolerance" through exposing learners to - and enabling them to learn about and affirm - "the diversity of cultures in South Africa".

The Statement also recognises that one powerful effect of past imbalances has been the "strong influence of international cultures and weak local development and support of local arts and culture. Learners need to recognise the value of their own culture."80

The National Curriculum Statement has mandated that Arts and Culture is to be a specific and examinable learning area within the General Education and Training curriculum. The learning area covers established classical/traditional arts to ensure exposure to the integrity of existing traditions and conventions, but gives equal importance to innovative, emergent arts so as to open avenues for developing inclusive, original, contemporary South African cultural expression.

There should be an emphasis on performance and creativity as well as on theory and academic understanding. The curriculum will include teaching in drama, dance, music and the visual arts. At the end of Grade 9, it is expected that learners will be able to create and present work in various art forms, reflect critically on artistic and cultural processes and products, work effectively in a group to create and present art works and use multiple forms of communication and expression to present art works.
There will also be an emphasis on how arts and culture education can be used to open the way as a vocational choice.

“Depending on the discipline, it might be easier for well-resourced schools and communities to integrate arts and culture education into the curriculum than poorly resourced ones. Arts and culture education will be effective only if communities commit themselves to involving their artists and cultural workers in the formal education of their children. It has been proposed that each school have an artist-in-residence, a proposal to be assessed and implemented at district and provincial level.

“Asmal has committed himself to getting this proposal off the ground by putting into place an artist-in-residence at each tertiary educational institution in the country. Each of these will be responsible for outreach arts programmes at schools within the catchment area. He has also committed himself to establishing a National Endowment for the Arts in Education to fund talented individuals to do work in schools.

“Arts education training will have to be substantially overhauled to integrate the context of culture.

“Although arts and culture will be firmly part of the curriculum, there is much scope for extracurricular activities that will reinforce the classroom activity. Dramatic groups, choral groups and bands or orchestras not only build pride in a school, and loyalty to it, but also encourage teamwork and provide an unparalleled medium for cross-cultural activity through which students may not only learn about one another’s different cultural traditions, but practise them, too.

6. PUTTING HISTORY BACK INTO THE CURRICULUM

"The stories of this country’s coming to terms with itself - which have not yet been set as part of the curricula - can only liberate us from our ignorance of what makes up this country and its peoples. It is this knowledge Š that will help to sustain us in the future and help us grow."

Mandla Langa, Author and Chair of the Independent, Communications Authority of South Africa, Saamtrek conference: 200181

It is true, often enough, that, as George Bernard Shaw saw it, the only thing people learn from history is that people don’t learn from history.

Yet, history - as an interrogation of memory - is precisely an exercise in interrogating certainty, interrogating the values and morality that, in the past, were the product of political expedience, habit, and convention. It is the bedrock of education.

Indeed, the Working Group on Values in Education was persuaded that "the teaching of history is central to the promotion of all human values, including that of tolerance. History is one of the many memory systems that shape our values and morality, for it studies, records and diffuses knowledge of human failure and achievement over the millennia."82
The History and Archaeology Panel, appointed by the Minister of Education under Njabulo Ndebele, expressed concern that these disciplines appeared to have been devalued by the new curriculum. The formal study of history, it said, both nurtured a spirit of critical inquiry and assisted in the formation of historical consciousness, "which has an essential role to play in building the dignity of human values within an informed awareness of the past".

This process was "especially urgent" given that "we are living in a country which is currently attempting to remake itself in time", for the study of history "helps to prevent amnesia, checks triumphalism, opposes the manipulative or instrumental use of the past, and provides an educational buffer against the 'dumbing down' of our citizens."83

The discussion document on the National Curriculum Statement is explicit about the role of the social sciences - history and geography - in values formation: it is intended to help learners develop a "commitment to addressing social injustice, abuse of human rights and a deteriorating environment".

The Statement outlines several ways in which the study of history works as part of a process of values-formation.

Its study is specifically aimed at: helping learners to develop a strong sense of themselves in the world through a study of their "own" history in the context of the broader history of South Africa; developing a sense of our diverse histories, which will contribute to a common memory and ensure we do not forget the lessons of our painful past; confronting and challenging economic and social inequality, including racism and sexism, in order to build a non-racial, democratic present and future; engaging in debate and critical questioning which will foster a culture of openness; confronting and challenging apartheid myths which reinforce racism and stereotypes such as the "Empty Land" theory; developing civic responsibility and an understanding of tolerance in the context of our Constitution; and promoting the use of, and an appreciation and respect for, African languages as a means of hearing and listening to the silenced voices of the past.

"Values education", "human rights education" or "reconciliation studies" are worthy notions, but are vague and difficult to implement.

The report of the History and Archaeology Panel makes the crucial point that history gives students a narrative through which they can contextualise these notions - by studying history, students can not only gain an understanding of chronology and of the dynamics of change over time, but they can work out for themselves what is good or bad, what is right or wrong.

"History and geography form the "Social Sciences" learning area, one of eight areas of the General Education and Training curriculum.

History will be taught in four areas: local, South African, African, and world, with "local studies" providing "practical ways of integrating history, geography and democracy education", South African history ensuring that "the lost voices in our history will take their rightful place", African history demonstrating "the rich history of the continent and its ancient links to other parts of the world" and world history exploring "how different societies have organised themselves over time, how these societies had access to resources" and the conflict that developed over these resources.84
"History will be taught in a way that will include the experiences of ordinary people, rural and urban workers, and of women as well as men, and it will specifically address human rights issues such as "prejudice, persecution, oppression, exploitation, sexism and racism, xenophobia, genocide and other forms of discrimination".85 A current affairs component will also be integrated at every level.

"History will remain an independent offering, but might only be revised along with the revision of the Further Education and Training curriculum.

The History and Archaeology Panel has called for this to be operational by 2003.

"The Minister of Education has announced the formation of a National History Project: nominations have been received and eleven individuals of standing will be appointed. The project will monitor the teaching of history, the expansion and improvement of teacher training, the strengthening of roles of history subject advisers, the development of a clearer place for history as a focus in the curriculum, and the efficient use of archaeological, historical and heritage assets in the development of teaching materials and the writing of textbooks. The project director is June Bam.

"At the Saamtrek conference, historian Luli Callinicos made the point that "history as a learning tool at school is of little value, and can indeed be dangerous - or rather 'abused' - in both society and politics (in the absence of) educators who have themselves grasped the tools and concepts of history and are passionate about arousing the intellectual curiosity and excitement of their students".86 The upgrading of history-educator training will be a priority, and a national conference of historians and history teachers will be convened by the Department of Education in early 2002, to plan a strategy for teacher training and development.

"To make the study of history and the training of history teachers more attractive, the Ministry of Education has undertaken to provide special bursaries to attract students to study history and history teaching at a tertiary level.

"Much emphasis was given, at the Saamtrek conference, to the importance of orality and oral history. The discussion document on the National Curriculum Statement has focused the foundation phase in history on oral history, but even before the changes in curriculum and teacher training outlined in this document are fully implemented, schools can devise ways of engaging young people in the unearthing and retelling of their communities' histories: the only resources needed for this are the elders of the community themselves.

"The History and Archaeology Panel specifies how archaeology - which is the reconstruction and interpretation of our material past - is a vital area of knowledge not only because it imparts the critical skills of interpretation, but because it illuminates, through the evolutionary process, the common ancestry of humanity.

7. INTRODUCING RELIGION EDUCATION INTO SCHOOLS

Faith, whatever its core might be, and however public its expression, is the consequence of spiritual journeying that is, at heart, a voyage of intimacy. Religion, which expresses it, is a matter of choice in
conscience. And, under the Constitution, that choice - and the observances that go with it - is subject to protection as one of the freedoms guaranteed in the Bill of Rights.

There is no place in the classroom, then, for an education that promotes any one creed or belief over any other. Yet, there is every reason for schools to expose learners to the diversity of religions that impel and inspire society, and the morality and values that underpin them.

Speaking at the Saamtrek conference on the distinction between "religion education" and "religious education", Albert Nolan of Challenge magazine argued that while religious education was about "nurturing a religious consciousness, and Š should be done in churches", the aim of "religion education" was to provide knowledge about different religions.

In public education, "the school is not responsible for nurturing the religious development of the scholars (but for providing) learners with the knowledge about religion and morality and values and the diversity of religions".87

South Africa is recognised as being a deeply religious society, and religions offer highly organised and often very effective moral codes upon which value systems are based. We must acknowledge that as cultural systems for the transmission of values, religions are resources for clarifying morals, ethics, and regard for others.

Religions embody values of justice and mercy, love and care, commitment, compassion and co-operation. They chart profound ways of being human in relation to other humans.

As has been noted, the Constitution guarantees the right to equality, to non-discrimination on the basis of religion, and to freedom of belief, thought and conscience. Schools can reinforce the Constitution by using "religion education" to reaffirm the values of diversity, tolerance, respect, justice, compassion and commitment in young South Africans.

Adopting a multi-tradition approach to the study of religion is one way of achieving this, enabling students to examine, critically and creatively, the moral codes embedded in all religions, their own and others'.

If religious education, with specific spiritual aims, is the responsibility of the home, family and the community of faith, then religion education, with clear educational aims, is the responsibility of the school.

"Religion education" is not engaged in the promotion of a religion but is a programme for studying religion, in all its many forms, as an important dimension of human experience and a significant subject field in the school curriculum.
Such education can provide opportunities for both a deeper sense of self-realisation and a broader civil
tolerance of others, and it can balance the familiar and the foreign in ways that give students new insights
into both.

Furthermore, it can teach students about a world of religious diversity, and, at the same time, encourage
them to think in terms of a new national unity in South Africa.

"Religion education" - and consciousness about the role and effect of religion - will be integrated into the
General Education and Training Band, specifically in Life Orientation and Social Studies.

"Religion studies" will be introduced in the further education and training band for matriculation purposes
as an optional, specialised and examinable subject.

"Religion education" should be taught by trained professional educators, rather than by professional clergy,
who must be motivated by educational outcomes.

Because "religion education" should be taught according to educational rather than religious outcomes,
educators - particularly those in Life Orientation and Social Studies - will require significant retraining.

According to the Constitution, schools may be made available for religious observance so long as it is
outside of school hours, association is free and voluntary rather than mandatory, and the facilities are made
available on an equitable basis to all who apply.

School governing bodies need to be familiarised with these conditions.

Weekly assemblies are a long-standing tradition of many of our schools, and play an important role in
bonding and unifying the school community.

Nevertheless, they should not be compulsory and should, under no circumstances, be used as occasions for
religious observance.

Like the rest of the school's learning programmes, the assembly should be an occasion for affirming and
celebrating unity in diversity.

Accordingly, if religious materials are used in assembly, they should be presented in the framework outlined
for "religion education" as an educational exercise rather than as a religious ceremony. School governing
bodies and principals need to be empowered with ways of transforming assemblies from being occasions for
imposing religious uniformity to being forums where diversity is celebrated, along with the values of our
Constitution.

8. MAKING MULTILINGUALISM HAPPEN

"Only slaves can be forced to give up their own language."

Neville Alexander, University of Cape Town - Saamtrek conference, 200188
"To the majority of South Africans multilingualism recalls the separatist language policy of the past where Afrikaans and English were elevated to super languages, and the African languages to inferior homeland languages".

The major challenge for participants in the discussion on multilingualism is to shift the debate to a post-struggle era, obviously without ignoring the heritage of the past.9

Stef Coetzee, Vice-Chancellor: University of the Free State - Saamtrek conference, 200189

To be enslaved, as Neville Alexander so eloquently expresses it, is to be silenced, while to speak truly from the heart is to speak freely the language of one's true self, one's history.

History, though, is a beguiling force. Constitutionally, South Africa's eleven official languages recognise the sanctity of its people's histories, and honour them by asserting that no South African may suffer discrimination on the basis of language.

Yet, in a world whose intimate and singular communities have been thrust into global dialogue by an interdependence unprecedented in human history, the demands of communication, of being understood, of making effective claims on the attention of others, have weakened languages whose reach is, on the face of it, limited.

Against this reality, claims for multilingualism risk seeming academic. But they are not.

The imperatives for entrenching multilingualism in South African society are pedagogical as well as constitutional: research has shown, overwhelmingly, that students acquire knowledge far more efficiently when they study in their mother tongue - especially in the early years.90

The Language in Education Policy of the Department of Education acknowledges this, stating that "most learners benefit cognitively and emotionally from the type of structured bilingual education found in dual-medium programmes".91

Nonetheless, English is the global language of communication, literature, science, business and diplomacy, and if South Africans are to be effective and productive participants in society, they must learn to use it proficiently.

For this reason, the Language in Education Policy recommends the approach of "additive bilingualism", through which the learner maintains his or her home language while becoming competent in a second one. This is best applied, within the South African context, by enabling a learner to study in both his or her mother tongue and in English.
Presently, though, only English and Afrikaans-speakers enjoy the constitutional right and the pedagogical advantage of being able to study in their mother tongue.

Asmal said at the Saamtrek conference that "because of the constitutional compromise in 1996, language policy is a voluntarist tradition" - in other words, that parents and communities can make their own decisions as to what language they wish their children to be educated in - but that "this is not working on the ground, because people do not understand it".

On top of this, a scarcity of resources and the weakness of language skills among educators themselves have made the policy difficult to apply.

The Language in Education Policy states that "being multilingual should be a defining characteristic of being South African". The report of the Working Group on Values in Education suggests two ways of achieving this laudable ambition. The first would be to make mother-tongue education part of the process of "additive bilingualism". The second would be to ensure that all South Africans, regardless of their mother tongue, learn at least one other South African language well enough to be able to communicate fluently and effectively in it.

If a learner's home language is English or Afrikaans, then he or she ought to learn an indigenous African language, too.

"According to the National Curriculum Statement, there are common core learning outcomes for both the home language and additional language(s).

What this means is that, even though curricula and assessment criteria might differ in the earlier grades, the goal is to ensure meaningful bilingualism, and the effect is to resource all eleven official languages equally.

"The National Curriculum Statement also calls for the translation of all curricula into all eleven languages.

This means that any official language can be the medium of instruction if the school so chooses.

"A conscious generation of learning materials in the African languages - rather than simply their translation - would rectify the historic underdevelopment of African languages.

This can be done by the allocation of more resources to the development of materials, and through creative partnerships with non-governmental organisations, publishers, lexicographers, terminologists and materials developers.

This will result not only in a better quality of learning materials, but in the validation and development of the languages themselves - much as Afrikaans was validated and developed over the course of a century.

"In most schools where English is the medium of instruction, teachers themselves struggle with it, given that it is often their own second or even third language.

The reality is that in the short to medium term, English will remain one of the preferred languages of instruction, and that, for non-English speakers, it will almost always be the second language of choice.
The training of educators who teach in English - or who teach English as a second language - therefore should be significantly upgraded, in accordance with the approach to training outlined in Curriculum 2005 and the National Curriculum Statement.

Eventually, all teacher training will be reorganised to accommodate the language policy, as all English and Afrikaans teachers will need to learn an African language.

"Short courses in the basic acquisition of provincially determined second and third languages of each province should be made available at tertiary institutions, and should be made available to educators for in-service training.

"Currently, the Language in Education Policy states that the home language of students must be maintained and that, from Grade 3 to Grade 12, students must take two languages as subjects: the language that they learn in, and one additional subject.

For promotion, at least one of these languages must be passed from Grade 5, and both must be passed from Grade 10 to Grade 12.

In other words, all South Africans must maintain their home language and must acquire at least one official language other than English.

Ideally, all students should learn an African language, even if this means taking three rather than two languages.

"At the Saamtrek conference, Stef Coetzee, the Rector of the University of the Free State, made the point that "one of the reasons for the success of Afrikaans-medium tuition to Afrikaans-speaking children in the past (and to an extent this is still true) was that it was rewarded in various ways by society"93 : knowledge of Afrikaans was a job requirement, Afrikaans-speakers could study in Afrikaans at universities, and could use it as their medium in the work place. Multilingualism in schools will become viable only if the broader society itself validates it.

"There remain, in our society, many myths and foibles about language, and there is the widespread misconception that English-medium instruction is always "the best".

A major public information campaign should be launched to popularise the concepts of mother-tongue education and multilingualism: if, as Asmal has intimated, the language-in-education policy has not been understood by governing bodies, this drive could get them to buy into it, and give them strategies for implementing it.

"The cost of implementing mother-tongue education through "additive bilingualism" remains disputed. Some say that with our limited resources and capacity, it is an impossibility, while others say that, given the costs of high matric failure rates and the relative cheapness of new computerised translation, it may well be cheaper than English-medium instructions. Costings of "additive bilingualism" models should be done as a matter of urgency.
"The Department of Education announced in February 2001 a plan to strengthen language policy, including support for mother-tongue education in the foundation phase; for the teaching of second languages in later phases; and the use of a second language to teach mathematics and science.

9. USING SPORT TO SHAPE SOCIAL BONDS AND NURTURE NATION BUILDING AT SCHOOLS

"When it comes to race and colour, sport has led in accelerating equality. Sport is able to transcend all notions of prejudice, and has often done pioneering work in doing so - not least in our land."

Sam Ramsamy, President of the National Olympic Committee of South Africa Saamtrek Conference, 2001

"Sport can only contribute significantly to nation building along with concerted efforts to eliminate other forms of inequality. Sport can, however, be used at this present juncture to contribute to the health status of the nation generally, and to that of our youth particularly" and to keep the youth occupied by involving them in a constructive activity."

Denver J Fredericks, Director General: Sport and Recreation South Africa - Saamtrek conference, 2001

Joy in effort, in the physical as much as moral sense, was the sporting principle fashioned and celebrated by the ancient Greeks, the core value of the Olympics. It remains today a primary virtue of every sporting activity.

The intrinsic benefit of sport in education is self-evident: healthier, happier individuals are inclined to optimism, and optimism is the well-spring of industriousness and dynamism. Sport is a demanding, exciting and healthy alternative to the anti-social behaviour that is dubiously alluring to the idle. But sport in the educational setting has benefits far beyond individual well-being.

Sam Ramsamy cites former British MP and Olympic silver medallist of 1920, Philip Noel-Baker's conception of sport as a "non-lingual language" to underscore the beneficial features of sport in society.

In transcending language and culture, Ramsamy argues, sport enables people who cannot communicate in any other way to understand each other. It creates an area of common interest and goodwill between men and women, and boys and girls, of different communities, different racial groups and different continents.

In this, it has the potential to achieve cohesion, and to promote tolerance, trust and respect between communities arbitrarily kept apart in the past by apartheid, decrees whose legacy today is a lingering sense of apartness born of habit, geography and, often, suspicion.

The language of sport, and its efficacy as a tool of community building, rests on commonly accepted rules of engagement, the adherence to which reinforces the need for a commitment to a common social code, indeed, to the Constitution itself.
Sport, then, enables individuals to appreciate their value in relation to the team: their success is part and parcel of the collective good.

Sport promotes the notion that will-power, self-discipline and dedication are necessary to succeed, so that while participants desire to win every time, they are not overawed by the defeats that must be encountered along the way if they are to be better players.

Good citizens are no less self-disciplined and dedicated.

It is clear then, that as a means of inculcating discipline, engendering goodwill, evoking positive emotion, propagating optimism, and developing loyalty and pride, the playing field is a vital feature of education.

But the fact is, not all schools have a playing field, or access to facilities, or the resources to equip and train teams.

Indeed, sport as a nation-building exercise is a not uncomplicated phenomenon.

To the extent that sport reflects the power relations of society - which codes dominate, who predominates in the main codes, who has most access to public or donor and sponsor resources - its potential to generate an authentic national pride or deliver practical returns in developing sport among those deprived of it in the past may be limited by a complex of social, political and historical factors.

Matching the ideals of equality and of non-racialism and non-sexism in sport remains a controversial challenge in South Africa.

Arguably, it would be less contested if the pool of talent were larger: it is not so precisely because of the distorted spending patterns of the past.

Equality of access to sporting opportunity remains, then, an important challenge for education.

While there will always be a risk of romanticising the virtue of sport as a means of generating national pride - or of holding up sports stars as unquestionably sound exemplars for the young - sport offers signal opportunities for consolidating loyalties - to teams, to schools and other places of learning, and to the country.

"Minister Asmal said he would like to see physical education or "non-competitive" sport back in the curriculum so as to develop children's bodies and minds, to keep them occupied and to teach them values such as co-operation, team spirit, dialogue and communication - particularly in racially mixed schools. He
also indicated that sport should not be an extramural activity, but a central part of the streamlined outcomes-based Curriculum 2005.

"The Council of Education Ministers (CEM) agreed in June 2001 that the DoE should lead a process of conceptualising national policy guidelines on extramural activities. The activities will include school sport, arts and culture, as well as indigenous games.

"The Life Orientation learning area will address fine, gross and perceptual motor development, games (including indigenous games), physical growth and development, recreation and play, and sport (not only limited to non-competitive sport). Learners will participate in a wide range of arts and culture disciplines and practices, which include dramatic performance, dance, music, visual arts and design, media and communication, arts management, arts technology, literature and heritage (see section on arts and culture). Discrete skills, values, attitudes and knowledge will be developed within arts disciplines and practices and also combined in interdisciplinary experiences. African art forms and cultural practices are interdisciplinary in nature. Song, dance, drama, poetry and design are integral parts of some African genres as well as children's games.

"The President's Integrated Plan for Youth Development provides an annual programme of activities that will foster an increased involvement of young people in sport, arts and culture and indigenous games. The goals of the plan could be translated into learning results as part of the Life Orientation and Arts and Culture learning areas.

"The envisaged national policy guidelines on extramural activities will provide policy directions on the placement, organisation and funding possibilities of all extramural activities. The basis for the policy guidelines will be the Constitution, existing legislation, agreements and the demands of the streamlined C2005. Partnerships as well as co-ordination and monitoring will also be essential components of the policy guidelines.

"In sum, all of these initiatives are complementary. All of them can be linked to values in education, as all provide legitimate and defensible interventions geared towards removing all forms of discrimination, stereotypes and all other negative perceptions about society as a whole.

All these projects, as President Mbeki has said, are intended to "create a new South African youth that respects and reveres the values system in this country".

10. ENSURING EQUAL ACCESS TO EDUCATION

"All of these values will not amount to much if the allocation of resources remains as skewed as it is, where the majority of rural schools are made of mud and thatch grass, have no piped water, have no electricity, have no modern technical equipment such as telecommunication systems, computers, libraries and laboratories, and no reliable and affordable transport for both learners and teachers.

If this situation is not turned around as a matter of national urgency, our freedom will continue to be a mirage for the majority of our people, who, as some say, are the poorest of the poor."

Chief Pathekile Holomisa, Chairperson of the Council of Traditional Leaders of SA - Saamtrek conference, 200196
Testifying at the 1998 Hearings on Poverty, a parent explained how his children "travel something like seven kilometres - about four hours a day" in order to get to school: "They walk on their feet, to and fro"always tired. Because we are not equal, some parents are able to give their children money for buses, but others cannot."97

This poignant glimpse of hardship was cited by Asmal and James in their contribution to a special issue of Daedalus, the Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, devoted to South Africa.

They speculated that "when these children arrive at school, it is likely they will find a building that is in poor repair. They will probably not have access to clean water to quench their thirst. They will probably find it hard to concentrate on account of poor nutrition. They will have little protection from the weather. The teacher may be struggling to teach children of different grades in one class without proper learning materials."98

It is a circumstance neither exceptional, nor accidental. Until 1994, the pre-democracy government was spending R5 403 a year on every white learner in contrast to R1 043 on every black learner in the Transkei.99 The latest figures of per capita spending per province demonstrate that, while we have bridged the gap considerably, we are still far away from achieving equity in our schooling system: the government spends an average of R3 740 per learner in the Western Cape against R1 947 per learner in the Eastern Cape.100

On average nationally, there are 35 students to a teacher in primary schools, but in KwaZulu-Natal there are 40, while in the Western Cape there are 25.101

Not surprisingly, perhaps, the Western Cape has the best matric results in the country, and the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal among the worst.

Equally, the physical environment of many schools is not conducive to quality teaching and learning: a quarter of all primary schools have no access to water within walking distance, nearly half of all primary schools still use pit latrines, and over half of all schools have no electricity.

Again, huge strides have been made since 1994: 2 500 schools have been built, another 1 000 renovated, and the Department of Education estimates that the inequality of spending per province has been reduced by half (50%).102

But South Africa is still nowhere near being able to say that there is equity in its provision of educational resources. Neither is it yet able to meet the promise expressed by the Schools Act of South Africa of providing every South African child with ten years of "free and compulsory education".

Launching the Tirisano campaign in 2000, Asmal acknowledged this: "Firstly, there is rampant inequality of access to educational opportunities of satisfactory standard. In particular, poor people in all communities, of whom the overwhelming majority are rural Africans, continue to attend decrepit schools, too often without water or sanitation, electricity or telephone, library, workshop or laboratory. Their teachers may never see
their supervisors from one year to the next. Their parents remain illiterate, poor and powerless. They are unable to give practical and intellectual support to the educational aspirations of their children. For such children of democratic South Africa, the promises of the Bill of Rights remain a distant dream. Without a solid foundation of learning, their chances of educational and economic success in later years are dim.

So poverty reproduces itself."104

For those of us who are educators or administrators of the education system, it is not within our power to alleviate or reverse the poverty that afflicts the majority of South Africans.

But by fulfilling our educational mission and adhering to the constitutional injunctions to equity, equal access and social justice, we can play a vital role by offering South Africans the surest route out of poverty.

" Improving managerial capacity at national, provincial and district level is critical if we are to ensure the equitable distribution of funding, the improvement of the ratio of non-personnel to personnel funding, and cut waste and fraud. This is receiving attention in Tirisano's Programme 5.

" In his Tirisano programme, Asmal notes that "although the government has contributed more than R1 billion to the National School Building Programme, it may require twelve times that amount to meet the backlogs identified in the School Register of Needs. This is well beyond the reach of the normal budgets of provincial education departments, which in recent years have suffered sharp decreases in the funds allocated to school building and services."

Asmal has undertaken to "use every opportunity to press the priority of public spending on replacing dangerous and dilapidated schools, and providing water and sanitation services where they do not exist" - and to push this programme through the new Integrated Rural Development Programme announced by President Thabo Mbeki, through working in partnership with other state departments, provincial authorities, parastatals and NGOs.103

" In its campaign to reach funding equity, the Department of Education has used a "poverty-targeted" approach in its non-personnel (infrastructure) budgeting.

This means that the poorest quintile of schools get 35% of the funding, while the richest quintile of schools get 20% of the funding. The aim is to redress inequities in infrastructure funding.

" Bursary and financial aid schemes should ideally be overhauled so that no student who performs well enough is denied access to further education.

" According to the South African Schools Act, no learner can be denied access to any school based on inability to pay. Although no official statistics exist, there are complaints that this does happen, particularly in former Model C schools, and that the setting of high fees is being used by some communities to filter out children on the basis of race or class.

A high-profile programme that carefully selects a few schools that do not comply with the law, and litigates against them, would go a long way towards discouraging this practice.
"The SA Human Rights Commission has recommended that, "as the busing-in of learners from selected rural areas may be the only feasible way to provide basic education to isolated learners", both national and provincial departments of education should investigate transportation subsidies.105

11. PROMOTING ANTI-RACISM IN SCHOOLS

"There is more to desegregation than black and white learners sitting next to each other " there is that world of difference that has to be bridged. " And my belief is that South Africa has not really begun to address that". We have not begun to interrogate some of the values of excellence, of right, of wrong, of culture, that we just continue to imbibe."

Dr Barney Pityana, Chairperson of the SA Human Rights Commission - Saamtrek conference, February 2001106

One of the most visible and potent consequences of democratisation has been the rapid desegregation of formerly white, Indian and "coloured" schools.

In 1997, 28% of all schools were racially integrated, and in 1996, for example, African children made up 27% of all students in Gauteng's formerly white schools, 31% in its formerly coloured schools, and 45% in its formerly Indian schools. Five years later, African students are the majority in all these schools.107

Yet, this essentially suburban experience can be misleading. The vast majority of black South African children still go to schools that remain wholly segregated and under-resourced - in the townships, in the former homelands and on the farms - and these children tend to be the poorest.

If we are going to fight racism in schools, and instil values that honour human dignity, then it must be part of the quest for equity: the fact that all-black schools are systematically less resourced than integrated schools means that those students are being discriminated against primarily on the basis of their race. And while that quest, that battle, continues, it is imperative to make it clear that racism is unacceptable at the integrated schools, for these schools have come to be seen as the models for our new society, and the reality is that the majority of the next generation of leaders, black and white, will emerge from them.

Occasionally, instances of violent racism at schools have become public controversies, as at Vryburg and Bryanston, but these are just symptoms of deeper, more systemic and often more subtle problems.

According to a representative survey of students in integrated schools conducted by the SA Human Rights Commission, 62% believed that there had been "racial incidents" at their schools. While 36% said there was a successful anti-racism policy and programme at their school, 48% said there as no policy or programme at all, and 11% said there was one, but it was unsuccessful.

The survey showed, too, that in formerly white schools, 78% of the educators remained white, and 73% of the school governing body members remained white.108 The vast majority of students, black and white, also said that while there was now desegregation, there was no real integration.
This does not, in itself, constitute racism; what does, however, is the overriding sentiment, expressed by one student in the SAHRC survey, that "if pupils from other races want to come to our school then they must adjust to the culture and norms of the school". Racism in schools can be as brutal as a physical attack, or as subtle (though no less damaging) as a zealous attempt to "civilise" black children into "white" ways of being, turning them against their own culture by devaluing it.

"As noted above in the Equity section, many former white, Indian or "coloured" schools practise a colour-bar by setting high fees to filter out poor or black students.

Such practice is explicitly illegal, and could be stamped out by a high-profile campaign of legal action against those schools which do not comply with the law.

"The key inhibitor to meaningful racial transformation in schools is language: black students enter a world in which they are linguistically, culturally and socially disadvantaged from day one because they are struggling with what is often a third language while their classmates are empowered with the ability to communicate in their mother tongue. The Report on Diversity in Educational Institutions shows that there are a significant number of schools which use language - Afrikaans - to exclude black students, or admit black students but refuse to teach them in English.

"While the majority of children at integrated schools are now black, the vast majority of teachers remain white.

But regardless of the number of black students, the value system of a school will transform only when the make-up of its staff and administration is more representative of the student body; furthermore, the presence of black role models for white students will go a long way towards countering innate racial fears and prejudices. The Gauteng Education Department has a policy on teacher representivity and aims to have 50% of teachers black in all save former Model C schools.

"Teamwork has always proven to be a powerful unifier. In this respect, the areas of sport and arts and culture become beachheads for the commencement of a campaign against racism in schools.

This means not only making sure that all sporting codes are available (soccer as well as rugby and cricket, athletics as well as swimming), but encouraging cross-racial activity within the codes.

Likewise, it means expanding the repertoire of a choir or that of a school band to include African as well as European styles.

"All schools should generate and implement anti-racism policies and programmes.

The cornerstone of such programmes would be the Code of Conduct, which governs the ways that students deal with each other and that educators deal with students.

It should emphasise loyalty to the school, kindness, acceptance of diversity, and openness to other ideas and people.

This cannot be mandated from above, but must be school-driven, and owned by all members of the school community themselves.
“It is recommended that there be a deep-reaching information and education campaign to alert all educators, administrators, parents and students themselves to the fact that it is against the law - and thus punishable - to discriminate on the basis of race.

If race relations were monitored, offenders would not feel they could practise racism with impunity. This needs to be done, however, in a way that does not stifle the culture of dialogue, openness and communication that must be at the heart of education.

“"It is recommended that school governing bodies be encouraged to become more representative of their student bodies, and of the communities they serve.

“"Understanding that the majority of black students will continue to receive an education in under-resourced all-black schools, a district-driven programme of twinning or sistering should be encouraged, between suburban and township schools, in which there is not only cultural and personal interchange, but a pooling of resources, too.

It is imperative, however, that such programmes are run from the starting point that, rather than being "charity" or "social work", there is something vital to be gained from both sides.

12. FREEING THE POTENTIAL OF GIRLS AS WELL AS BOYS

"Girls and boys actively learn, as they engage with the formal and informal processes of schooling, that their sex defines almost everything they do - who they are, their hopes and possibilities, their futures and how they relate to others."

Gender Equity in Education: A Report of the Gender Equity Task Team111

When men and women look back on their lives, they see all the more clearly the paths they chose, and the paths that were, in different ways, chosen for them.

Probably the single most powerful agent in this latter group of "choices" is gender. Convention, custom and prejudice contrive to decide what it is boys and girls do and don't do, tacitly reinforcing a pattern that favours boys and men.

The Constitution makes no such distinction, enjoining us, as it does, to "free the potential" of every South African. Yet there remain many ways in which girls and women find themselves discriminated against, in the education system, simply because of their sex.

Gender discrimination and stereotyping begin with the way schools are organised. Although women are significantly over-represented as class and subject-teachers, they are radically under-represented in positions of authority, from heads of department upwards. Similarly, women tend to teach younger children and "soft" subjects - the arts and social sciences - while men teach older children and the "hard", marketable subjects such as maths and science.
Thus, from a very early age, learners experience an environment where men hold power and women do not, and come to internalise limits to their own ambitions.

In the classroom, girls are steered away from the highly valued disciplines - specifically science, technology and business - and towards others.

Within specific learning areas, the role that women have played, and the relationship of the learning area to women, is often erased and ignored.

In the collective consciousness, knowledge bears the stamp of maleness; this occurs across all disciplines, but is seen most dramatically in a subject like history.

Moreover, within the classroom, boys tend to talk and dominate: often this is actively encouraged, but more frequently it is just a continuation of social norms outside the classroom; norms which are not discouraged, or to which consciousness is not brought, by the educator.

In rural areas in particular, girls are discouraged from enrolling in school - or have very high levels of absenteeism - because they are expected to fulfil other domestic or childcare duties.

Girls often leave school to care for younger family members, or to work so that their male siblings can complete their education. This has become marked with the advent of AIDS orphans. The problem is particularly serious for pregnant girls, who are often discouraged or even forbidden from completing their education, often by the school authorities themselves.

Perhaps the most direct way that girls are discriminated against within the education system is through violence and abuse - from highly sexualised verbal degradation, to physical harassment and rape.

A 2001 report by Human Rights Watch, entitled "Scared At School", notes that "acts of sexual violence and violence against girls at school remain unchallenged by school officials and exact a terrible cost to education quality and equality in South Africa - in addition to violating girls’ rights to bodily integrity". The report cites many examples of how this happens.

A thirteen-year-old explains the direct relationship between sexual assault and limiting the potential of girls: "I left school because I was raped by two guys who were supposedly my friends."113

Asmal has taken a particularly tough line against sexual harassment against girls by teachers: "Having sex with learners betrays the trust of the community. It is also against the law. It is a disciplinary offence. It shows disrespect for the rights and dignity of women and young girls." Nonetheless, such offences appear to be rife.
The final way that girls find a ceiling put on their potential is more systemic: 61% of the uneducated adult population of South Africa is female, most of whom live in rural areas. The rural economies are run by women and girls, yet in these areas access to resources is much more difficult, and school drop-out rates much higher.

In this way, freeing the potential of girls is inextricably linked to ensuring equal access to education.

"Teachers and parents are the first role models that children have - and the most powerful. The merit-based advancement of women to positions of authority within schools must thus be a priority, so that both boys and girls can experience women in roles of authority as well as roles of nurture.

"The Gender and Equity Task Team of the Department of Education sets out very clear responsibilities that school managements have in preventing gender discrimination, and for managing these behaviours effectively when they do occur.

The evidence is, however, that most institutions do not adhere to these.

It is important that institutions are alerted to these procedures - and are warned that failure to comply could result in disciplinary action against the school.

"The Education Laws Amendment Act of 2000 sets out five areas of serious misconduct that result in the immediate dismissal of a teacher.

These include sexual assault or having a sexual relationship with a learner at the school where one teaches.

The consequences of this law should be made known, and it should be seriously policed.

"The "Scared at School" report calls upon the Department of Education to "provide leadership and mobilise commitment for combating sexual violence in schools at every level". It calls for a plan which will give guidelines to schools on how sexual assault and rape victims can come forward safely, on how teachers and pupils who have been accused should be dealt with, on how victims should be counselled and given medical services, on how codes of conduct should explicitly prohibit sexual violence and harassment, on how all pupils, teachers and principals should receive training in gender discrimination, and on how to identify and intervene early to prevent abusive behaviour.

"According to the National Curriculum Statement, sexuality education is an integral part of the school curriculum.

Such education should give both girls and boys the resources they need to practise birth control.

When girls do fall pregnant, however, any discrimination against them on the basis that they are pregnant or mothers is unconstitutional and against the law.

"The National Strategy for Mathematics, Science and Technology Education in General and Further Education and Training (released 25 June, 2001) devotes special attention to the "increased participation
and performance by girls’ via special incentives and preferential access to dedicated schools. A study will be conducted on the performance of girls in mathematics and science.

“A large number of women have dropped out of the school system, over decades, for all of the above reasons.

For this reason, ABET programmes target women specifically, and should be focused on equipping them to compete in the marketplace.

“It is recommended that critical gender awareness be integrated into all levels of the curriculum, and that teachers be trained in how to do this.

Nowhere is this more urgent than in Early Childhood Education (ECD), as evidence shows that it is in these formative years that gender roles are fixed.

“The schools-based research into values in education shows that boys, too, often feel discriminated against in the classroom and in schools: while girls are often always viewed as being diligent and well-behaved, boys can be stereotyped as naughty, lazy, and less in need of nurturing than girls.

Girls talk, boys fight: gender pigeonholes boys as it does girls, and this has serious ramifications in their emotional development - and ultimately, in how they treat girls and women.

Any gender awareness programme must be as sensitive to boys as it is to girls.

13. DEALING WITH HIV/AIDS AND NURTURING A CULTURE OF SEXUAL AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

"Sexuality is the most profound meeting place of nature and culture. At its best sexuality allows us to give ourselves over to feeling. To other people. To the world. To say yes to our souls and fundamentally to our bodies. But, sexuality is also where we experience most intensely the demands of a religion, morality and culture in general."

Judy Nokwedi-Fortuin, loveLife - Saamtrek conference, February 2001

"Certain qualities of character are essential for HIV/AIDS prevention and management. Essentially, these ‘qualities of character’ are values. Our submission therefore, is that values such as respect, responsibility, the ability to think, say and act the same thing - integrity, are essential for the prevention and management of HIV/AIDS."

Kgobati Magome, Department of Education - Saamtrek conference, February 2001

Every expression of passion in the contemporary world is overclouded in some way by the knowledge of a deathly syndrome that, in a grim irony, thrives - depends - on the alluring intimacy of sex. And the age at which young people are experiencing their first intimate relations is falling steadily. This deathly syndrome, then, requires very serious attention indeed.
In March 2001, the government reported that an estimated 4.7 million South Africans - one in nine - were infected with HIV. And it is estimated that three quarters of all new HIV-infections occur among those aged between 15 and 25. A national survey of teenagers has found that one third of all youths between the ages of 12 and 17 have had sex. Most children enter the education system HIV-negative; a growing number leave school HIV-positive, and many more become HIV-positive shortly after leaving.

If schools were able to influence children’s ideas about sex and relationships even before the onset of intimate encounters, they would play a unique role in changing the course of the epidemic - and in imparting the fundamental values of our Constitution.

In the Tirisano programme, Asmal asserts that dealing with HIV/AIDS "is the priority that underlies all priorities, for unless we succeed, we face a future full of suffering and loss, with untold consequences for our communities and the education institutions that serve them".

All in the education sector are going to have to take stock of the impact of the HIV epidemic: because of illness, death and the inevitable increase in the number of orphans, it is anticipated that there will be a rise in absenteeism of learners and educators, and a decline in learner enrolment and in the numbers of qualified personnel.

It is also expected that there will be a significant increase in costs of pensions, sick leave, and benefits, and a climate of trauma and bereavement in which teaching and learning will, perforce, occur. These factors will impinge on the nation's economy and its emotional well-being.

Apart from planning for these eventualities, there are two primary ways in which the education sector should engage with the AIDS emergency.

The first is to use its position - as the primary transmitter of knowledge, skills and values to the youth of our society - to raise HIV-awareness, to disseminate information about HIV and its transmission, and to help change the attitudes of young people to inhibit the spread of the epidemic.

This can be done within the curriculum, using public media, through extracurricular activity, and through the role modelling of teachers and other authorities.

The second way is to ensure that students and teachers who have been affected by HIV are not discriminated against, and to ensure, too, that they are able to live productively for as long as possible.

Both of these approaches flow from the fundamental constitutional values of our democracy, but they are also critical to entrenching these values within the educational system.
Promoting awareness of HIV/AIDS draws on the constitutional values of responsibility, respect and openness, but it also encourages the acquisition of these values, for it teaches young people about the respect and responsibility that must accompany sexual activity, and demonstrates the profound value of openness and communication.

Similarly, ensuring that HIV-positive people are not discriminated against reinforces the constitutional values of social justice, equality and ubuntu, but, by turning stigma into acceptance, it also performs the powerful function of modelling these values.

Certainly, HIV/AIDS is a threat to our well-being, but if the fight against it can be viewed as a pathway towards values formation rather than a cause for fear, fatalism and despondency, then we will no longer be paralysed in the face of it, and the epidemic itself will be dealt with more effectively.

"The Ministry of Education has announced that a National Conference on HIV/AIDS in the Education Sector will be convened in the second half of 2001.

"Tirisano commits the Education Department to a campaign that will achieve the following by 2004: "increased awareness, understanding, knowledge and sensitivity of the causes of HIV/AIDS, its consequences and impact on individuals, communities and society in general"; "eradication of non-discriminatory practices against individuals affected by HIV/AIDS";

"development of HIV/AIDS policy for the education and training system", and "change of attitude and behaviour towards sexuality, including an increased respect for girls and women."121

"Tirisano and the National Curriculum Statement mandate that information about HIV/AIDS and sexuality education must be integrated into the curriculum at all levels.

There will be specific components in the Life Orientation learning area, at all levels that deal with reproductive health and sexuality education - not as an add-on or optional subject, but as a mandatory part of the curriculum.

The curriculum will impart basic HIV/AIDS information, but, understanding that sexual responsibility flows out of self-esteem and self-knowledge and not just the acquisition of information, it will seek to provide students with the skills needed to gain such qualities.

"The Department of Education's Guidelines to Educators on the HIV/AIDS Emergency acknowledges that sexual relations in schools and among learners are a reality. It states that condoms, non-judgemental counselling and basic information should be available to learners who are engaged in sexual activity.

It must be acknowledged, however, that schools are part of their broader communities, and that there are often profound taboos against talking about sex and premarital sexual activity.

Interventions should therefore always encourage consultation, active participation and ownership by the broader school communities.

"Talking about sex is not in our culture." This statement is true for most cultures, but if schools and educators themselves are going to take seriously their own responsibilities, a way has to be found to break the taboo.
The Guidelines to Educators on HIV/AIDS offer several arguments for why sexual responsibility must be spoken about - and how it can be spoken about.

"Schools should be encouraged and resourced to become what the World Health Organisation has termed "Health-Promoting Schools", where "all members of the school community work together to provide students with integrated and positive experiences and structures which promote and protect their health."

In the Western Cape, a pilot programme to aid a school in becoming "Health-Promoting" has yielded encouraging results.

"In our society, the rates of coercive sex (where you are forced to be an unwilling participant) and transactive sex (where sex is used as a commodity for exchange) are high, and because both these forms of sex imply a loss of control and - in coercive sex - violence and bloodshed, they are especially risky.

In schools, with their in-built hierarchies and power systems, both transactive and coercive sex are common.

As noted above, educators caught having sexual relations with or sexually abusing learners are to be summarily dismissed.

If the learners are under 18, educators will not only be dismissed, but will be criminally liable for statutory rape.

Schools and education authorities should enforce these regulations and press for criminal charges where necessary, and should develop systems for protecting victims who come forward.

"The Guidelines for Educators notes: "Educators are expected to be role models and leaders in the community.

"By adopting safe and responsible sexual practices ourselves, we can protect ourselves from HIV and help countless others do the same.""

"Understanding that knowledge does not necessarily lead to behaviour change, and that media like television dramas play key roles in role modelling, the education sector should continue to use public media to raise awareness and influence behaviour change.

"It is immensely beneficial for all members of the school community - educators, learners and administrators - to be exposed to people living openly and positively with HIV.

Last year, the National Department of Health's Beyond Awareness Campaign placed HIV-positive people into tertiary institutions: it is recommended that this programme should be extended into schools.

14. MAKING SCHOOLS SAFE TO LEARN AND TEACH IN AND ENSURING THE RULE OF LAW

"Empowerment will inevitably, I believe, result in a certain degree of loss of being in authority. But the teacher who is 'an authority' not 'in authority' will be better able to guide and nurture pupils to engage in their own analysis and make their own decisions based on that guidance."

Nozipho January-Bardill, Ambassador to Switzerland - Saamtrek conference, February 2001124
It goes without saying that no real learning can take place in an environment of fear and illegality. Neither can the values of the Constitution be nurtured in young South Africans in an environment where they are being flouted daily, with impunity. It follows, then, that along with implementing the rule of law, ensuring the safety of schools must be a priority.

On a basic level it means ensuring learners and educators are physically secure, that material resources are secure, and that infrastructure is not degraded. Not only must learners and educators be safe from threats outside the school gates, but safe from each other, too: no learning or teaching can take place in an environment where teachers and learners inflict physical or sexual harm on each other.

But no matter how high the fences or how sophisticated the security system, a school and its community are indivisible, and unless a school sees itself as part of its community, and engages in the broader fight against crime in its community, it will not be safe itself.

Those who teach and learn in schools are among the most enlightened members of their community: if they begin to see themselves as change agents within their communities, this cannot but have a positive effect on the school community, too. In our extremely violent society it means modelling, for young people, the benefits of a path that uses discussion and dialogue rather than violent confrontation, a path that demonstrates to learners and to the broader community how much better the quality of life is for secure, law-abiding citizens.

If there is no respect for the legitimacy of those who administer the rule of law, it is little wonder the consequence is the chaos that exists in so many of our schools.

Traditionally, South African schools are hierarchical institutions which seek, through authoritarian discipline, to manage young people rigidly rather than to enlighten them. But accepting the values embodied in the Constitution means accepting that true respect and discipline are impossible without an embrace of the values of openness - just as meaningful debate and dialogue are impossible in a society that is not founded on respect and responsibility. The two are inextricable.

The fact that there is a breakdown in the rule of law at some schools is not because, as many educators feel, a "culture of human rights" has eroded discipline, but rather that the decades of illegitimacy and abuse of authority under the Bantu Education system have resulted in a culture of entitlement, and an attitude of non-compliance with rules and regulations.

Provincial authorities complain of the criminalisation of the school system, with unscrupulous individuals increasingly seeking illegitimate personal gain, and with widespread fraud, theft and nepotism. The absence of the rule of law in some schools means students are ungovernable, and use force, when there's a ruling against them, to get their way. It means educators are often unaccountable, not showing up to teach and regarding their positions as a sinecure rather than a vocation. It means administrators are often corrupt and self-serving.
Values, Education and Democracy emphasised "the importance of institutionalising the lines of accountability". Children and young adults, the report stated, "are the responsibility of parents and teachers, who in turn are accountable to school governing bodies and the educational authorities, who in turn are accountable to the citizens of the democratic society". This is particularly important given the fact that "ours is a transitional society on the move from an authoritarian heritage, where the rules of punitive sanction are replaced by the rules of democratic accountability".

Bringing the rule of law into schools does not mean reinstituting authoritarian structures, but building a system that is owned by all, where lines of accountability and authority are clear, where discipline is fair, just and proportionate, and where there is a sense of common purpose.

The South African Police Service and the Department of Education have formed a partnership called Signposts For Safer Schools, which provides communities with resources to manage, reduce and prevent crime and violence in schools.

A workbook has been produced for schools, and a three-year pilot programme has begun, targeting schools in districts designated, by President Mbeki, for urban and rural renewal. The partnership aims to set up School Safety Committees, which will develop, implement and monitor school safety plans and work closely with local law enforcement agencies.

Signposts For Safer Schools emphasises the development of programmes to deal with sexual violence at schools.

As noted above, these programmes are a combination of awareness programmes, demonstrable policing, support for victims, and action taken against perpetrators.

Community ownership of the school, through the school governing body, is vital for ensuring school safety: if a community owns a school, it will protect it.

Instituting the rule of law, through Codes of Conduct as emphasised above, is the cornerstone of any schools-safety programme.

Non-violence training should be addressed through the curriculum, specifically through conflict resolution and peace-education components in the Life Orientation learning area.

It is highly recommended that, even in ill-resourced environments, psychological assistance and guidance counselling be accessible - both to victims of violence and abuse, and, as importantly, to "difficult" children who might become criminals if appropriate and timely interventions do not take place.

The Tirisano project of upgrading derelict school buildings is to be accelerated.

This is vital, not only because the buildings themselves might be physically unsafe, but because it has been proven that a degraded environment elicits criminal activity and more degradation.

Pride - as we shall see below - is the surest deterrent to criminality.
"As has already been noted, a society that knows how to talk and how to listen does not need to resort to violence.

Thus, ensuring the safety of schools and engendering a culture of non-violence is inextricably linked to nurturing a culture of communication and participation in schools.

" "Making Schools Work" is one of the lead projects in the Education Department's Tirisano programme.

Its strategic objective is to "develop a school system that functions efficiently and effectively to realise the educational and social goals of the country", and its performance indicators are that all schools are well organised and run, and exhibit order and discipline; that all schools have rules and regulations that are known and adhered to by both educators and learners; that all schools are in session and operating for the stipulated number of hours in the school day and days in the school year, and that all learners and educators attend school daily and arrive at school on time.127

" The Constitutional Court has declared corporal punishment unconstitutional. In his introduction to the Department of Education's Guidelines to Alternatives to Corporal Punishment, Asmal notes that such punishment is "by its very nature, anti-human and ultimately an abusive practice that entrenches the idea that violence provides a solution to every problem in the classroom". He enjoins educators to find an alternative not just because the law demands it, but because "it is ultimately what must be done for the sake of our children - it demands the commitment and passion of educators who care deeply for children and who want what is best for them". The Guidelines offer alternatives to corporal punishment; ways through which discipline can be kept while respect is maintained.128

" School governing bodies are empowered, by the Schools Act, to draw up their own codes of conduct.

A school's code of conduct must be in line with South Africa's constitutional values, and must be crafted in such a way that all members of the school community have an investment in it. It is, ultimately, the means of achieving a safe and orderly learning environment and - once drawn up - must be adhered to within the school in the same way that the laws of the land are adhered to.

According to Asmal: "The code of conduct is essential to the successful implementation of an alternative to corporal punishment as it sets up the framework and the consequences for misbehaviour in such a way that all parties will have clarity on where they stand with regard to issues of discipline."129

" If school management is going to be open, accountable and accessible, it needs to be confident. To be confident, it needs to be skilled enough to manage its responsibilities effectively.

" The Education Laws Amendment Act sets out six instances of "serious misconduct" which will result in the summary dismissal of an educator. They are worth quoting here in full: "An educator must be dismissed if he or she is found guilty of: (a) theft, bribery, fraud or an act of corruption in regard to examinations or promotional reports; (b) committing an act of sexual assault on a learner, student or other employee; (c) having a sexual relationship with a learner of the school where he or she is employed; (d) seriously assaulting, with the intention to cause grievous bodily harm, a learner, student or other employee; (e) illegal possession of an intoxicating, illegal or stupefying substance; (f) causing a learner or a student to perform any of the above acts."130
The rule of law that applies outside the school must apply within it as well. Any assault, threat, or damage to property that takes place on school premises is against the law, whether the perpetrator is an outsider or a member of the school committee. If schools work together with their local law enforcement agencies to ensure that their premises are adequately policed, and that there is co-operation if a law is broken, the learning environment will be far more secure.

15. ethics and the environment

We must act before it's too late.
Valli Moosa, Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, June 2001

Environmental education processes have the potential to enhance a responsible ethic of sustainability in our learners, by developing the values and skills that steer our relationships with each other and with the Earth.
Razeena Wagiet, Environmental Adviser to the Minister of Education

Just as all South Africans share a responsibility to sustain democracy in order to enjoy the benefits of it, and to uphold the Constitution in order to secure their rights, so they have a responsibility to conserve and respect the environment in order to affirm a healthy quality of life and ensure development that is sustainable.

South Africa has a history of socially unjust conservation laws and the protection of land for the benefit of the few, often to the detriment of others. The majority were disadvantaged in their access to natural resources, while also disproportionately affected by environmental degradation such as soil erosion and water pollution, and unhealthy work and living areas.

Over time, the relationship between social justice and ecological sustainability became clearer, as did the links between sustainable development and care for natural resources.

When the Constitution was adopted it linked environmental issues to values underpinned by human rights and social responsibilities. In recognising the right to an environment that is not detrimental to citizens’ health or well-being, the Constitution signalled a national commitment to environmental action. If this is to be realised, environmental education is crucial.
But it is not merely about teaching young people about wild animals, endangered plant species and the awesome effect of fossil fuel gases on the ozone layer. The environment is the whole context of life itself, the combination of natural and human systems - the urban and rural landscapes and everything that happens within them.

The veld and the city impinge on each other in complex and often ethically challenging ways: everybody depends on the rural landscape as a source of food; whole industries, such as agriculture, forestry, tourism and mining, depend on the land to a greater or lesser extent, and many jobs are tied to exploiting it.

The consequences of pollution and waste, of ecological degradation, and the health risks that often flow from it, must be taken as part of the whole.

If these negative consequences are to be minimised and better managed, it can only stem from the application of ethical values to the environment as a whole; to the production processes, employment practices, legislation on conservation, local government law and, ultimately, the habits of living of individual citizens.

Without a balance between sustaining the land, and sustaining human interests, both will suffer. The core notion of environmentalism is biodiversity, the retention in balance of all the finite components that make the system, the environment, function sustainably. Educating young people to see their world in this light, and adopt the values on which sustainability and biodiversity depend, is a key opportunity for schools.

The White Paper on Education and Training makes clear the need for environmental education processes "involving an inter-disciplinary, integrated and active approach to learning", as "a vital element of all levels and programmes of the education training system, in order to create environmentally literate and active citizens and ensure that all South Africans, present and future, enjoy a decent quality of life through the sustainable use of resources".

It goes beyond inculcating a concern for the environment. It is vital South Africans recognise their responsibility to participate effectively in decision-making that influences the way the city or the veld is used and managed. And that means decision-making that affects the lives of fellow South Africans. Every region of the country is likely, in the decades to come, to have to face challenging decisions about employment-generating activities in ecologically sensitive, but economically needy, settings. And it will be the values we live by that influence how we relate to other people as much as to the environment, that will be the major factor in achieving a sustainable future.

Adopting an ethic of sustainability is about changing our basic relationships with the earth and with each other. It is founded on social justice and equity: being able to live co-operatively and in harmony with each other in a democratic setting in which our basic needs and human rights are satisfied in a fair and equitable way.

But it is clear it will take a programme of education to bring communities to the point where they are able to exercise responsibility for their own lives and for life on earth, and for reaching an understanding that the two are inseparable.
Being part of - and dependent on - natural systems requires respect for the environment, and sharing an approach to it that draws on humility, care and compassion, and an understanding of the importance of ecological processes, biodiversity and of avoiding the over-exploitation of renewable resources and the ecosystems that support them. There can be no doubt that environmental ethics must form part of what it means to be educated.

“The Ministry and Department of Education officially launched the National Environmental Education Programme (NEEP) in January 2001, and, in so doing, made a commitment to develop a strong emphasis on environmental education for South Africa. The NEEP vision is to provide an integrated educational framework for environmental enhancement, and sustainable development through co-operative governance.

“The aim is to show the power and relevance of environmental education in the South African context, as one of the means of achieving our Tirisano "Call to Action"133 launched in January 2000. The NEEP aims to demonstrate that environmental education has the potential to contribute to the building of a South African education and training system - in its broadest sense - for the 21st Century.

“The development objective of the project is to develop the capacity in all teachers in South Africa, to enable them to implement environmental learning at compulsory school level, integrated in the OBE curriculum.

The project is based on four components, which represent the various elements of the South African curriculum implementation cycle, namely:

influencing the curriculum policy process; materials resource development; professional development; and school-based implementation. Through the NEEP, environmental education has now been integrated into all eight learning areas in the general education and training band.

16. NURTURING THE NEW PATRIOTISM, OR AFFIRMING OUR COMMON CITIZENSHIP

"The new patriotism requires us to proceed from common positions about the nature of the problems our country faces. We must share a common recognition of the fact that all of us stand to gain from the transformation of SA into a non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous country ". No people is predestined to succeed or to fail. No child is born hating.

Our neighbours, whether black or white, are as human as we all are and as South African as we all are.”

Thabo Mbeki, President of the Republic of South Africa135

There is a difference between jingoism and patriotism that says much about the values of people who call themselves a nation.

It is, as Minister Asmal told the Saamtrek conference, the "critical distinction between pride and arrogance". Pride was "the fount of patriotism; arrogance the source of jingoism and chauvinism" Where does the difference lie?
"If arrogance is a reaction, then pride is an action," Asmal went on. "If arrogance devalues the other, then pride values the self.

"If arrogance is the old patriotism, then pride is the new patriotism". And so out of pride, out of the new patriotism, stems the very opposite of chauvinism and xenophobia: out of the new patriotism stem the values of tolerance and acceptance, of equality and democracy, of dialogue and negotiation and conflict-resolution that make us uniquely South African; uniquely South African in the uniquely global universe that is the 21st Century."136

Pride is an ingredient of a healthy society and the consequence of all the values and strategies discussed in this document.

Through a shared sense of pride in commonly held values - and in the symbols of those commonly held values - a common identity is forged, and a loyalty to this common identity is established.

At the more intimate level, this manifests as a loyalty to one's school, to its values, its symbols, its members, its sports teams, its progress and future, its well-being.

In the broader environment, it manifests as what might be called "patriotism"; a loyalty to one's country, its values, its symbols and anthem, its sports teams, its place in Africa and the world, its progress and future, its well-being.

Justice Kate O'Regan said at the Saamtrek conference that "the concept of responsibility is a concept that determines the relationship between society and individual and in so doing it is central to our conception of both individual and society. It is a fundamental link that denies a rigid and blind individualism. Human beings are human beings because of other human beings, as the concept of ubuntu states. It is our responsibility to ourselves, to others and to things that makes us human beings."137

At the core of patriotism is a sense of obligation to one's school, one's community, one's country - the very opposite of the kind of narrow patriotism of the past, predicated upon, and perpetrating, the subjugation or denial of others.

This New Patriotism is forged through a common adherence to the constitutional values of democracy, equality, social justice, non-sexism, non-racism, accountability, openness, ubuntu, respect, reconciliation and the rule of law; through cherishing the values upon which our society is built - the values of openness, discussion, debate, dialogue, and the acknowledgement of difference.

Such common adherence finds its rallying point, in schools as much as in countries, in symbols, in the anthems, mottoes, flags, and sports insignia that engender pride and a collective sense of being.
The Values in Education: Celebration of our National Symbols is a programme of the Tirisano implementation plan for 2001-2002. The programme identifies the flag, national anthem, the coat of arms, animal (springbok), flower (king protea), bird (blue crane), tree (yellowwood) and fish (galjoen) as our national symbols.

These symbols express a spirit and ethos, inasmuch as they are symbolic affirmations of our nationhood. We would like to add to this symbolic repertoire a verbal affirmation of citizenship having the following text:

I promise to do my best to promote the welfare and well-being of all my fellow South African citizens.

I promise to show self-respect in all that I do and to respect all of my fellow citizens, our various traditions, and our Constitution.

Let us work for peace, friendship and reconciliation and heal the scars left by past conflicts, and let us build a common destiny together.

"The Department of Education is attempting to supply every public school in South Africa with a flag and a booklet containing the National Anthem.

These are being distributed so that flags are always flown, and the anthem sung frequently and properly.

"Schools should be encouraged to design - through collective and communal endeavour - symbols that reflect their own values: flags, mottoes, insignia and school songs.

"Events which encourage school unity, community unity and national unity should be hosted by schools. These could range from Freedom Day assemblies to carnivals celebrating a community's past.

"Loyalty to one's school, one's community and one's country can be forged through voluntary community service. Such service can become a matter of pride rather than onerous obligation if learners experience clear benefit from it - if, for example, it assists them with their schoolwork or is considered to be part of the curriculum.

"Traditionally in our societies, scholars have always played informal roles as readers and writers for the illiterate people in their communities: this role could be formalised into the creation of the "literacy volunteers" Asmal has called for.

"At the Saamtrek conference, Asmal noted that there was no better way to teach the values of dialogue and communication than through the history of South Africa's own coming to democracy.

An anthem and a flag might be there as a symbol of pride and of unity, but if young people are to develop a critical, conscious understanding of what it means to be a South African, this understanding will come out of learning about South Africa's history and political system through the Social Sciences curriculum.
"South Africa has a large - and growing - population of immigrants (legal and illegal) and refugees.

An exclusivist "National Pride" approach to civic education will run the danger of increasing levels of xenophobia that are already dangerously high in our society, and will alienate non-South Africans even further.

Nonetheless, all people who live in South Africa - regardless of their origins - need to understand and subscribe to our fundamental constitutional values. The New Patriotism should be taught in such a way that it is less about being South African and more about understanding what South Africa stands for.

Endnotes

1 Wilmot James is Professor of Diversity Studies at the University of Cape Town, and on leave as Associate Editor of the Cape Argus. The other members were: retired educator Franz Auerbach; Zubeida Desai, the Deputy Chair of the Pan-South African Language Board; historian Hermann Giliomee; parliamentarian Z Pallo Jordan MP; author and journalist Antjie Krog; Pansy Tlakula of the South African Human Rights Commission; and, representing the Department and Ministry of Education, Thembile Kulati, Khetsi Lehoko and Brenda Leibowitz.


3 Values, Education and Democracy, p.10.

4 Values, Education and Democracy, p.6.

5 Values, Education and Democracy, p.25.

6 Values, Education and Democracy, p.23.


8 Values, Education and Democracy, p.33.

9 Values, Education and Democracy, p.7.

10 Values, Education and Democracy, p.45.

11 Values, Education and Democracy, p.7.

12 "I promise to be loyal to my country, South Africa, and to do my best to promote its welfare and the well-being of all its citizens. I promise to show self-respect in all that I do and to respect all of my fellow citizens and all of our various traditions. Let us work for peace, friendship and reconciliation and heal the scars left by past conflicts. And let us build a common destiny together."


14 A full set of responses is available from the Department of Education, through the National Centre for Curriculum Research and Development. Forty-eight responses were received, including 28 from institutions and only three from schools. According to a summary prepared by the NCCRD, 38 were positive and four negative.

15 The preliminary findings were published as Values, Education and Democracy: Interim Research Report, the University of the Witwatersrand Education Policy Unit, 2001. At the time of publication of this
Manifesto, a final document was being prepared under the working title, Values, Education and Democracy: Schools Based Research.


18 Nelson Mandela, "The Challenges of Nation Building, Democracy and Education" address to Saamtrek.


23 "Code of Conduct", South African Council of Educators, Article 3.3

24 Asmal, "Pride vs Arrogance: The New Patriotism".

25 Asmal, "Pride vs Arrogance: The New Patriotism".


27 Mandela, "The Challenges of Nation Building".

28 Barney Pityana, "A Response to the Address by Kader Asmal", address to Saamtrek.

29 Albert Nolan, "The Role of a Religious Consciousness in the Development of Values", address to Saamtrek.

30 Cited by Wally Morrow, "Cultivating Humanity in the Contemporary World", address to Saamtrek.

31 Kader Asmal and Wilmot James, "Education and Democracy in South Africa", in Daedalus, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 30, no.1, 2001

32 Values, Education and Democracy, p.19.


34 S v Makwanyane and another 1995 (3) SA 391 (CC) para 26.

35 Kate O'Regan, "The Vision of the Constitution", address to Saamtrek.

36 Preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 8 May 1996.

37 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Articles 26, 27, 28, 29.

38 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Article 9.

39 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Article 1(c).


Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Article 1(c).


Preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 8 May 1996.

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Mandela, "The Challenges of Nation Building".

Morrow, "Cultivating Humanity in the Contemporary World".

Values, Education and Democracy, p.43.


Jacob Zuma, Deputy President, "Opening Address", Saamtrek.


Values, Education and Democracy: Schools Based Research.


Values, Education and Democracy, p.37.

Asmal, Tirisano.
Bulletin of the SA Qualifications Authority.

Values, Education and Democracy: Schools Based Research

Values, Education and Democracy: Schools Based Research.

Asmal, "Pride vs Arrogance: The New Patriotism".

Linda Chisholm, "Values, Multiculturalism and Human Rights in Apartheid and Post-Apartheid South African Curriculum", address to Saamtrek.

Proposed Amended National Curriculum Statement for Grades R-9 of Schools.

Alfred Hinkel, "In Step With The Bill of Rights", address to Saamtrek.

Values, Education and Democracy, p.25.

Proposed Amended National Curriculum Statement for Grades R-9 of Schools: Learning Area Statement for Arts and Culture.


Bulletin of the SA Qualifications Authority.

Proposed Amended National Curriculum Statement for Grades R-9 of Schools: Learning Area Statement for Arts and Culture.

Mandla Langa, "And the News Never Came", address to Saamtrek.

Values, Education and Democracy, p.23.

Report of the History and Archaeology Panel, p.3.


Proposed National Curriculum Statement for Grades R-9 of Schools.

Luli Callinicos, "Reconceptualising the History Curriculum", address to Saamtrek.

Nolan, "The Role of a Religious Consciousness in the Development of Values".

Neville Alexander, "Rehabilitating mother-tongue education and creating a system of bilingual education as a transition strategy", address to Saamtrek.


In Mangaung, Free State, three different sets of Grade 4 learners were taught the same history curriculum in three different ways: in Sesotho, in English with summaries in Sesotho, and in English alone. The students learning exclusively in Sesotho attained the highest marks, and the students learning exclusively in English the lowest.

"Language in Education Policy", in terms of Section 3(4)(m) of the National Education Policy Act of 1996, 14 July 1997.

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Coetzee et al, "Language Policy in Schools".
94 Sam Ramsamy, "Olympic Values in Shaping Social Bonds and Nation Building at Schools", address to Saamtrek.

95 Denver J Fredericks, "Nation Building and the Business of Sport", address to Saamtrek.

96 Pathekile Holomisa, "Revisiting Social Honour: Harnessing the Resources at our Disposal", address to Saamtrek.


98 Asmal and James, "Education and Democracy in South Africa Today".

99 Cited in Values, Education and Democracy, p.16.


101 Education for All: The South Africa Assessment Report.

102 Education for All: The South Africa Assessment Report.

103 Asmal, Tirisano.

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106 Pityana, "A Response to the Address by Kader Asmal", address to Saamtrek.

107 "Racism, racial integration and desegregation in South African public secondary schools".


109 "Racism, racial integration and desegregation in South African public secondary schools", p.29.

110 Report on Diversity in Educational Institutions, Mpumalanga Education Department, 2001.


113 "Scared at School".


117 These figures were extrapolated from blind testing of pregnant women at antenatal clinics: 24,5% of these women were infected, up from 22,8% in 1998. It is estimated that three quarters of all new HIV infections occur among those aged between 15 and 25. Official figures and estimations were given by the National Department of Health.

118 The Impending Catastrophe, loveLife, Johannesburg, 2000.

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O'Regan, "The vision of the Constitution".