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Bantu Education, and Its Living Educational and Socioeconomic Legacy in Apartheid and Post-Apartheid South Africa

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Bantu Education, and Its Living Educational and Socioeconomic Legacy in Apartheid and Post-Apartheid South Africa

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1. Abstract

Despite its 25th anniversary of democratic governance, the Republic of South Africa still reels from its past Apartheid legacy, especially in its education sector. One famous Apartheid policy was Bantu Education, which legally restricted the delivery of educational services to black South Africans during Apartheid. Because of Bantu Education and its lasting legacy in South Africa, many black South Africans have historically and continue to be denied access to quality education, depriving them of employment and other socioeconomic opportunities. This paper explores both educational and socioeconomic factors, such as school curriculum and vocational training, to demonstrate the important and foundational connection between education quality and socioeconomic outcome and opportunity. By additionally providing recommendations such as policy implementation and public-private partnerships to address Apartheid's legacy in the country's education sector, this paper holistically approaches the problems Bantu Education and its policies created and left behind in South Africa.

1. Introduction

On April 20th, 1964, then 45-year-old Nelson Mandela gave a 29-minute speech to a South Africa courtroom before his sentencing, re-telling his life and his Anti-Apartheid causes. Shortly before being spared the death penalty, and sentenced to life in prison, he declared to the court: “only 5,660 African children in the whole of South Africa passed their Junior Certificate in 1962, and in that year only 362 passed matric.... Children wander about the streets of townships because they have no schools to go to, or no money to enable them to go to school.... This leads to a breakdown of moral standards” (Fisher, 2019). Unfortunately, this still happens in 2019 South Africa, from teachers failing to show up to class, to young students falling and drowning in broken pit toilets. Despite 25 years of democracy, the Republic of South Africa continues to struggle with its Apartheid past, especially regarding the infamous policy called Bantu Education.

Specifically, due to Bantu Education and its lack of educational service delivery, black South Africans have historically and currently lack equal access to employment and other socioeconomic opportunities. However, through policy implementation and community development, South Africa can better resolve this pertinent issue. Following historical and philosophical backgrounds on the Apartheid policy, I will demonstrate how Bantu Education restricted the opportunities of black South Africans educationally and socioeconomically during Apartheid from 1948-1994. Then, after a brief background on South African Education Post-Apartheid, I will show how Bantu Education from 1994-2019 continues to deprive many black South African students from equal job opportunities educationally and socioeconomically. Lastly, I will argue how policy implementation and community development contribute to an overall solution in addressing and breaking Bantu Education’s grip on South Africa’s current education sector. Before starting, I will first provide a background into the theory and methodology of this

paper, including its approaches, why South Africa, the different variables discussed, challenges found along the way, and the different sources used.

A. Thesis Review and Approaches

Bantu Education has affected the employment and socioeconomic opportunities of black South Africans in South Africa during and Post-Apartheid through its lack of educational service delivery. However, through policy implementation and community development, black South Africans can potentially gain better access to these opportunities.

This paper will present educational and socioeconomic perspectives to give a more holistic view of Apartheid's lasting effect on South Africa, and how *de facto* Apartheid is far from over. By analyzing Bantu Education and its effects through an educational lens, this paper will demonstrate how South Africa's Apartheid and Post-Apartheid education sectors have both lacked in quality education, resulting in black students not being prepared to enter the job market. Through a socioeconomic perspective, the reader of this thesis will better understand not only why black South Africans were economically poor under Apartheid, but also why the country is currently dealing with high poverty and unemployment rates, especially among youth. With these two approaches, the reader will obtain a holistic view, and better understand one of the most fundamental problems in South Africa today.

B. Why South Africa? The Importance of Education and its Socioeconomic Effects

South Africa is the case study of this paper as it is a prime example demonstrating the importance of educational cause to the socioeconomic effect of an African Post-Colonial State. When considering its recent liberation from Apartheid in 1994, and debatable status as one of the

most developed countries on the African continent, South Africa serves as a modern example of an early African Post-Colonial State. By conducting research on the educational and socioeconomic issues that South Africa faces, this thesis will give better insight as to why other African Post-Colonial countries might not have become as economically successful.

C. Variables Explored in Thesis

This paper will discuss these variables to give a holistic view and recommendations: Education, Employment opportunities, Policy Implementation, and Community Development.

Education is a variable because of how it relates directly to the access of employment and socioeconomic opportunities black South Africans had during Apartheid and Post-Apartheid. As discussed later in the paper, Bantu Education restricted the educational service delivery of black South African students during Apartheid. Because of these implemented policies and curriculums, many young black South Africans did not learn skills that would have helped them in the job market. This limited their job opportunities in the country, and continues to do so Post-Apartheid. While these past policies were erased during the transition from Apartheid to Democracy, the lack of educational service delivery remains the same. Therefore, education is an important variable that must be evaluated to understand why the country still suffers from poverty and unemployment.

Employment opportunities is included as a variable, as the lack of them in Apartheid and Post-Apartheid South Africa for black South Africans demonstrates the effect low-quality educational service delivery has on students. These constraining education policies black students suffered during Apartheid prepared many to work in their own communities, or be unskilled laborers in cities, limiting their employment options. Considering South Africa's currently high

unemployment, this thesis will argue that these socioeconomic factors are due to the lack of access many black South Africans have to a good quality education.

Policy implementation is a variable, as it plays a key role in solving economic and educational issues South Africa faces Post-Apartheid. South Africa's Constitution is considered to be one of the most liberal constitutions in the world, as it has laws such as the rights to Housing, Education, Citizenship, and more. However, from personal experience and research, these policies are not implemented, resulting in black South Africans not obtaining the rights nor help that the government guaranteed. As a result, many black South Africans do not have decent access to socioeconomic or employment opportunities. Yet with policy implementation, issues such as unemployment and poverty can be fixed.

Lastly, community development is a variable in this paper, as it provides long-term solutions to socioeconomic issues that black South Africans face. This can especially be seen in public-private partnerships, and how schools, communities and companies have worked together to foster successful community development and change in their communities.

D. South Africa: The Typical Case For An African Post-Colonial State?

Compared to Nigeria, Kenya, and other Sub-Saharan African States, South Africa is not the typical example of a modern African Post-Colonial State, as it has only recently become independent from its oppressive past. However, this is beneficial, as it provides a modern model of a young African Post-Colonial State in its early stages and formation. By focusing on South Africa, and its education and socioeconomic factors, the country could demonstrate to other African Post-Colonial countries how to approach their educational and socioeconomic issues.

E. Methodology: Analyzing Thesis Sources and Materials

When investigating how education affects the employment and socioeconomic opportunities of black South Africans, secondary sources from Apartheid and Post-Apartheid South Africa are used to support the claims about education and socioeconomics in South Africa. These sources were included to bolster the paper's arguments with scholarly sources and readings, as well as to diversify its sources for a more supported and nuanced thesis.

South African government papers are referenced and quoted to support the paper's arguments regarding Bantu Education, current education and economic policies, and policy implementation. For example, South Africa's Post-Apartheid Constitution demonstrates how the country has failed to guarantee its people all of the rights guaranteed by the document. By actually implementing these policies, and others stated in government documents, the country will improve black South Africans' access to employment and socioeconomic opportunities.

News articles from South African news sites providing up-to-date information on current events in South Africa are also included in this thesis. While secondary and scholarly sources provide a more thorough analysis of Apartheid and its lasting effects, news articles provide current developments in the country. Furthermore, South African news articles were chosen because of their first-hand accounts and experiences not reflected in secondary sources. By using news articles in this thesis, a more holistic view will be brought to the argument of Apartheid's lasting legacy in South Africa's education and employment sectors.

Lastly, education and economic quantitative data from Apartheid and Post-Apartheid South Africa are used to connect the education and socioeconomic arguments of the thesis. By providing statistics, the gap between South African education and economics research can be bridged. These sources will vitally support this thesis, as while qualitative data can explain the

experiences and opinions of Black South Africans in education and employment, it alone cannot bridge this connection between this education cause and economic outcome.

F. Challenges in Thesis

The main challenge in the composition of this thesis was bridging the gap between sources focused solely on education and economics. Connecting education and economic sources to support the main argument was the challenge, as much scholarship on education in Apartheid and Post-Apartheid South Africa, as well as socioeconomics in the country do not connect with, nor communicate with each other. For example, some of the education sources on Post-Apartheid South Africa discuss the lack of quality education in the country, but do not discuss the socioeconomic repercussions of that. Some of the economic sources discuss poverty and unemployment in Post-Apartheid South Africa, yet do not explain the causes of it. Therefore, the main challenge of the thesis was connecting the education cause, to socioeconomic outcome. The next section below will discuss these sources, as well as address the gap between the two areas of study.

2. Literature Review

The literature surrounding Bantu Education and its Post-Apartheid legacy is mostly made up of secondary articles [from both Apartheid and Post-Apartheid periods], but also includes Apartheid and Post-Apartheid government documents, and recent South African news articles. This literary review analyzes this variety of different sources to not only be inclusive of the literature produced between 1948 to October of 2019, but also to provide a holistic and concrete critique of the current literature on Bantu Education. In that, the scholarship and articles do discuss

how Bantu Education has deprived many black South Africans of a quality education, as well as unemployment and labor during Apartheid and Post-Apartheid. However, it clearly does not make any connection that the quality of education one receives directly impacts their employment opportunities. In regard to recommendations and solutions, the Post-Apartheid literature specifically does not provide reasons as to why South African education and economic policies go unimplemented, or why the education of many black students remains poor. When considering the current state of its education sector, South Africa must recognize Bantu Education's legacy in order to improve its schools, and the educational lives of its black students. To begin, the next subsection will discuss the literature on education in Apartheid and Post-Apartheid South Africa.

A. Literature discussing Education in Apartheid and Post-Apartheid South Africa

Duncan Thomas in his 1996 journal article explores the differing levels of education that all South Africans received during Apartheid, and the factors contributing to them. After explaining the statistics showing the different levels of education whites, asians, coloreds, and blacks received, Thomas explains how intergenerational education widely influences the education of both asian and black South Africans. In that, if a black South African's father attended only primary school, then that student will most likely only attend primary school (Thomas, 1996, 332). Thomas' statistics and explanations do provide an interesting take on what factors influenced the education of South African students under Apartheid, yet he does not write how educational disparities, especially between white and black students, affected their employment opportunities. While his statistics are useful in demonstrating the effects of Bantu Education on South African students, he fails to actually explain how black South Africans students were affected socioeconomically.

Zandile Nkabinde in her 2016 journal article discusses various issues in Post-Apartheid South African education, focusing specifically on school funding, teacher training, and various components of education policy. For example, South Africa's Language policy states that students have the right to choose their language of instruction and develop their linguistic skills to participate fully in South African life. However, most former white schools do not teach any African languages, academically disadvantaging black students whose home language is not Afrikaans or English. Additionally, many white schools have little to no subject advisors who speak African languages (Nkabinde, 2016, 86). By solely promoting Afrikaans and English, former white schools prevent black students from advancing in their home languages, and subject those who not fluent in Afrikaans or English to more academic challenges. While Nkabinde goes into further detail about education policies and how they academically disadvantage black students, she does not largely explain how they will affect their employment or even higher education opportunities. In effect, she does not establish a clear connection between education and economic outcome. Unfortunately, sources analyzing the South African economy during and Post-Apartheid do not make a connection to education either.

B. Literature discussing Economics in Apartheid and Post-Apartheid South Africa

Anton Lowenberg in his 1997 journal article discusses how policy inefficiency, such as education policies creating job shortages, in South Africa led to the Apartheid economy failing. Regarding education policy, he writes that "Black education and training was deliberately designed to be inferior to that of whites, with the intention of securing job preference for whites" (Lowenberg, 1997, 63). Bantu Education affected the economic opportunities of black South Africans by limiting their trainings and education for white job security. While Lowenberg does

make the connection, he does not add more examples or other education policies to further strengthen it.

The Department of Finance in Post-Apartheid South Africa created a policy called *Growth, Employment, and Redistribution A Macro Economic Policy* (GEAR), in 1996. This plan, was aimed to help the country build a more competitive economy, provide income redistribution to help the poor, and provide people with all services and safe environments to live and work (Dept. of Finance of the Republic of South Africa [RSA], 2000, 1). When discussing its social policies and sectors, the Department states that improvements in quality public schools are central to its approach (Dept. of Finance of RSA, 2000, 15). The plan also analyzes the employment sector, explaining the conditions and trends of employment in South Africa during 1994. When discussing job opportunities and unemployment, the Dept. of Finance found that with unemployment rising to 37% in 2000, low rewarding jobs in the non-formal sectors have increased twice as fast as jobs in the formal sector. This will worsen income distribution, especially for young job seekers without an education or related skills (Dept. of Finance, RSA, 2000, 18). Despite GEAR's goal of improving public school education, unemployment was still expected to rise, and due to the rise in non-full-time job opportunities, it was also projected that income distribution, especially among the rural poor, young, and unskilled workers will further worsen. However, there is a lack of connection between economic factors, such as unemployment, job growth, and education. In that, the plan does not answer why unemployment would have risen to 37% by 2000, nor why there was an increase in non-full-time jobs. Because the GEAR plan did not acknowledge the effect of the legacy of Bantu Education nor Apartheid itself, GEAR lacked presenting a plan to combat the economic challenges South Africa had in early Post-Apartheid. Now, the next section discusses

the literature involving the lack of policy implementation and quality education in Post-Apartheid South Africa, and how it does not explain the roots of these issues.

C. Literature discussing Policy Implementation in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Mail & Guardian's Athandiwe Saba explains in her 2018 news article how the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) policy has failed to help black South Africans gain more employment opportunities. The BEE policy is meant to encourage businesses and departments that work for the government to hire more black South Africans, creating diversity in the workplace, and achieving “economic transformation and the economic participation of black people in the economy” (Saba, 2018). However, the BEE policy has resulted in even fewer employment opportunities being given to black South Africans. The BEE Commissioner in response stated ““If [the] government can have its house in order, complies with the Act and refuses to do business with any company without the highest BEE levels... the companies would then start taking transformation seriously”” (Saba, 2018). Due to the lack of regulation and policy implementation by the government in the BEE policy, these companies are not hiring more black South Africans. Therefore, it is the fault of the government for not implementing its policies to help provide black South Africans more employment opportunities. While Saba makes a clear argument about the government’s lack of policy implementation, and presents different voices in her article, she does not answer why the government is not enforcing BEE policy.

Michael Arnst, Lisa Draga, and Lisa Andrews in their 2013 journal article explore the effects of South Africa’s National Development Plan (NDP) on Education, especially in education districts, rural schools, and school infrastructure. Despite recognizing the importance of the functioning education districts, they state the NDP has no policy outlining the responsibilities of

education districts, causing confusion at the district level. This has left people without needed knowledge to hold these districts accountable (Arnst, Draga and Andrews, 2013, 131). Additionally, when discussing school infrastructure, according to the National Education Infrastructure Management System in 2011, about 20% of schools have no or unreliable water supplies and half have pit latrines or no toilets. The authors argue that this calls into question whether a poorly-equipped school can provide access to a basic education, as mandated in the constitution (Arnst et al., 2013, 134). These terrible conditions and disorganization of local schools and boards demonstrate a lack of policy implementation in regard to the constitution, specifically with the right to basic education. Due to the South African government not enforcing their policies, several schools are in horrible conditions, affecting the quality of education South African students obtain. While Arnst, Draga, and Andrews do compile and present a strong case as to how the NDP and government are lacking in policy that would substantially benefit the education sector, they miss the reasoning behind it, which is just as important as explaining the effects of these policies. I will now move onto the literature discussing the lack of quality education in Post-Apartheid South African schools.

D. Literature discussing Poor Quality Education in Post-Apartheid South African Schools

In her 2019 *News24* news article, Jenni Evans discusses the multitude of corporal punishment accusations by students against teachers and the administration at Paarl Boys High School in Paarl, South Africa in early 2019. Describing how students were hit with planks, bats, and other corporal punishments, Evans quotes a witness, explaining “there were teachers who specifically did not send pupils out of the class, in order to avoid them being subjected to corporal punishment. They gave out writing lines ... as punishment” (Evans, 2019). She also writes

“corporal punishment at school was outlawed by the *SA Schools Act of 1996*. An application by Christian Education South Africa to be exempt on religious grounds... was dismissed by the Constitutional Court in 2000” (Evans, 2019). These corporal punishment incidents, despite the law, still occurred, pointing to a lack of policy implementation by the government. However, due to Evans not giving a reason to why this was happening, she essentially writes how these Paarl Boys High School students were receiving a poor quality education, yet does not explain why.

Azarrah Karrim’s *News24* article describes the recent 2019 campaign by Amnesty International South Africa to encourage South Africans to demand better quality education from the government. Currently 78% of 10-year-old students cannot read; 61% of 11-year-old students cannot do basic math; and 17% of the country’s schools still have dangerous and unclean pit latrines, causing many deaths by drowning in recent years (Karrim, 2019). Amnesty International South Africa in response has said “while South Africa has made progress in providing access to education, it has yet to tackle the deeply entrenched legacy of apartheid, left by Hendrick Verwoerd, that continues to result in massive inequalities in the country's education system” (Karrim, 2019). Due to Apartheid’s legacy on South Africa’s education system, the quality of education in the country is still poor. However, because Karrim does not further explain the cause of the low-quality education for black South African students, she does not fully explain why the education sector remains in a poor condition. Before starting the main argument, the next sections will give background on the history and philosophies of Bantu Education.

3. What was Bantu Education in South Africa?

The Bantu Education Act of 1953, known as Bantu Education, was an infamous set of education policies passed in 1953 that legalized racial segregation, a strict and specific education

curriculum, and more in Apartheid South Africa. The word “Bantu” means the word “Native”, referring to any person from an indigenous tribe or race in South Africa (Union of South Africa, 1953, 258). Other notable portions of this act include stripping all control of education from the provinces and provincial councils, placing it all in the central government (Union of South Africa, 1953, 260). Yet most importantly, the Minister of the newly created Bantu Education Sector was given the power to prescribe what courses could be taken in Bantu schools, what language these courses were taught in, and how much funding Bantu schools received (Union of South Africa, 1953, 272). Notably, this section of *The Bantu Education Act* gave the government complete control over the education curriculum of all black South African students in the Union of South Africa. As will be seen below, this power over the curriculum resulted in the creation of a special curriculum for black South African students.

A. Bantu Education Curriculum

The education curriculum under Bantu Education was created to teach and train black South African students for job opportunities related to unskilled labor. In the experience of black South African student Duma Nkowe, Religion was taught 100 minutes per week, Afrikaans was taught 205 minutes per week, English taught for 205 minutes per week, Arithmetic for 180 minutes per week, Social Studies for 180 minutes per week, Health Education for 180 minutes per week, Nature Study for 60 minutes per week, and other activities like Needlework, Planting Trees, Soil Conservation, Handwork and Homecraft, and Gardening were all for 120 minutes each per week (Nkowe, 1955, 16). By dedicating substantial amounts of time to subjects such as crafts, gardening, and sewing, the education curriculum under Bantu Education trained Black students to be unskilled laborers, such as gardeners and seamstresses.

The curriculum also alienated black students from their own country, stressing them to stay in their “natural” areas or reserves. When discussing his Citizenship class, Nkowe explains “the whole course is designed to impress indelibly upon the child that he is a citizen not of South Africa but of the tribe and that he has ‘duties, privileges, and responsibilities in the village and the town’, and not beyond” (Nkowe, 1955, 17). The Apartheid government used their direct control over the education curriculum to further support the racial segregation of Apartheid, and brainwash black students into believing they were not citizens of their own country. This education curriculum sparked a variety of different responses in the Bantu Education sector.

B. Reactions to and End of Bantu Education

Both students and teacher reacted in a diversity of ways to Bantu Education, especially to the curriculum that was being taught. For example, ““While teachers ... ‘did not accept the new system... they were just forced to do it. It was difficult to force them because ... they were afraid to act against the department because they feared that they would be expelled’” (Soudien, 2002, 219). Despite many disagreeing with the curriculum being taught to black students, in order to keep their jobs, teachers were forced to teach the Bantu Education curriculum to their students.

Similar to teachers, many black students also deplored Bantu Education, and some resisted it. Soon after the government passed a decree stating that black students in the township of Soweto would learn all of their subjects in Afrikaans, students old and young from Soweto on June 16th, 1976, peacefully protested. The police responded by shooting young protestors, killing 4 and injuring 11 children according to newspapers (Baker, 2016). Due to the violent and massaric nature of this incident, this protest became world-renowned as the *Soweto Uprisings*.

Bantu Education legally ended in 1979, and was replaced by the *Education and Training Act of 1979*. However, since this act still enforced racial school segregation, the main components of Bantu Education were not overturned until the passing of the *South African Schools Act of 1996* under the Republic of South Africa (Contributors to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2019). In the next section, to understand its purpose, the general, religious, and economic philosophies behind Bantu Education will be discussed.

4. Philosophy of Bantu Education

The philosophy of Bantu Education was one that highly stressed racial inequality, segregation, and African inferiority. R. Hunt Davis Jr. explains Bantu Education “had to stress the concepts of Afrikaner guardianship and racial inequality.... They [Africans] should consider their national position to be beneath that of white South Africans. Education was to help mold Africans into Bantu” (Davis Jr., 1972, 8). The Apartheid government was able to inject this policy promoting African inferiority to white superiority through Bantu Education, as seen through its curriculum and Duma Nkowe’s experiences.

A. The Good Intentions Behind Bantu Education

Interestingly, many Apartheid politicians saw and supported Bantu Education with the best of intentions. Former Minister of Bantu Education, Dr. H. Verwoerd stated the “Until now he [the African] has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community ... by showing the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze”, and

by not finding “acceptable” employment, educated black South Africans were frustrated (Curtin, 1993, 419). Max Eiselen, the architect of Bantu Education, when observing education in missionary schools, found “the rapid ‘adaptation’ required of African students subjected to the same curriculum as ‘Europeans’ in secondary schools, caused them to confuse ‘rebelliousness with independence and irresponsible behaviour with freedom’” (Kros, 2002, 63). Missionary schools in South Africa before Bantu Education educated some black South African students. Yet many had overcrowded classrooms, poor school facilities, and high primary student drop-out rates (Giliomee, 2009, 191). By providing an education that would bring black South Africans closer to their own communities, and removing all European influences in education, the constructors and supporters of Bantu Education justified its creation. Despite damaging the education of black South Africans, Bantu Education’s policies and curriculum was interestingly created under the good intentions of Apartheid politicians. However, there are other interesting factors that influenced Bantu Education as well.

B. Religious Influences In Bantu Education

The religious influences on Bantu Education promoted racial segregation on religious grounds to save the Africans and protect the whites. Before the establishment of Bantu Education, there was much religious justification and support for racial segregation in education. Linda Chisholm in her 2018 book writes “if the African heathendom was ... to be brought under Christian control, then the African ... needed to be returned to his true and pure nature.... this amounted to... the role of education being to bolster racial difference.... Inequality, and racism was deeply implicated” (Chisholm, 2018, 15). The Institute for Christian National Education in 1943 wrote

“Our afrikaans schools... must be places where our children will be imbued with the Christian and national spiritual and cultural material of our nation.... We wish to have... no mixing of cultures, no mixing of religions and no mixing of races” (Davis Jr., 1972, 7). These two different religious reasons, one advocating for the need of racial difference to return “the African” to their natural state, and the other demanding the protection of Afrikaans culture and religion, demonstrate the religious push for racial segregation in schools. With religious influences such as those that promoted racial segregation in education through Christianity, it is evident to see the religious influence in racial separation in schools under Bantu Education. Furthermore, economics and labor had an influence on Bantu Education as well.

C. Economic Influence on Bantu Education

Bantu Education was also partly created to exploit the labor of black South Africans. As previously discussed, black South African students learned how to do various tasks, such as gardening, and sewing, training students to be unskilled or semi-skilled workers. While this was partly done to keep students in their own communities, it also was done to satisfy the need for unskilled and semi-skilled labor in South Africa. For example, white areas and urban employers greatly demanded black unskilled and semi-skilled labor, especially urban employers who demanded “tribal labour” (Giliomee, 2009, 192). With the education curriculum training black South African students for unskilled and semi-skilled labor, Bantu Education helped fulfill the need of “tribal labour” by employers. Bantu Education served as a system that provided exclusively unskilled and semi-skilled labor to satisfy the capitalist needs of its own economy. Therefore, the philosophy of Bantu Education advanced racial segregation, inequality, and

economic need, detrimentally affecting the lives of black South Africans. This impact on black students highly contributed to their low-quality education, and lack of access to employment.

5. Educational Effects of Bantu Education During Apartheid

With South Africa's Apartheid regime implementing Bantu Education in its education sector, it led to low funding and expenditures to black schools, a lack of numbers and training of black school teachers, impoverished black school conditions and resources, and a poor education curriculum. As a result, black South Africans were denied from having equal access to employment and socioeconomic opportunities during Apartheid. This section will explain the four aforementioned effects resulting in this lack of jobs for black South Africans from 1948-1994.

A. The Lack of Funding and Expenditures in South African Schools

Bantu Education in South Africa during Apartheid led to a lack of funding and expenditures for black South Africans in their designated schools, detrimentally affecting their access to employment and socioeconomic opportunities. Hermann Giliomee discusses this lack of funding that "black Schools", or schools that had predominantly black students, received. In his 2009 journal article, Giliomee found that the "government spending per African child in 1953 was 14% of that for each white pupil and by 1968 thus had dropped to 6%", and that in 1970, "79% of urban blacks and 93% of rural blacks had not attained Standard 6 or higher, compared with a mere 4% of the white labour force" (Giliomee, 2009, 196). The US equivalent of standard six is grade six, as each standard number corresponds to the same grade level (Expatica, 2019). Due to the evident

funding prioritization of white student education over black student education, black South Africans students were not able to obtain the amount of education the majority of white South Africans in the labor force had. The decrease in government spending on black student education led to a decrease in education quality. With black South Africans not obtaining an equivalent education level to their white counterparts, their access to more skilled jobs was heavily restricted. With black South African students barely obtaining a US grade 6 level education due to the lack of funding and resources distribution to Black schools, Bantu Education hindered the access of black South Africans to employment during Apartheid.

Muriel Horrell in her 1968 book also shows the Apartheid expenditures South African students received.

Year	Rand Spent Per White Student (Cape)	Rand Spent Per Black Student (Republic)
1945	R 76.58	R 7.78
1953	R 127.84	R 17.08
1968	R 144.57	R 12.46

Figure 1: Horrell, Muriel. *Bantu Education to 1968*. South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968. Pg 39

With the government investing more in the education of white than black students, Bantu Education lowered the quality of education black South Africans received. By doing so, white South African students had better access to jobs requiring advanced education. Black South African students, by receiving a lower quality education due to lower expenditures spent, did not have this same access. Therefore, because of the poor educational service delivery from low funding and expenditures, black South Africans during Apartheid did not have equal access to employment compared to white students. Similarly, a lack teacher training and teachers caused the same result.

B. The Lack of Training and Numbers of Teachers

The lack of teacher training and number of teachers in black schools during Apartheid contributed to the restricted access of black South Africans in employment and socioeconomic activities. For example, in black schools, the lack of math and physical science and poor teaching in primary schools caused secondary schools to avoid teaching these subjects (Giliomee, 2009, 195). Due to there not being enough qualified teachers to teach Mathematics and Science in black schools, black South African students were deprived of foundational subjects in education under Apartheid. This detrimentally affected the socioeconomic opportunities of black South Africans because subjects such as Mathematics and the Physical Science teach important skills used in the labor market. By not having enough qualified teachers to teach these subjects or the skills from these classes, black South Africans were constrained to certain categories of labor that they could participate in after completing their education.

Crain Soudien in his 2002 book chapter adds the perspective of teachers on Bantu Education. Explaining the teacher responses to the signing of a letter showing commitment to teaching Bantu Education in Cape Town, one teacher exclaimed “you find that many good teachers left teaching in the Bantu schools. Very good schools crumbling down because very good teachers left their schools.... Mr. Xolisi Mciteka went to Lesotho... Rev. Matebese was teaching in Natal... He did not sign too” (Soudien, 2002, 216). By morally forcing many teachers to leave black schools due to them needing to sign the letter of commitment to Bantu Education, Bantu Education caused many decent black schools to fall apart in education quality. As a result of this, black South African students in those schools lost quality education, not learning important skills or knowledge

that would have prepared them for the job market after their education. By the government and Bantu Education decreasing the number of qualified teachers in black schools, black South Africans during Apartheid had limited access to employment and related opportunities. Additionally, the same result occurred when school conditions in black schools were poor.

C. Poor Quality School Conditions and Facilities

By not providing fair school conditions at black schools for black students, Bantu Education deprived black South African students equal access to socioeconomic opportunities. Knysna Motumi in his 1997 dissertation discusses school conditions under Bantu Education, focusing on the Black township Mokwallo. He explained that overcrowding in Vredefort schools had not been solved; and despite the circuit inspector requesting another two classrooms, the Dept. of Bantu Education failed to provide these facilities due to a lack of funding (Motumi, 1997, 39). Not fixing poor school conditions hindered the quality of education and educational service delivery black South African students obtained. This prevented students from learning important concepts that they would have used in their future careers. Therefore, Bantu Education's lack of fixing school conditions was a detriment to education quality, as it detracted students from learning skills that would have prepared them for future employment.

Wieder in his 2002 journal article explains the actions of teachers to school conditions, and their contributions to a non-conducive environment. In his interview with Dennis Ntomba, Ntomba discusses corporal punishment in the classroom. He explains that despite him at first seeing nothing wrong with it, "that changed because [Ntomba] became aware that some of the chaps that are supposed to be teaching would be in the company of the principal going from class to class beating

up students” (Wieder, 2002, 45). Bantu Education allowing teachers to physically harm students lowered the quality of education black South African during Apartheid. Instead of focusing on learning and understanding concepts in their classes, black students would have more likely worried about their own safety. As a result, students would have failed to learn important skills taught in classes that would have helped them in the job market. Therefore, because of Bantu Education’s tolerance of practices such as corporal punishment, black South African students did not have fair access to job or socioeconomic activities. However, Bantu Education and its legacy is most well-known for its curriculum.

D. Unskilled Labor Curriculum for Black Schools

By creating a specialty curriculum focused on promoting unskilled labor in black schools, Bantu Education limited the access of employment for black South Africans. This can easily be seen in the 1976 “List of Grievances Sent By Africa Pupils to the Regional Director of Bantu Education in the Western Cape”, written by black South African students. When listing their demands for change, they state that their classes syllabi was full of “irrelevant subjects”, such as Needlework, Agriculture of white land, and Handwork for unskilled laborers (*Cape Times*, 1976). Bantu Education curriculum having black students do work related to unskilled labor and other low-paying socioeconomic activities limited and forged the education and job skills of black South African to these areas. By having black students learn about needlework and agriculture on white-owned fields, Bantu Education only prepared black South Africans for unskilled labor, severely limiting their access to other employment opportunities.

R. Hunt Davis Jr. discusses this important language medium and its usage in education, stating the curriculum “incorporated the mother tongue English and Afrikaans... with ... oral work and speech exercises.... African children learn several languages but none of them well... lessens their ability to communicate with those outside their own ethnic group” (Davis Jr., 1972, 42). By inefficiently teaching black South African students in several languages, they were limited in both communication and employment, as they could only communicate with those from or in their own communities. Bantu Education by poorly teaching different languages in its curriculum prevented black South African students from equal access to jobs outside of their communities. The next section will discuss the socioeconomic effects of Bantu Education on black South Africans, focusing on how and where these education policies placed them in the Apartheid economy.

8. Socioeconomic Effects of Bantu Education During Apartheid

During Apartheid in South Africa, Bantu Education by not providing adequate vocational or technical schools, and preventing black South Africans from attending or enrolling in institutions that provided job or vocational training, restricted many black South Africans from being able to obtain or apply for more skilled employment. This prevented black South Africans from having any equal or fair access to the employment sector under Apartheid. This section will investigate how the previously mentioned factors detrimentally affected the access to fair employment of black South Africans.

A. *Lack of Vocational and Technical Training Schools*

Due to the lack of vocational and training schools established under Bantu Education, many black South Africans under Apartheid lacked access to employment and socioeconomic opportunities. André Kraak exposes this when talking about the unequal levels of education and work in his 1989 article. When discussing this mismatch, the 1986 Project Free Enterprise Report stated “pupils leave school before they obtain suitable vocational qualifications, skills or appropriate value systems that will be of service to them. This neglect of vocational training is the effect of a bias in the South African educational system towards an ‘academic value system’” (Kraak, 1989, 197). By Bantu Education not providing training that would help them gain employment, black students under Apartheid were not able to obtain the skills that would have helped them get a job in the South African job market. As a result, black South Africans were not able to have equal access to employment opportunities.

Linda Chisholm also discovered this lack of vocational and technical training in Bantu Education, especially in how it affected the outcomes of black South African students. She explains that despite The Department of Education and Training replacing the *Bantu Education Act of 1953*, which focused more on technical education, there was not much that changed between the two educations (Chisholm, 1989, 352). Chisholm adds that “black school-leavers” in 1982 were making up more and more of the unemployed, and despite people yelling for skilled labor training, 60,000 matric students faced poor job prospects (Chisholm, 1989, 363). Black school-leavers means black students who have graduated from school, not those who dropped out of school. As a result of this new education curriculum and department under Apartheid, the employment outcomes of black South African students remained in the same. In that, the education

of black South Africans still lacked technical and vocational training that would have prepared them for more or better employment for jobs in South Africa. The Apartheid government similarly achieved this by also restricting the number of institutions that helped educate black South Africans.

B. The Restriction of Educational Institutions

As a result of Bantu Education and related laws limiting the number of and admission of black students to educational institutions, such as schools and unions, black South Africans did not obtain needed training qualifications for them to fairly have access to the job market and other economic opportunities. Linda Cooper, Sally Andrew, Jonathan Grossman, and Salim Vally in their a 2002 book chapter explain this problem in relation to the education of workers and adults as alternatives to Bantu Education. When discussing worker's education, "little attention was paid to educating workers in workplace skills by either capital or the labour movement. This did not mean that workers did not develop these skills in the workplace... they were prevented from gaining formal qualifications ... from joining craft unions" (Cooper, Andrew, Grossman and Vally, 2002, 125). Due to laws preventing black workers from joining unions during Apartheid, Bantu Education and related laws prevented black South Africans from obtaining the formal qualifications needed to further develop their skills. As a result, many black South African workers were not able to fairly gain employment. With Bantu Education and related laws restricting the number of and admission of black students to educational institutions, black South Africans were deprived of the skills needed for employment.

Jonathan Hyslop in his 1988 journal article also discusses this restriction of educational institutions, yet in regard to the government cutting expenditures. When discusses this institutional restriction in regards to high schools, and the government's attempts to move black students to their designated reserves, Hyslop found the "Bantu Education Journal stated ... urban Africans should go to the Bantustans for secondary technical and university education: urban people ... 'will have a few high schools but never enough, because ... these schools should be situated in the homelands'" (Hyslop, 1988, 455). With Bantu Education enforcement institutions aiming to decrease secondary and trade schools in urban areas, black students living in these areas were forced to either move back to the reserves after finishing their primary education, or forego their secondary education to stay in their urban area. As a result, many black South Africans were prevented from employment and socioeconomic opportunities in cities. The next section will give a general background to curriculum in Post-Apartheid South Africa.

9. Education and Curriculum in Post-Apartheid South Africa

In 1994, the new Republic of South Africa was established, and broke from its legal chains of Apartheid. Under the *South African Schools Act of 1996*, racial segregation was illegal, erasing any legal trace of Bantu Education (Contributors to *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2018). In the Post-Apartheid South Africa education system, there are 12 grades, R-12, with R being the US equivalent to kindergarten (Dept. of Basic Education, Republic of South Africa [RSA], 2019). The overall national curriculum for all grades serves to provide students with the knowledge, value, and skills necessary for society, and to transition students from school to the workplace (Dept. of Basic Education, RSA, 2019). South Africa's Post-Apartheid education system directly policy-wise corrects the wrongs committed by Bantu Education in the past, especially with helping

students transition to the workplace. The following subsections will discuss the education curriculum of Early Child Development (ECD), and grades R-3, 4-6, 7-9, and 10-12.

ECD in Post-Apartheid South Africa is an approach to programs caring for children from birth to age nine and promotes active parenting (Dept. of Education, RSA, 2019). The National Curriculum Framework (NCF) for ages zero to four, details six major themes ECD programs should cover, which are Well-being, Identity and Belonging, Communication, Exploring Mathematics, Creativity, and Knowledge and Understanding with World (Dept. of Basic Education, RSA, 9, 2015). Since children were not required to attend ECD programs until late 2018, the National Curriculum Framework did not have a set curriculum to what South African children should learn (Dept. of Education, RSA, 2019).

In Grades R-3, a national curriculum is set. Students in Grade R have 10 hours of learning English, 7 hours of Mathematics, and 6 hours of Life Skills, which includes Beginning Knowledge, Art, Physical Education, and Personal and Social Well-Being. In grades 1-2, students have 7-8 hours of learning English, 2-3 hours of learning an additional language (ex. Afrikaans), and 6 hours of Life Skills (*Curriculum And Assessment Policy Statement Grades 1-3*, 2011, 6). The only differences in the curriculum for students in grade 3 are that there is an extra hour of Life Skills, 3-4 hours of an additional language, and a total of 25 hours of learning per week, instead of 23 (*Curriculum And Assessment Policy Statement Grades R-3*, 2011, 6).

In grades 4-6, there are six hours of English, 5 hours of an additional language, 6 hours of Mathematics, 3.5 hours of Natural Sciences and Technology, 3 hours of Social Sciences, 4 hours of Life Skills (Creative Arts, Physical Education, Personal and Social Well-being), leading to a total of 27.5 hours per week of learning (*Curriculum And Assessment Policy Statement Grades 4-*

6, 2011, 6). The main difference in regard to English is there is a focus on writing and presenting (*Curriculum And Assessment Policy Statement Grades 4-6*, 2011, 6).

In grades 7-9, there are 5 hours of English, 4 hours of an additional language, 4.5 hours of Mathematics, 3 hours of Natural Sciences, 3 hours of Social Sciences, 2 hours of Technology, 2 hours of Economic Management Sciences, 2 hours of Life Orientation, and 2 hours of Creative Arts, leading to a total of 27.5 hours per week (*Curriculum And Assessment Policy Statement Grades 7-9*, 2011, 7). The main difference of this phase is that there are more subjects (ex. Economics) added to the curriculum compared to the previous phases.

In grades 10-12, students study English for 4.5 hours, an additional language for 4.5 hours, Mathematics for 4.5 hours, Life Orientation for 2.5 hours, and have 12 hours of electives they could choose from, leading to a total of 27.5 hours per week (*Curriculum And Assessment Policy Statement Grades 10-12*, 2011, 7). The main difference in this phase regarding English is that there is a focus on professional writing, such as resumes, cover letters, written interviews, and more (*Curriculum And Assessment Policy Statement Grades 10-12*, 2011, 40). Despite this, South African Education Post-Apartheid continues to lack in quality, and results in a continued lack of equal access to employment for black South Africans.

10. Why Many Black South Africans Remain Poor After Apartheid

Despite the education policy and curriculum reforms that occurred soon after the fall of Apartheid, the factors in education and socioeconomics that black South Africans experienced under Apartheid remains the same. In education, this could be seen with the continued inequality in funding distribution, lack of teacher training and curriculum problems, and poor school conditions. In the employment and economic sector, this is seen in the lack of incorporating

professional skills in the curriculum, and a lack of education attainment. However, the continued education factors affecting black South Africans will be discussed first.

A. Factors of Education Contributing to Post-Apartheid South Africa

As will be discussed below, unequal funding distribution, poor school curriculum and teacher training, as well as impoverished school conditions have contributed to the lack of access black South Africans have to employment opportunities in Post-Apartheid South Africa. The first subsection will discuss the important factor of funding distribution.

I. Unequal Distribution of Funding

Due to issues of unequal distribution of funding regarding South African schools in Post-Apartheid South Africa, black South African students continue to lack good quality education; this directly prevents these students from having equal access to employment and socioeconomic opportunities. Bekisizwe Ndimande in her 2013 journal article on Bantu Education in Post-Apartheid South Africa, found that despite the government after Apartheid providing all public schools equal funding as a part of its “pro-poor” policy, it does not address the continued resource inequalities between black and white schools (Ndimande, 2013, 25). This did not benefit black schools much, as “these disparities in resources left most black schools with poor academic results, which dramatically diminish graduation rates. This . . . reduces black students’ chances of entering college and lessens their opportunities to enter the skilled labor market” (Ndimande, 2013, 25). Due to the continued lack of resources black students received due to unequal funding distribution, many black South Africans’ grades are negatively affected, preventing them from going to college,

and entering the job market as skilled workers. With the government failing to fix this Apartheid issue of distribution inequality through equal funding instead of equity funding, which would have allocated more funds towards former black schools, black South African students continue to suffer from low quality education, limiting them to unskilled jobs.

Zandile Nkabinde also discusses this issue, focusing on school fees, and how former White schools have had a hand in it. She states former white schools have overpriced school fees to prevent black students from enrolling in former white school, forcing them to remain in overcrowded, poor, and inferior schools (Nkabinde, 2016, 85). Former white schools by setting higher school fees to attend their schools, prevent black South African students from attending them. This causes further overcrowding in black schools and poorer education quality, since their majority of black students are financially restricted from attending these former white schools. Due to these schools not lowering or exempting school fees for black students, many black South African students continue to receive a bad quality education, negatively affecting their opportunities to go into higher education and the job market. Similarly, the lack of teacher training and poor curriculum has also persisted in Post-Apartheid schools.

II. Poor School Curriculum and Teacher Training in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Despite the new policies and reforms to the curriculum and school system, poor curriculum and a lack of training for teachers has remained in Post-Apartheid South African schools. This lessens the quality of education black students receive, and limits the access black South African students have to better economic and employment options. Janine Kaptein, a teacher at a black school discusses the curriculum specifically, explaining that the “curriculum has come a long way

in its quality, and what it aims to do. But teachers do not always teach those skills... we simply don't have the time" (WISE Channel, 2014, 1:10-1:19). Due to teachers not teaching their students the entire curriculum, black students continue to suffer from a poor education quality. Furthermore, with the curriculum being either too long or confusing, it prevents teachers from being able to provide their students a full and holistic education. With students not learning all of the necessary curriculum, they are not provided all of the educational knowledge needed in order to pursue a higher education, or confidently enter the job market.

However, Celia Dugger in her 2009 news video segment blames teachers for students not obtaining the education they need. She tells her audience that major issues are teachers arriving late to school, skipping class, or teaching very little, without being held accountable (Dugger, 2009, 1:07-1:19). When teachers arrive late to school, do not show up to class, and do not teach very long, they limit their students' knowledge by not teaching them. As a result, black students are further deprived from obtaining a better education, and are not able to gain equal access to the employment sector of the economy. Therefore, teacher training plays an important role in educating students, as when teachers are not trained, the education of their students is unjustly affected. School conditions, like teacher training, are also important, and can negatively affect the education of students when in poor quality.

III. Conditions of South African Schools Post-Apartheid

Many black South African students have not been able to obtain equal opportunities in the employment sector and economy due to their poor school conditions affecting their education. When school conditions are poor or do not have the adequate resources to provide students a

quality education, they prevent students from obtaining the education to go to university and employment. Anthony Lemon analyzes this issue in his 2004 journal article, focusing on black township schools in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. When discussing these schools' conditions, he found

“All four schools suffered to varying degrees from the poor facilities characterising most township schools. Only one had a functioning library... and laboratories were poorly equipped except at Nathaniel Nyaluza. Computer provision was wholly inadequate for teaching purposes, ranging from a ratio of 1:95 pupils at Nombulelo to 1:174 at Nathaniel Nyaluza.... All schools reported difficulties in obtaining textbooks from the ECED [Eastern Cape Education Department], with Nombulelo claiming that it had received none for six years” (Lemon, 2004, 285).

Lemon also states 13.46% of students at Nyaluza, and 19.39% from Nonbulelo received their matriculation (Lemon, 2004, 281). These poor school conditions demonstrate how a severe lack of resources and facilities hinders the education of students. When school conditions are so bad that they harm the quality of education students receive, they directly prevent these black students from pursuing jobs and other opportunities that require matriculation, or a higher education.

This is especially the case with rural schools, as seen with the number of young children dying from falling and drowning in poorly conditioned and broken pit latrines, or pit toilets, in the Eastern Cape, and Limpopo provinces. The non-profit Section 27, a South African advocate for Human Rights, detailed in their 2018 report “In 2007, Siyamthanda Mtunu, a six-year-old boy... was using the toilet at his school when the walls of the cubicle collapsed on him In 2013, Lister Magongwa, a seven year-old boy... was using the toilet at his school when, again, the walls of the cubicle collapsed on him” (Section 27, 2018, 43). When school conditions and facilities are in poor

conditions, they not only jeopardize student education, but their lives as well. In this way, impoverished conditions of schools contribute to both the lack of education taught to black students and their overall health, which without a doubt constrains their access to employment, if, unlike Mtunu and Magongwa, they make it that far. The next section will discuss some socioeconomic factors contributing to black South Africans continuing to be restricted from access to employment opportunities in South Africa Post-Apartheid.

B. Socioeconomic Factors Contributing to Post-Apartheid South Africa

Socioeconomic factors such as poor curriculum in regard to employment training, and general educational attainment, contribute to the current lack of access black South Africans have to employment and other socioeconomic opportunities in South Africa. The first section will discuss curriculum, and how it failing to prepare black youth for work, is analyzed.

I. Curriculum

Curriculum in relation to employment training and readiness is a socioeconomic factor contributing to the lack of access black South Africans have in the job market, as it does not prepare black students with the adequate education to do so. Adri du Toit and Mike Gaotlhobogwe in their 2018 journal article discuss the integration of technology into South African curriculum. The authors write ““technology will teach learners the opportunity to learn ... while creating positive attitudes, perceptions and aspirations towards technology Technology curriculum lists careers that use design, naming different types of engineers, textile designers... no mention is made of

learners creating their own employment or of ... unemployment” (du Toit and Gaotlhobogwe, 2018, 42). Despite the integration of technology into the curriculum, by it not addressing problems such as unemployment, it does not help black South Africans become better prepared for the job market. By it not teaching black students to become their own employers, this technology curriculum further constrains black South African students to being workers in the technology industry, rather than its CEOs. Due to this constraint in technology education, this prevents black South Africans Post-Apartheid from having equal access to all employment opportunities in the economic and job markets.

The *Star*, a South African newspaper also agrees that South African curriculum does not adequately prepare black South African students for access to all economic or employment opportunities in Post-Apartheid South Africa. When discussing the issue of decreasing entrepreneurship rates and culture in South Africa, *Star* in their 2012 article stated “SA’s ... educational structures do not prepare the youth to become skilled entrepreneurs. Not only has the structure ill-equipped the youth to become entrepreneurs, but it has created a culture where young South Africans dream of becoming employees, rather than employers.” (*Star*, 2012). Due to South Africa continuing to provide a curriculum that promotes black South Africans to become employees rather than employers, it discourages black South Africans from becoming their own bosses and leading their own companies. This further demonstrates the unaddressed problem in South African curriculum; by encouraging students to pursue certain job positions over others, it prevents many black South African from having access to all economic opportunities.

II. Lack of Educational Attainment Regarding Employment

Educational attainment in Post-Apartheid in South Africa is another important factor to consider when exploring why many black South Africans still do not have equal access to the job market. As Nicoli Nattrass and Jeremy Seekings explain in their 2001 journal article, educational attainment is a key factor in wages. When discussing the educational attainment of workers according to race in 1993, they found “black workers have the lowest educational qualifications, live predominantly in rural areas, and have the highest concentration in low-paying sectors such as agriculture” (Nattrass and Seekings, 2001, 52). However, they also found “black workers with good educational qualifications are particularly well placed to obtain highly paid jobs” (Nattrass et al., 2001, 52). Nattrass and Seekings show more educational attainment among black South Africans provides better wages and jobs, while black South Africans with low educational attainment are left with limited options and pay.

Derek Yu also discusses the role of educational attainment in his 2013 journal article, focusing more on how educational attainment affects the job search of South Africans. While he does give statistics that say “having Matric increases the likelihood of being searching unemployed by 31.4% in 2008 but 35.6% in 2012”(Yu ,2013, 558-9), he also claims “one of the most important long-term solutions to reduce youth unemployment is to reduce the size of the lowly educated youth labour force, by improving the school resources and quality of education (especially the former black schools)... and reducing drop-out before Matric” (Yu, 2013, 560). By improving the various parts of education, such as the quality, drop-out rates, resources, and more, unemployment in Post-Apartheid South Africa will decrease. This is especially important because, black students when being exposed to a better-quality education, and having access to resources and more, would have equal access to jobs. Therefore, educational attainment is an important factor in education

and the economy, as with the blacker students have it, the more opportunities black South Africans can have.

11. Conclusion: A Summary of Thesis Findings

Black South Africans have historically and continue to lack equal access to job and economic opportunities due to Bantu Education and its legacy in South Africa's Apartheid and Post-Apartheid eras. As I demonstrated, black South Africans were limited to these opportunities educationally during Apartheid due to the lack of funding to black school, lack of teachers and training, poor school conditions, and low-quality education curriculum. Economically, the job and socioeconomic opportunities of black South Africans were constrained due to the lack of vocational and technical schools and restriction from institutions that provided the training for skilled jobs. In Post-Apartheid South Africa, continued funding inequality, poor teacher training and curriculum, as well as poor school facilities contribute to the current lack of access black South Africans have to the employment and the economy. Economically, this is because of poor curriculum relating to entrepreneurship and technology, and the effect of the lack of educational attainment of black South Africans. Moreover, the severeness of this situation in South Africa's education sector calls for major reform and solutions. As I will explain in the sections below, efforts in policy implementation and community development are the answers to this, as both factors improve education quality and in turn increase the access of employment and other socioeconomic opportunities for black South Africans.

12. Post-Apartheid Solutions: Policy Implementation and Community Development

Policy implementation and community development are effective solutions to resolving the issues of education and employment in Post-Apartheid South Africa, as both increase the quality of education, contributing to higher success and opportunity in students' education and careers. This section will discuss policy implementation and community development efforts to improve education and provide better opportunities for black South Africans.

A. Enforcement of Policies In Education

Due to the lack of policy implementation i such as those in the South African constitution, and the *South African Schools Act of 1996*, many schools continue to fail to provide quality education to their students. For example, section 28 of the South African constitution states "every child has the right... to be protected from maltreatment, neglect, abuse or degradation" (Government of South Africa, 1996). However, there was another case in 2018 in the Eastern Cape province, where a child died from falling into a pit toilet. Athandiwe Saba, Ra'eesa Pather and Bongekile Macupe in their 2018 news article write how Lumka fell into and drowned in a pit toilet, and how the Basic Education Dept. failed on its goal to replace all unsafely built school facilities 2 years before (Saba, Pather and Macupe, 2018). Due to the lack of policy implementation by the Basic Education department in repairing pit latrines and unsafe school facilities, they deprived Lumka both of her life and education. If the department had adhered to the South African Constitution, school facilities would have been repaired faster, and potentially black South African children such as Lumka would have had better educations and careers.

This lack of policy enforcement is also seen in corporal punishment cases. Section 10 of *No. 84 of the South African Schools Act of 1996* decrees that no person at school may use corporal

punishment on a student, and if they do, they will be found guilty with assault (Government of South Africa, 1996, 10). However, as seen with the recent 2019 case at Sans Souci Girls High School in the Western Cape province, this law is not fully enforced. Philani Nombembe in her 2019 news article described how after thinking the black student swore at her, the teacher spoke in Afrikaans, and shoved the desk at the student. After the student pushed the desk back and stood up, the teacher shouted, “Are you hitting me?”, and slapped them (Nombembe, 2019). Despite this teacher later being punished by the provincial education department, this case demonstrates how laws and policies such as section 10 need further enforcement, as corporal punishment still happens in schools. When students experience corporal punishment from their teachers, they not only are directly put into the danger of physical harm, but also their quality of education is ruined. This in turn lessens their ability attain matriculation, and later obtain access to good jobs. Therefore, policy implementation is a necessity Post-Apartheid, not only to better promote and improve the quality of education provided in schools, but also to save the lives of black South African students suffering from the lack of these policies, and prevent cases such as Lumka’s from happening again. The next section will discuss the role of community development in contributing to a better Post-Apartheid South Africa.

B. Community Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Through public-private partnerships, as well as the promotion of entrepreneurship opportunities for students, community development in Post-Apartheid South Africa plays an important role in providing valuable career opportunities for black South African students. In the

first section, contributions of public-private partnerships to schools and members of the local community are analyzed.

I. Private-Public Partnerships

Through public-private partnerships involving schools and the local community, community development efforts promote and improve the quality of education taught in local communities. Patel in her 2015 book discusses the impacts of public-private partnerships in the community. When describing the case of “Banareng Feed the Child Feed the Nation Project”, Patel explains how the Banareng Primary school started a vegetable garden with the support of corporate sponsor and car company, BMW. After the investment, the project has become self-sustaining, and has positively impacted school attendance (Patel, 2015, 297). By BMW and Banareng Primary creating a vegetable garden together, black students are able to focus more in school without being hungry, increasing the quality of education that they receive, and better preparing them for their future studies and career. Therefore, public-private partnerships in communities greatly contribute to local communities while under the umbrella of community development by improving their quality of education. Additionally, student exposure to entrepreneurship leads to more job opportunities for black South Africans as well.

Section 27 in their report about Limpopo schools and pit toilets, states that to fix the issue, “ensure any new public-private partnerships are based on legally sound ... contractual arrangements that include effective accountability mechanisms, and ultimately strengthen the ability of PEDs [Provincial Education Departments] – together with schools – to deliver and maintain infrastructure on their own” (Section 27, 2018, 56). With public-private partnerships that

create and maintain greatly conditioned school facilities, students receive better education quality, which will help them when pursuing opportunities in higher education and or employment. By public-private partnerships improving school facilities and in turn education quality, they increase the access of black South Africans to the job market.

II. Entrepreneurship

With entrepreneurship being exposed to students, community development plays an implemental role in providing better employment opportunities to students. When discussing the YES Initiative (Youth Employment Service) the *Daily News* 2018 paper wrote “It is particularly encouraging that the YES initiative encourages small, micro and medium enterprises (SMMEs) to also host young people in their companies, as this will introduce more young people to entrepreneurship. If South Africa can implement this programme... we have a chance at addressing ... high youth unemployment” (*Daily News*, 2018). By providing students employment opportunities such as the YES Initiative, black South African students gain the experiences to have equal access to job opportunities. With students interning for small and medium enterprises in South Africa, they not only gain a better-quality education in regard to how a business works and other factors related to being an entrepreneur, but also obtain the job experience they need in order to start their own small or medium enterprises, as well as use their YES experiences to get a job in the job market. Therefore, community development through public-private partnerships and entrepreneurship plays a beneficial and invaluable role in not only bettering education quality, but also providing better access to job opportunities and economic activities as well.

13. Final Words and A Call for Further Research

Considering that it has only been 25 years of democracy, Apartheid's remaining legacy in South Africa's education sector is not surprising, and to a certain extent understandable. The US passed the 13th amendment abolishing slavery more than 100 years ago, and Jim Crow was overruled about 50 years ago, yet many American students still deal with the lasting legacies of these racial legal policies. However, this does not justify the several accounted and unaccounted incidents of South African youth falling into toilets and drowning in feces, or students experiencing a school culture where teachers beating students is normalized. In fact, one other pressing issue not addressed in this paper is why is the South African government not effectively combating these blatant human rights violations in its education sector? Is it because of a lack of funding, corruption, the continued legacy of Apartheid, or all of the above? Furthermore, what other feasible solutions are there in order to solve these problems? As this thesis nor the current literature around Bantu Education answer these questions, there must be further research conducted on these questions particularly. For, as long as research on South Africa's current education sector is prolonged or not done, and legal reform is not drafted or enacted, many black South African students will continue to suffer from the consequences of a recovering yet flawed education sector, where Bantu Education's legacy does live on. And that is beyond unacceptable.

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