

The development of South African higher education within the apartheid system (1948-1994) – selected aspects

Abstract: The article includes the consideration of development of South African Higher Education System in Apartheid Era (1948-1994). Particular emphasis was placed on reconstructing educational practices and policy that is implemented toward different racial groups in South Africa. An attempt was made at examining the relationship between schooling, segregation processes, discrimination practices and the development of higher education institutions.

Keywords: South Africa, racism, higher education, apartheid, segregation, discrimination, inequality.

One of the aims of the apartheid system introduced in 1948, was to create separate institutions for the representatives of each racial category¹. The tendencies were visible explicitly at every level of education². Higher education became one of the most explicit forms of racial discrimination - within the scope of the functioning apartheid system. Already in 1948, Dr D. F. Malan, the Prime Minister representing the National Party stated in the Parliament: “An intolerable state of affairs has arisen here in the past few years in our university institutions, a state of affairs which gives rise to friction, to an unpleasant relationship between Europeans and non-European ... we do not want to withhold education from the non-European and we will take every possible step to give both the natives

¹ P.L. VAN DEN BERGHE, *Racial Segregation in South Africa: Degrees and Kinds*, Cahiers d'études africaines 1966, vol. 6, no. 23, pp. 408-409, and M. BANTON, *Racial Consciousness*, London 1988, pp. 65-81.

² B. FLEISCH, *State Formation and the Origins of Bantu Education*, [in:] *The History of Education Under Apartheid 1948-1994. The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened*, ed. P. KALLAWAY, New York 2002, pp. 42-49, and F. TROUP, *Forbidden Pastures. Education under Apartheid*, London 1976, p. 6.

and coloured peoples university training as soon as we can but in their own sphere, in other words in separate institutions.”³

Therefore, the development of higher education was proceeded according to the premises of the racist apartheid ideology. The post-war policy of the National Party governments, introduced numerous acts, that would legitimise racial segregation in all social spheres systematically⁴. Additionally, the process of creating new institutions in the following decades, fell under the sign of the ideology of racism.

In 1953, the government established a special commission, the *Holloway Commission*, named after its founder. Its aim was to determine the possibilities and organisational as well as financial conditions for creating separate sectors within the framework of higher education. The essence of the commissions works was to define the conditions for the functioning of non-white individuals in higher education. As noted by M. Horrell, “the suggestions provided to the Commission by various universities, were focused on the continuation of former preferred models of functioning. Various pro-government institutions would promote solutions that would serve the introduction of a university apartheid, however, a part of independent organisations such as e.g. *South African Institute of Race Relations*, *the Education League of South Africa*, or the *National Union of South African Students – NUSAS*, would present arguments that more open universities would be more adequate for the needs of a multiracial society, and from this perspective, they should have the liberty in regard to establishing own policy in terms of accepting students from racial categories other than white”⁵. The aforementioned organisations would publish own reports and critical views regarding the solutions of segregation in higher education, as proposed by the government. Already in 1954, the South African Institute of Race Relations published a report titled *The Idea of University*. The views of the members of the Education League of South Africa were included in the published pamphlet titled *Defend the Universities*, and the students affiliated with NUSAS would express their critical opinions in a report titled *The African in the Universities*⁶.

The Holloway Commission Report was finished in 1955. It contained suggestions regarding the further development of higher education for non-whites, such as the creation of new universities in near future, as well as, the necessity of racial segregation within higher education. Therefore, the report assumed the concentration of African and Asian students in Durban at the *University of Natal* (where, soon, separate groups would be established), as well as, at the *University College of Fort Hare* (dedicated primarily to Africans). Moreover, the report assumed directing racially classified individuals to

³ A.L. BEHR, *Education in South Africa. Origins, Issues and Trends: 1652-1988*, Pretoria 1988, p. 92.

⁴ R.O. MABOKELA, ‘We Cannot Find Qualified Blacks’: *faculty diversification programmes at South African universities*, *Comparative Education* 2000, vol. 36, no. 1, p. 98.

⁵ M. HORRELL, *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652-1970*, Johannesburg 1970, p. 150.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

schools that implemented the policies of acceptance in accordance with the premises of apartheid⁷.

The government policy regarding the introduction and increase of racial segregation at universities, was met with a violent social backlash⁸. Additionally, student organisations, and some university authorities would protest as well. At the end of 1956, the Rectors of the *University of Cape Town* and the *University of Witwatersrand* would formulate a resolution that would solidify the view regarding the right to conduct own segregation-free academic policy. In 1957 a work published by both universities was released, titled *The Open Universities in South Africa*. The publication contained a vision of the development of segregation-free higher education, as well as, the defence of the arguments for maintaining the open policy of acceptance and academic freedom. It was signed by the senates and the authorities of both universities. In the same year, a number of mass student protests took place, as students, along with the academic staff participated in public protests against the segregation policy proposed by the government⁹.

In 1958, the nationalist government enacted and implemented the *University Education Bill*. One of its aims was to create the legal basis for creating an academic sector for non-white individuals. Additionally, the bill regulated the means of managing and the sources of financing of education for the representatives of each racial category. The institutions dedicated to Africans were financed by the *Bantu Education Account*, under the supervision of the Minister of Bantu Education. Universities dedicated to Coloureds were supervised by the Ministry of Coloured Affairs, and universities dedicated to the representatives of the Hindu community were supervised by the Ministry of Hindu Affairs. Both categories of institutions were financed from the *General Revenue Account*¹⁰.

In 1959, two additional colleges for Africans were created. The first one was the *University College of the North* located in Turfloop, 20km east from Pietersburg in Northern Transvaal. Its task was to educate the natives of Northern and Southern Sotho, Tswana, Wenda and Tsonga tribes, as well as Ndbele groups from Transvaal. The second university, established in 1959 in Ngoye in the Mtunzini district in Natal was the *University College of Zululand*. The university was to teach Zulu and Swazi groups. Both colleges, similar to the University College of Fort Hare, would additionally accept students from South-West Africa, as well as, from Rhodesia¹¹.

White individuals were unable to study at the newly established universities. Violating that law would result in a 200 rand fine or six months incarceration. The Minister could

⁷ Ibidem.

⁸ N. MANDELA, *Bantu Education Goes to University*, Liberation 1957, pp. 7-10.

⁹ G.C. MODDIE, *The State and the liberal universities in South Africa: 1948-1990*, Higher Education 1994, vol. 27, no. 1, p. 9.

¹⁰ M. HORRELL, *A Decade of Bantu Education*, Johannesburg 1964, p. 129.

¹¹ M. HORRELL, *Bantu Education to 1968*, Johannesburg 1968, p. 120.

make decisions regarding the criteria of acceptance to each university, resulting in e.g. recruiting solely the representatives of selected ethnic and racial groups¹².

The solutions of the racist policy of segregation, implemented at universities would systematically meet with violent protests, demonstrations and strikes by student organisations. They would increase in subsequent decades, and become more direct and radical. In response, the authorities would often use brute force, to stop the student protests. Police was used to disband the protests, many students and teachers who were the leaders of the strikes were arrested. These actions would get increasingly brutal, along with the establishment of new student organisation and the expansion of the resistance among students and academic staff¹³.

Table 1. The number of staff for University Colleges for Africans, according to the racial categories, year 1966

Occupation	Whites	Africans
Directors or Rectors	3	–
Professors or lecturers	47	4
Senior lecturers	57	4
Other didactic staff	72	35
Administration staff	17	5
Librarians	8	13
Other	26	140
Total:	230	210

Source: M. Horrell, *Bantu Education to 1968*, Johannesburg 1968, p. 120.

The principles in force at black universities would differ slightly from those at white universities. They bestowed a dominant position upon rector authorities, primarily from the National Party. In order to achieve that aim, a number of regulations were introduced, regarding the principles of the functioning of black students at ethnic colleges in detail¹⁴.

In 1959, a university college for Coloureds was established. The *University College of Western Cape* was established on 1 November 1959, and began its activity at the beginning of 1960.

Additionally, in regard to students classified as Coloureds, detailed regulations were prepared, pertaining to the means of their functioning within the university. Part of them regarded to typical student's duties, such as tuition, procedural matters regarding admis-

¹² M. HORRELL, *A Decade of Bantu Education...*, op. cit., p. 130.

¹³ G. MORLAN, *The student revolt against Racism in South Africa*, Africa Today 1970, vol. 17, no. 3, pp. 12-20.

¹⁴ M. HORRELL, *A Decade of Bantu Education...*, op. cit., p. 148.

sions, the rules regarding attending classes and lectures, or matters of responsibility for potential damage of university property. However, the part of the aforementioned, was a direct violation of individuals' privacy, serving the control of the selected aspects of their lives - by means of university authorities¹⁵.

Therefore, one may state, that the organisation of university life was strictly subjected to the control of university authorities, in turn, representing government power. The control function of higher education was additionally expanded on those aspects of the personal life of individuals, related to expressing their individualism and independence. All manifestations of independent thinking, that would lead to a change of the established social order, were subjected to control already during the admission process. It allowed authorities to make a selection not only regarding the students' achievements - future student candidates, but also, a selection related to their usefulness regarding functioning within the apartheid system, and its possible reproduction¹⁶.

The verification of views, ways of thinking and of the attitudes of potential students, had already been present – in secondary education. In reality, that resulted in a deep interference in the students' ways of thinking, both during primary education, and from the perspective of their potential schooling at the level of higher education. The processes of admission would complement the process, as a certain “screen” that would separate unwelcome individuals from participating in higher education. These processes increased in strength after the student protests and boycotts. Describing the practice of the verification of students for selected black universities, M. Horrell notes that students who wanted to study or to be once again accepted in the University of Fort Hare, the University of the North, or the University of Zululand, had to apply for permission, and receive a good behaviour certificate (usually from their place of residence) coming from the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the *Bantu Affairs Commissioner*, or from the principal of their former school, yearly.¹⁷

Additionally, university socialisation, i.e. the processes of schooling and education at universities, were subjected to the principles of apartheid. As noted by M. T. Chika Schoole, “the way the curriculum was organized, the kind of courses approved for different racial groups, who taught these courses and how they were taught, were to ensure promotion of white racial superiority and socialization of black people into types of roles they were to fulfill within the South African society”¹⁸.

Simultaneously, the equipment of universities dedicated to the representatives of particular racial categories would vary significantly. Often, the universities dedicated to black students, possessed poorly equipped laboratories and libraries. Additionally, it was related to the varying financial support for different racial categories. The aim of the universities dedicated to blacks, was not to create scientists, or people possessing broad knowl-

¹⁵ M. HORRELL, *The Education of the Coloured Community...*, op. cit., p. 153.

¹⁶ M.O. NKOMO, *Student Culture and Activism in Black South African Universities. The Roots of Resistance*, Westport 1984, p. 39.

¹⁷ M. HORRELL, *Bantu Education to 1968...*, op. cit., p. 121.

¹⁸ M.T. CHIKA SEHOOLE, *Democratizing Higher Education Policy. Constraints of Reform in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, New York 2005, pp. 21-22.

Table 2. The number of students from various racial categories, accepted at RSA universities, data for 1974

University	Whites	Coloureds	Indian people	Chinese	Africans	Total
Cape Town	8 449	404	82	31	6	8 972
Durban-Westville	–	–	2 342	–	–	2 342
Fort Hare	–	–	–	–	1 029	1 029
Natal	7 198	91	347	8	256	7 900
Orange Free State	6 685	–	–	–	–	6 685
Port Elizabeth	1 967	–	–	–	–	1 967
Potchefstroom	6 415	2	–	–	4	6 421*
Pretoria	14 313	–	–	–	–	14 313
Rand Africaans	2 143	–	–	–	–	2 143
Rhodes	2 299	–	3	39	1	2 342
Stellenbosch	9 284	–	–	–	–	9 284
South Africa	26 981	1 177	1 946	60	3 995	34 159
The North	–	–	–	–	1 509	1 509
The Western Cape	–	1 440	–	–	–	1 440
The Witwatersrand	9 855	28	143	231	42	10 299
Zululand	–	–	–	–	1 003	1 003
Total	95 589	3 142	4 863	369	7 845	111 808

Source: M. Horrell, D. Horner, J. Hudson, *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, Johannesburg 1975, p. 369.

edge regarding the world, but to prepare them to fulfil their roles within the Bantustans, assuming positions that would require appropriate practical knowledge, or training secondary school teachers. From this perspective, the visible disproportion regarding financing of the universities, their equipment, or the quality of their staff training, would highlight the gaps present in racial relations¹⁹.

Simultaneously, one should note that the knowledge offered at black universities was presented by white scientists, who were mostly educated at Afrikaans universities. The above resulted in conflicts between lecturers and students²⁰.

Structural determinants were clearly visible in the way of functioning of higher education during racial segregation. The structure of higher education in the Republic of South Africa was divided according to the racial criterion, and strictly adjusted to the needs of a state functioning according to the principles of apartheid. Segregation policy implica-

¹⁹ Ibidem, s. 23.

²⁰ Ibidem, s. 22.

tions in higher education were related to the mechanisms of discrimination present within the means of functioning of particular racial categories at the lower levels of education²¹; they were also visible within quantitative indicators that would characterise education at the aforementioned level. It would pertain, e.g. to the number of universities dedicated to the representatives of particular races, as well as, to the number of students at universities.

The analysis of the data presented in Table 2, presents certain conclusions regarding the functioning of the higher education system in South Africa, in the middle 1970s. First of all, one may state, that during that time, the system of higher education was highly elitist. Therefore, yearly, RSA universities would accept a relatively small amount of students (in comparison to the country population). Second, one may notice enormous inequalities in the aspect of admission of particular racial categories. The data shows that Whites occupied the sector of higher education, resulting in the white population receiving academic credentials exclusively, which determined assuming highest social positions. In this context, one may state, that higher education participated in the practice of social closure²², and the system of fascist credentialism²³ functioning in the sphere of academic education in RSA, excluded entire categories of people from the possibility of social advancement.

Simultaneously, the data shows a small number of representatives of other racial categories, that would enter RSA universities. Their education was primarily limited to ethnic universities, created for the purpose of social segregation. Students from Asian, Coloured or Black categories - educated in the sphere of higher education in South Africa, would constitute small groups representing entire communities. They were prepared for assuming higher social positions, most often, within a hierarchic social order, functioning along the lines of racial division.

One should state at the same time, that in regard to the policy of apartheid, the students from different racial categories were separated completely. In the reality of the 1970s, only a few universities would operate, that would educate different racial groups at the same time. However, even these universities would exhibit a clear disproportion regarding the admission of students of different racial categories. The representatives of the white category were overrepresented (both in absolute values and in the comparison to the percentage of participants with population values). Looking from this perspective, particularly the black students were underrepresented.

The incredible paradoxes regarding the functioning of universities in South Africa, would also be related to the means and conditions of employing academic teachers. The practices of monopolisation and discrimination in this aspect, were incredibly explicit.

For example, at universities dedicated to Africans, a number of incredible restrictions regarding the relation between the admission of students from particular racial categories, and the employment of academic teacher – representatives of these categorie. While white

²¹ H.D. HERMAN, *School-leaving Examinations, Selection and Equity in Higher Education in South Africa*, Comparative Education 1995, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 264-267.

²² R. MURPHY, *Social Closure. The Theory of Monopolization and Exclusion*, Oxford 1988, pp. 73-76.

²³ R. COLLINS, *The Credential Society. An Historical Sociology of Education and Stratification*, New York 1979, pp. 196-197.

Table 3. Academic staff employed at universities dedicated to the representatives of black racial category, data for 1972

University*	Professors		Senior lecturers		Lecturers		Junior lecturers		Total
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	
Fort Hare	2	28	2	33	9	29	4	1	108
U of North	5	26	3	33	21	33	6	–	127
UWC	–	17	1	24	3	26	–	–	70
Zululand	1	17	2	40	6	16	–	–	82
UDW	1	23	5	46	24	56	12	10	177
Total:	9	111	12	176	63	160	21	11	563

* University of Fort Hare, University of the North, University of Western Cape, University of Zululand, University of Durban-Westville

Source: *Black Review 1972*, ed. B. A. Khoapa, Durban 1973, p. 173.

students were not allowed admission to statutorily black universities, the academic staff employed in black institutions of education would primarily recruit among the Whites (cf. table 3).

Looking at table 3, one may notice the clear dominance of white academic teachers at statutorily black universities. Additionally, at universities statutorily dedicated to the Coloureds and the Indian people, the principles that would clearly discriminate the representatives of these racial categories, were in force²⁴.

In relation to the protests and strikes, in the 1970s, changes occurred regarding the aspect of employing academic staff, as well as, their participation in decision making assemblies (university councils, senates) at universities dedicated to the representatives of the communities of Asians, Coloureds and Blacks. E.g., in 1973 at the University of Western Cape (i.e. a university that, within the system of racial segregation, was dedicated to the Coloureds), the first two members from the Coloureds community were admitted to the university council. In a similar period first four Indian people were admitted to the university council of the Durban-Westville university. Additionally, at universities dedicated to black students (University of Fort Hare, University of The North, University of Zululand), university authorities admitted representatives of the Blacks community²⁵.

Additionally in the aspect of financial benefits for the academic staff, differences along the lines of racial categories were visible. White staff would receive salaries higher than the staff classified within other racial categories. Therefore, one must state, that individuals of identical occupation, with identical scholarly titles would receive varying sal-

²⁴ T. REDDY, *Higher Education and Social Transformation. South Africa Case Study*, Pretoria 2004, p. 16.

²⁵ M. HORRELL, D. HORNER, J. HUDSON, *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, Johannesburg 1975, pp. 371-373.

Table 4. The amount of individuals employed as academic staff at particular occupations, as well as, among university authorities, in selected racially segregated RSA universities, mid 1970s

	University of Western Cape		University of Durban-Westville		University of Fort Hare University of the North University of Zululand	
	Whites	Coloureds	Whites	Indian people	Whites	Blacks
Senate	45	1	44	4	149	9
University council	11	5	11	4	37	13
Professors	26	–	32	5	94	6
Senior lecturers	30	1	50	9	127	15
Lecturers	45	17	56	28	86	53
Junior lecturers	–	–	13	11	–	16

Source: own research based on M. Horrell, D. Horner, J. Hudson, *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, Johannesburg 1975, pp. 371-373.

Table 5. Salaries of employed academic staff on particular positions (in **councils**), in selected RSA universities, mid 1970s.

	University of Western Cape		University of Durban-Westville		University of Fort Hare University of the North University of Zululand	
	Whites	Coloureds	Whites	Indian people	Whites	Blacks
Professors	7 500	6 900	7 500	6 900	7 500	6 000
Senior lecturers	6 300	5 760	6 300	5 760	6 300	5 040
Lecturers	4 800	4 350	4 800	4 350	4 800	3 900
Junior lecturers	3 600	3 240	3 600	3 240	3 600	2 880

Source: own research based on M. Horrell, D. Horner, J. Hudson, *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, Johannesburg 1975, pp. 371-373.

aries – depending on their skin colour. Salaries for Whites were similar at every university. Coloureds and Indian people would receive lower salaries (**however proportional in comparison**). The lowest salaries in RSA were given to the black academic staff (cf. Table 5). Racial discrimination regarding salaries within a particular institution would occur, despite the changes that took place in the aspect of opening universities to the idea of admitting representatives of non-white races to university authorities.

In the 1970s, a change of policy of the authorities took place, regarding higher education. The change was caused by various factors, including the increasing pressure of non-white students for higher education (related to the pursuit of advancement within the racially segregated social structure and the increasing processes of social mobility), protests

against the system of racial segregation (related to strikes, occupation of university buildings, or boycotting lectures), as well as, economic needs of a qualified workforce (particularly, representatives of unprivileged racial categories - mainly Blacks)²⁶. The political background also played a role, related to the pressure from RSA liberal circles, and from the international public opinion²⁷. In consequence, in the 1970s, a number of new racially segregated universities were starting to create.

In 1976, on the basis of *Act 78*, the *Medical University of Southern Africa - Medunsa* had been founded. The aim of the university was to educate physicians, dentists, veterinarians and other healthcare staff, from the black communities of RSA, as well as, of independent and self-governing provinces.

The foundation of the Vista University in 1981, on the basis of *Act 106* was caused by the need for a university that would offer education in various disciplines (such as fine arts, education, economy and management) - for black students living in urban areas of the Republic of South Africa. The university administration was located in Pretoria, while campuses were placed in black city districts (i.a. Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth, or Pretoria). One should note, that campuses had no student dorms or sports facilities. The quick increase of students at this university shows an enormous need regarding higher education among the populace of Africans (cf. Table 6)²⁸.

Table 6. Student admission at the Vista University, years 1982-1986

Year	Full-time studies	Part-time studies	Total
1982	–	32	32
1983	610	2400	3010
1984	1485	4767	6252
1985	3055	7082	10 137
1986	2573	11 718	14 291

Source: A. L. Behr, *Education in South Africa. Origins, Issues and Trends: 1652-1988*, Pretoria 1988, p. 195.

One should say, that in the 1970, the changes within the sphere of higher education pertained to the significant increase of the number of students from all non-white racial categories. The dynamics of the increase of the number of black students - starting with 1977, is worth examining. The aforementioned, as previously stated, was caused by

²⁶ A.L. BEHR, *Education in South Africa...*, op. cit., p. 194.

²⁷ J. DAVIES, *The State and the South African University System under Apartheid*, Comparative Education 1996, vol. 32, no. 3, pp. 322-325.

²⁸ A.L. BEHR, *Education in South Africa...*, op. cit., p. 195.

the needs of economy, but additionally, they also had an ideological and a political background²⁹.

In the 1970s and the 1980s, some universities became a place of resistance and protest against state oppression and the system of racial segregation³⁰. Starting with 1976, the police and the military would appear at university campuses regularly. Student activists would often become victims of police operations on university grounds (beatings with police batons, tear gas attacks, or, in most severe cases, death), and the university authorities would call for such operations at every sign of the slightest resistance from the students³¹.

The dynamics of change at universities in the 1970s, caused the need to transform the sector of higher education. The essence of the reform, was to create a sector of *technikons*, independent from the already established universities. These universities were created separately for each racial group in RSA³². The tasks of the newly established technikons were defined separately - in relation to the already established university institutions. According to this distinction, universities could not be involved in technology (i.e. practical application of knowledge), while technikons would serve practical education without involving in scientific activities combined with generation of knowledge³³.

Examining the admission of students from different racial categories to technikons, one may notice tendencies similar to those present in developed countries in the 1970s³⁴. Mass higher education had become a consequence of economic and social development. The need for highly qualified workforce, along with the increase of educational aspirations and the possibilities that appeared within social mobility, caused a transformation of higher education and the reshaping of the elite university sector into a more mass system. Simultaneously, the changes in the sphere of higher education in the Republic of South Africa had their own characteristics - related to the functioning system of racial segregation.

²⁹ S. BADAT, *The expansion of black tertiary education 1977-90: reform and contradiction*, [in:] *Apartheid Education and Popular Struggles*, eds. E. UNTERHALTER, H. WOLPE, T. BOTHA, S. BADAT, T. DLAMINI, B. KHOTSENG, London 1991, p. 76.

³⁰ G. M. ANDERSON, *Building a People's University in South Africa. Race, Compensatory Education and the Limits of Democratic Reform*, New York 2002, pp. 36-44.

³¹ S. BADAT, *The expansion of black tertiary education 1977-90: reform and contradiction*, [in:] *Apartheid Education...*, op. cit., p. 91.

³² S.A. REYNOLDS, *Historically Disadvantaged Technikons in an Era of Transformation: Answering the Call, Confronting the Challenges*, [in:] *Apartheid No More: Case Studies of Southern African Universities in the Process of Transformation*, eds. R.F. ARNOVE, K.L. KING, R.O. MABOKELA, Westport 2001, p. 143.

³³ I.A. BUNTING, *The Higher Education Landscape Under Apartheid*, [in:] *Transformation in Higher Education. Global Pressures and Local Realities*, eds. N. CLOETE, P. MAASSEN, R. FEHNEL, T. MOJA, T. GIBBON, H. PEROLD, Dordrecht 2006, p. 37.

³⁴ Cf. *The discussion regarding contemporary universities and the role of academic diplomats in the society* [in:] Z. MELOSİK, *Uniwersytet i społeczeństwo. Dyskursy wolności, wiedzy i władzy*, Poznań 2002, p. 150; and T. GMEREK, *Młodzież i dyplom akademicki. Społeczne konstrukcje sukcesu życiowego*, [in:] *Edukacja i stratyfikacja społeczna*, ed. T. GMEREK, Poznań 2003, pp. 37-52.

Table 7. Admission of students to RSA technikons, 1977-1987, divided by racial categories

Racial category	1977	1981	1984	1987
Africans	480	762	2 388	4 350
Coloureds	1 038	2 120	2 640	4 223
Indian people	bd.	bd.	4 342	5 251
Whites	40 829	39 790	30 310	40 492
Total:	42 347	42 672	39 680	54 316

Source: S. Badat, *The expansion of black tertiary education 1977-90: reform and contradiction*, [in:] *Apartheid Education and Popular Struggles*, eds. E. Unterhalter, H. Wolpe, T. Botha, S. Badat, T. Dlamini, B. Khotseng, London 1991, p. 83.

The data in table 7 indicates an increase in the number of students attending technikons within ten years. However, one should clearly state, that from their beginnings, the white students had constituted the majority of attendants. Despite the number of African students having increased in the 1977-1987 decade tenfold, they were still a minority among the students of technikons at the end of the period. A minor number of black individuals attending studies, was i.a. a result of the low quality of mathematics and exact sciences education for Blacks, and the former restrictive policy of the state regarding the prohibition of attending certain professions by non-white individuals. In consequence, the recruitment for technical disciplines in newly established technikons was dominated by white students³⁵.

Therefore, one may state, that the main reason for establishing the technikons sector, was a response of the state authorities to the increasing social need regarding higher education - according to the logic of the development of Western systems of education, instead of an intention to remove enormous inequalities in terms of scholarisation at higher levels, regarding different racial categories in RSA (and an attempt to channel the masses of non-white high school graduates to the technological sector).

Only since 1983, an opportunity had appeared for black students, to study at white RSA universities. The *Universities Amendment Act of 1983* was created in result of protests within the RSA, as well as, of the pressure of international public opinion³⁶.

In consequence of the development of higher education in the Republic of South Africa, a complicated division of the institutions of higher education appeared, in regard to various categories (racial, linguistic, as well as, in regard to types of universities, their location and their relation in regard to the apartheid policy).

I. Bunting distinguished between various groups of universities, on the basis of aforementioned criteria. The first contained six white universities using the Afrikaans language.

³⁵ S. BADAT, *The expansion of black tertiary education 1977-90: reform and contradiction*, [in:] *Apartheid Education...*, op. cit., p. 83.

³⁶ R.O. MABOKELA, *Voices of Conflict. Desegregating South African Universities*, New York 2000, p. 29.

These Afrikaans universities were the basic constitutive element of the apartheid system in the sphere of higher education, and they supported it actively. They were managed authoritatively and subjected to ideological pressure - serving as government agendas legitimising and sanctioning the validity of the status quo within the social-political apartheid system. Conversely, they would receive the most government support, being best equipped and financed. They would develop the scientific discourse in accordance with the doctrine of Afrikaner nationalism, following its logic actively and without criticism. After the academic boycott of RSA, these universities were mostly separated from the world of science and from the scientific communities in other countries (particularly Europe, especially in the Netherlands)³⁷. Simultaneously, these universities possessed a network of connections with the political and the economic system of the country - creating its elite. One should note, that the Afrikaner universities educated few English-using students. Along with the changes started in the 1990s, these universities were also the most resistant in regard to enabling admission for black students³⁸.

The second group consisted of four universities, with English as the language of lectures. The universities, however involved in the RSA political system significantly (e.g. in regard to financing education), were independent in many aspects. They would promote the principle of academic freedom, where scientific development and creation of academic knowledge were not to be made for the purpose of an ideology. In this context, they were perceived as more “open”, which implicated contacts with the international world of science, and certain independence within the academic world. However, simultaneously, the English language universities functioned within the logic of apartheid. The universities were obligated by law to educate white students, to introduce restrictions in regard to the admission of black students, as well as, to discrimination in employing black academic staff. The universities were also forced to educate in a way that would not harm the interests of the racist state (i.a. regarding the contents of education, as well as sources)³⁹. Although in a later period, these universities would introduce more open selection procedures, based on the criterion that would exclude the racial factor, that does not mean that the rules applying to white students would apply to the functioning of black students in the same way. For example, black students had access to libraries, laboratories, however, contact between students of different racial categories was limited significantly (black students were not allowed to even be at some locations of the campus)⁴⁰.

The third group consisted of universities dedicated for the representatives of non-white racial categories. Among them, one distinguish universities dedicated to black students as well as two other racial categories (Coloureds and Indian people). The processes of creating the aforementioned universities were highly instrumental (and tied to the polit-

³⁷ I.A. BUNTING, *The Higher Education Landscape Under Apartheid*, [in:] *Transformation in Higher Education...*, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

³⁸ R.O. MABOKELA, *Voices of Conflict...*, op. cit., pp. 37-38.

³⁹ I.A. BUNTING, *The Higher Education Landscape Under Apartheid*, [in:] *Transformation in Higher Education...*, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

⁴⁰ R.O. MABOKELA, *Voices of Conflict...*, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

ical needs of the apartheid state). Therefore, the representatives of the non-white populace would be educated in the spirit of apartheid ideology, allowing to legitimise its social-political practice. Simultaneously, these universities would serve the purpose of producing qualified workforce to meet the needs of the communities of colour (particularly, regarding the education of teachers and administration staff, for the needs of local ethnic communities). The aforementioned universities would explicitly support the system of racial segregation, and the staff employed, would be recruited from Afrikaner universities and implement the educational policy of the National Party. The forms of presenting knowledge as well as the contents of education were in accordance with the logic of the apartheid society. Simultaneously, these universities would put little emphasis on research and scientific development (including postgraduate and doctoral studies), in practice, reproducing knowledge created at white, Afrikaner universities, for the current needs of the education of students⁴¹.

It is worth noting, that in the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s, ethnic universities had become places of resistance, opposition and active political struggle against the policy of apartheid. Student strikes would then take place at black universities, along with lecture boycotts, to which the university authorities responded by closing these institutions temporarily⁴². At the beginning of the 1990s a process had taken place, regarding transferring numerous progressive scientists to the University of Western Cape, as well as (to a lesser degree), to the University of Durban-Westville. The process resulted in changes regarding the selection of issues and contents of lectures given within the curriculum. At the time, the contents of education had changed significantly in numerous disciplines, in comparison to what had been the contents of lectures five years before. Theoretical matters regarding the situation in South Africa, the entire African continent, as well as, third world countries on other continents, had been introduced and discussed. Literature written from radical perspectives was used and gathered in university libraries - in fine arts, social sciences and education (a practice absent and explicitly negated by many conservative scientists only a few years before). Simultaneously, the emphasis was transferred, from exams, to a more flexible grade system, with introducing tutorial teaching and critical thinking, along with employing more flexible forms of exams like essays or science projects.⁴³

Another group consisted of universities dedicated to four independent republics - bantustans (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei). They were dedicated primarily to black populations inhabiting bantustans. Their task was to educate the representatives of local communities for the needs of the administration of independent republics, as well as, to educate teachers required to work at schools for Africans. Despite them functioning within the framework of the so-called independent republics, their autonomy was limit-

⁴¹ I.A. BUNTING, *The Higher Education Landscape Under Apartheid*, [in:] *Transformation in Higher Education...*, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 46.

⁴³ S. BADAT, *The expansion of black tertiary education 1977-90: reform and contradiction*, [in:] *Apartheid Education...*, op. cit., p. 90.

ed significantly. In reality, they functioned on the basis of principles similar to black universities in urban areas of the Republic of South Africa. At the turn of the 1980s and the 1990s, these universities had become - similar to other black universities - centres of the struggle against the apartheid system. Both students and numerous academic teachers opposed the authoritarian and racist way of managing and of functioning of these universities⁴⁴. Additionally, at the end of the 1980s, the isolation of black universities, designed by the apartheid state, had been overcome. The contemptuous name - “bush colleges” was gradually dismissed⁴⁵. One should note, that the conditions at black universities, teacher colleges and technikons newly established in the 1970s were much worse than at similar universities dedicated to white students. F. de Clerq, while characterising the functioning of higher education institutions in Bophuthatswana, indicates various issues troubling education in the republic, such as inadequate facilities conditions, bureaucratic management, poor teaching staff qualifications, and the general lack of teachers. The university of Bophuthatswana, aiming to educate a highly qualified workforce, could not compete with white RSA universities, in regard to occupations such as lawyers, economists, nurses, social workers, or agricultural engineers. A phenomenon known as “brain drain” had become an incredibly important issue in bantustans. Educated graduates would often migrate from bantustans to areas of RSA, in search for better employment conditions⁴⁶.

The fifth group of universities in the Republic of South Africa, consisted of white technikons. Seven technikons within the group, were established to provide educational opportunity to the representatives of the white racial group. Their task was to educate a white directors of the middle branch staff of various occupations. These technikons would primarily accomplish the task of educating students, and were only insignificantly oriented on research and provided little opportunity for further education. These institutions subjected their operations to the National Party policy unconditionally, and, in their operations, followed the ideological principles of apartheid. Even at the beginning of the 1990s, during the time of opening the white universities to students from non-white racial categories, these institutions constituted the bastion of conservatism, accepting such students unwillingly⁴⁷.

The sixth group of universities in RSA as listed by I. Bunting, were ethnic technikons. Their aims were defined in a way similar to aims assumed by technikons for Whites, however, they were primarily dedicated to students that would represent particular racial categories in RSA. They would - similar to white technikons - accomplish the primary aim i.e. education of students. Ethnic universities of technology were little concerned with re-

⁴⁴ I.A. BUNTING, *The Higher Education Landscape Under Apartheid*, [in:] *Transformation in Higher Education...*, op. cit., pp. 46-47.

⁴⁵ S. BADAT, *The expansion of black tertiary education 1977-90: reform and contradiction*, [in:] *Apartheid Education and Popular Struggles...*, op. cit., p. 90.

⁴⁶ F. DE CLERQ, *Education and Training in the Homelands: a separate development?*, *Africa Perspective* 1984, no. 24, pp. 36-38.

⁴⁷ I.A. BUNTING, *The Higher Education Landscape Under Apartheid*, [in:] *Transformation in Higher Education...*, op. cit., p. 47.

search, and offered few opportunities of further education. Two of them (*Mangosuthu Technikon* i *Technikon Northern Transwal*) were established for black students in the urban areas of RSA. Three of them (*Border Technikon*, *Eastern Cape Technikon* oraz *North West Technikon*) were established in bantustans at the end of the 1980s, for black populace inhabiting these particular areas. The remaining two technikons were established for the representatives of the Indian people - *ML Sultan Technikon*, as well as for the representatives of the populace of Coloureds – *Penninsula Technikon*⁴⁸.

Finally, the seventh group consisted of two institutions providing remote education. These were: the *University of South Africa – UNISA* as well as the *Technikon South Africa – TSA*. These institution may be described as “white” - they were both managed by white staff that supported the apartheid policy. The University of South Africa had more connections with Afrikaner universities, than with English-language universities. Therefore, during the international academic boycott of Afrikaner universities, it did not establish many contacts with foreign universities. Despite employing highly qualified academic staff, the university played a minor scientific role. The function of the Technikon South Africa was to create study curricula for government employees (e.g. the university would be responsible of educating the RSA police)⁴⁹.

The classification of universities in RSA, at the end of apartheid was related to both the form of the division between universities and technikons, but also to the key criterion of racial categories, that would run “across” the division. At the end of apartheid in 1994, there were 36 universities operating in the Republic of South Africa. 17 of them were dedicated to the representatives of the white racial category (10 universities and 7 technikons). 10 universities and 7 technikons were dedicated to the remaining racial categories. The two remaining universities offering remote education, presented opportunities for the representatives of all racial categories.⁵⁰

Only the democratic changes in 1990s (related to the dismissal of apartheid policy) and the development of the democratic state in the first decades of the 20th century would overcome the institutional process of racial divisions⁵¹. However, that does not mean, that the taint of ages of discrimination and more than forty years of apartheid was washed away. The consequences of apartheid in higher education are visible to this day⁵².

⁴⁸ Ibidem, pp. 47-48.

⁴⁹ Ibidem, p. 48.

⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. 52.

⁵¹ R. HIGHAM, *Place, race and exclusion: university student voices in post-apartheid South Africa*, *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 2012, vol. 16, no. 5-6, pp. 489-491.

⁵² Cf. M. CELE, *South Africa. Post-Apartheid Higher Education: The Role and Challenges Facing Student Activists*, [in:] *Youth and Higher Education in Africa: The Cases of Cameroon, South Africa, Eritrea and Zimbabwe*, ed. D.P. CHIMANIKIRE, Dakar 2009, pp. 52-55; and J. HIGGINS et al., *Academic Staffing*, [in:] *South African Higher Education Reviewed. Two Decades of Democracy*, Council on Higher Education, Pretoria 2016, p. 286.

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